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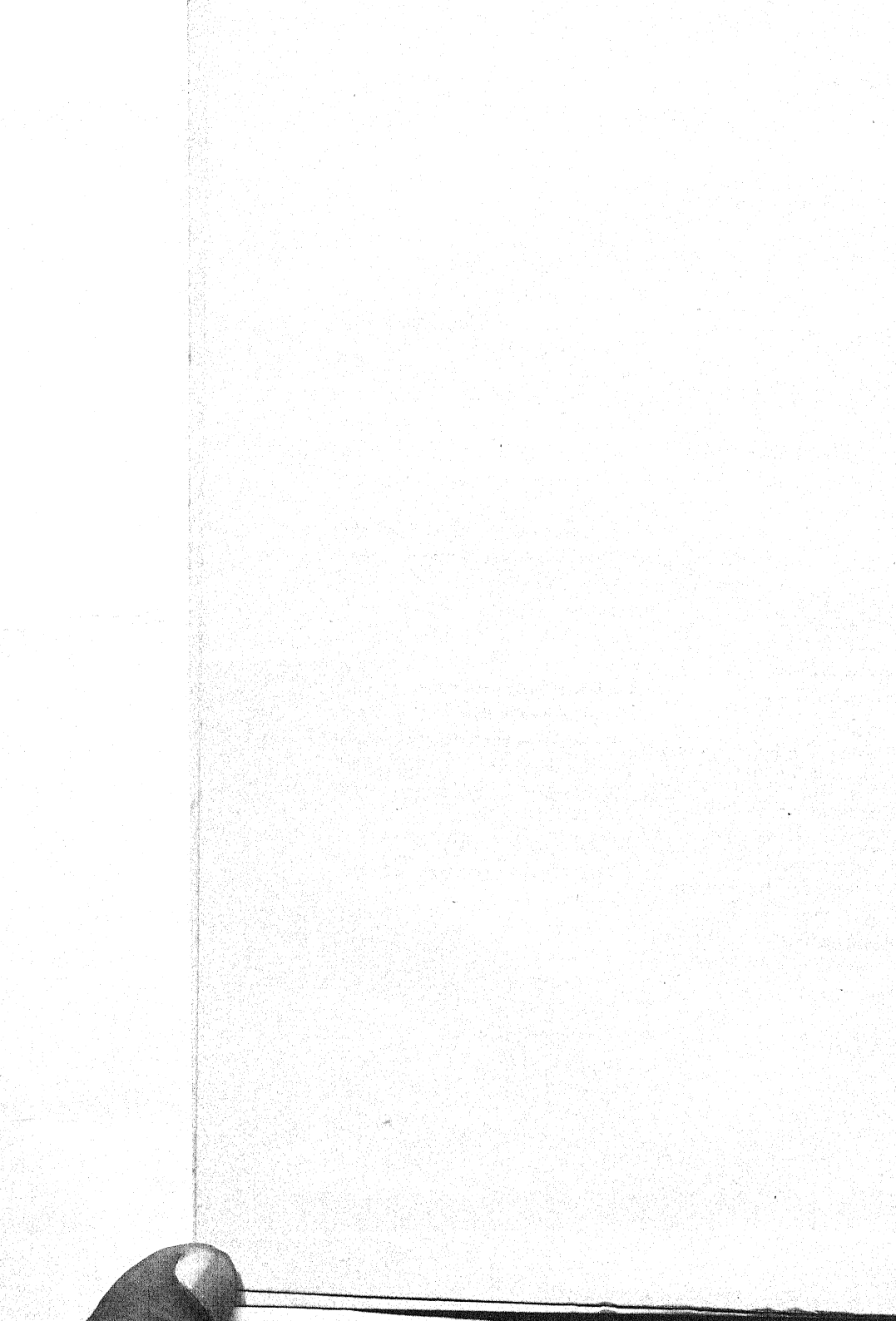
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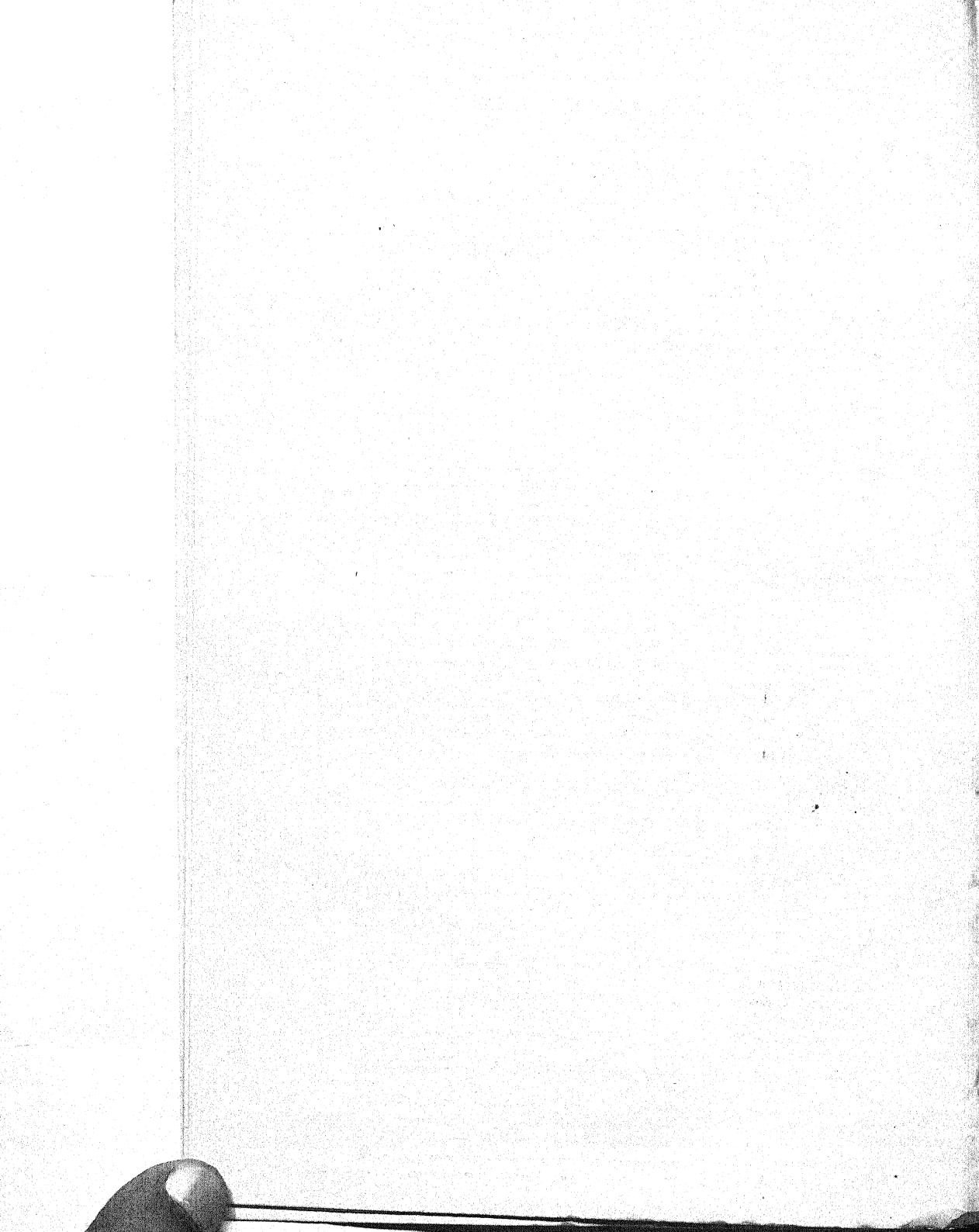
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ART. I.—Two New Valabhî Copper-plates.

By A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

(Read 26th August 1897.)

The two grants which are the subject of this paper are the property of L. Procter Sims, Esq., Engineer of the Bhaunagar State, by whom they were forwarded to Sir James Campbell, K.C.I.E., who made them over to me for examination. They were found together, the smaller plate lying between the two plates of the larger grant, buried in a field in the village of Bhamodra Mohota near Bhaunagar, in the year 1895. Both grants are in excellent preservation and easily read.

The first grant* consists of a single plate of copper of slightly irregular shape, measuring from 13 to 14 inches long and from $5\frac{3}{4}$ to $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. In the left hand top corner are two holes, each about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. In the lower hole still remains the copper swivel that carried the seal, but the seal itself is lost. The letters are deeply cut, and in places show through on the back of the plate. They vary in size from about $\frac{3}{16}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters, like those of all the Valabhî inscriptions hitherto published, belong to the southern class of alphabets, but are very angular and archaic in form, and in many respects, as for instance in the form of the letter *l*, approach those used in the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman of the year 473-4 A. D. In line 11 occur the numerical symbols for 100, 80, 10, 5 and 3. The first of these is a new form. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the verses quoted from the Mahâbhârata in lines 9 and 10, the inscription is in prose throughout. The only notable orthographical peculiarities are (1) the occurrence of the sign *jîhvâmûlîya* in line 1. *Drônasimhaḥ kuśalî*, and in lines 6-7 *pradîsataḥ karshâpayatô*; (2) the occurrence of *upadhmanîya* in line 3 *Bhagavatyâḥ Pânarâjyâyâḥ* and *pitrôḥ puṇya*; (3) the doubling of *t* before *y* in *sthittiyâ* (line 6); (4) the confusion between *s* and *ś* in *kṛîsata* (line 6) *vaîśet* (line 9) and *Sagarâdîbhî* (line 10); and (5) the insertion below the line of the *akshara ra* omitted from *dânâir acâṭabhata pravêśya* (line 6).

The great interest and importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is earlier than any other Valabhî grant hitherto known. It records a grant made at Valabhî by the Mahârâja Dropasimha in the

* The facsimile will be issued with the next number of the Journal.

year 183 (A. D. 502-3)* in favour of the goddess Pānarājyā. The thing granted is the village of Trisangamaka (Tarsamia near Hāthab) in the Hastavapra or Hāthab district with gold and other gifts. It has long been known from the genealogies given in later grants that the founder of the Valabhī family was the Sēnāpati or General Bhaṭārka, and that he was succeeded, in their order, by his four sons, Dharasēna, Droṇasimha, Dhruvasēna, and Dharapaṭṭa, from the last of whom descended the later Valabhī kings. The oldest date previously known for any member of the family was the year 207 (A. D. 526-7) in which the third brother Dhruvasēna made a grant, which has been published in Ind. Ant. V. 204. The grant now before us gives us a date 24 years earlier for the second brother Drōṇasimha and enables us to date back the rise of the family to the last quarter of the 5th Century, in the troubled times that followed the break-up of the great Gupta Empire. Drōṇasimha in our grant speaks of himself as "meditating on the feet of the supreme lord:" and, in the genealogical preamble of the grants of Dhruvasēna I., he is stated to have been installed as Mahārāja by "the supreme lord, the sole lord of the circumference of the whole earth." It is therefore clear that he owed allegiance to some overlord, who must be the same as, or a successor of, the king who was served by the General Bhaṭārkar and the General Dharasēna. Who this king was cannot be determined with certainty, but a consideration of the state of Northern India during the latter half of the fifth century A. D. throws some light upon the matter. The reign of Kumāragupta came to an end not long after the year 449-50 A. D. (See Bhagwānlāl's History of Gujerat p. 68) and his son and successor Skandagupta had in his early years to fight for his throne with an Indian tribe called the Pushyamitras, and with the Ephthalites or White Huns, who had crossed from Central Asia into Baktria and founded their capital at Badeghis north of Herat about the year 452 A. D. as we learn from Chinese authorities (see Specht in Journal Asiatique October and December 1883). They do not seem to have advanced far into India during Skandagupta's lifetime, but after his death, which occurred some time after A. D. 468-69 (Bhagwānlāl p. 71), the Gupta Empire broke up. In the East Skandagupta was succeeded by a brother whose name is variously read as Puragupta or as Sthiragupta, but his power seems to have been limited to Magadha and the adjoining districts. In the West we hear of a king named Budhagupta, under whom a

* The date is given in numerical symbols only.

certain Surāsmichandra governed the countries between the Jammu and the Narmadā in the year 484-5 A. D. We also hear of another king named Bhānugupta under whose command a great battle was fought at Ēraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces in the year 510-11 A. D. We also know from the Chinese pilgrim Sungyun, who travelled about the year 520 A. D., that the Huns had established a family called Laelih as rulers of Gandhāra or Peshawar, and that the king ruling in his time was the third of the line. A comparison of Sungyun's account with that of the Rājatarānginī, and that of the pilgrim Hiouen Tsiang leaves little doubt that Sungyun's contemporary was the famous Mihira-kula, who is also mentioned under the name of Gollas as king of the Huus in India by Kosmas Indikopleustēs (c. A. D. 530). The three kings of the Laelih family were therefore (1) Mihira-kula's grandfather, whose name is unknown, (2) his father Tōramāṇa, and (3) Mihirakula himself. Two inscriptions of Tōramāṇa are known. The first of these is dated in the first year of his reign and was found at Ēraṇ (Corpus Inscr. Ind. III., 159). It was engraved later than the year 484-5 A. D., which is the date of the inscription of Budhagupta, in which a person spoken of in Tōramāṇa's inscription as dead is mentioned as being alive. The other inscription gives Tōramāṇa's family name as Jāuvla.

An inscription dated in the 15th year of Mihira-kula has been found at Gwalior (Corpus Inscr. Ind. III., 161) in which that king is stated to have broken the power of *Paśupati*. We learn the terror caused by the conquests of the Huns also from the inscriptions of Yaśôdharman of Mālvā, who states in his Mandasor inscription (Corpus Inscr. Ind. III., 142) that "the command of the chiefs of the Hūnas" established itself "on the diadems of many kings." In the same inscription he claims that obeisance was made to him perforce by Mihirakula.

This Yaśôdharman was a successor of the Bandhuvārman who ruled at Mandasor in the reign of Kumāra-gupta, in the year 437-8 A. D. (Corpus Inscr. Ind., III. 79). Of the intermediate rulers nothing is known.

For the supreme lord who invested Droṇasimha with the powers of a Mahārāja, we have therefore to choose between (1) one of the Guptas of Magadha, (2) Bhānugupta or a predecessor, (3) Tōramāṇa, and (4) a predecessor of Yaśôdharman. The first two of these had no claim to the title of "supreme lord" (*parama-svāmi*), the power of the Guptas being confined to Magadha and that of Bhānugupta to a

portion of Central India. Again, neither Tōramāṇa nor Mihirakula is known to have used the imperial title or to have claimed universal sovereignty. There is also no evidence that their power reached so far to the S. W. as Kāthiāwār, although later on the tribes whom they led certainly did so. The Maitraka race to which the Valabhī kings seem to have belonged may have been connected with Mitra the sun, after whom Mihirakula also was named, but this is not enough to establish an historical connection between him and the tribe. On the whole I remain of the opinion which I expressed in a note on pp. 88-9 of Dr. Bhagwānlāl's history of Gujarāt, that Drōṇasimha's overlord was probably a ruler of Mālvā, a state which was rising at this period and reached its zenith during the 6th century A. D.

Of Drōṇasimha we know no more from the grants of his successors than that he was a devout Śāiva, a strict follower of the laws of Manu and a liberal master.

Text.

1. Om Svasti Valabhītaḥ Paramabhaṭṭārakapādānudhyātō Mahārāja-Drōṇasimha ∞ kuśalī svavishaya¹-sarvvān évāsmatsantak²-āyuk-taka-viniyuktaka maha.

2. -ttara-drāṅgika-dhruva-sthānādhikaraṇam³-cāṭa-bhaṭṭādīśca⁴-samājñāpayaty astu vō viditam yathā mayā vijayāyurddharmma⁵-phalayaśō-vishaya-vriddha.⁶

3. -yē nō varsha-sahasrāya sarvva -kalyānābhiprāya-sāmpattayē ca Hastavaprāharanyām Śrī Bhagavatya ∞ Pāṇarājyāyālī mātā-pitrō ∞ puṇyāpyāyana-ni.

4. -mittam ātmanaśca puṇyābhivṛddhayē-Ācandrārākārṇṇavakshistithisarit parvata sama-kālīnam bali-caru-Vaiśvadēvādyanām kriyānām samutsarppanārtthā⁷

5. Trisarṅgamaka grāmō gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-tāilya-mālyōpayō-vam⁸ dēvakulasya ca patita-viśīrṇa-prati-samskāraṇarttham^{9a} satrō-payōjyams⁹ sahiranya

¹ Read *svavishayaśō*.

² This passage appears to be corrupt, but I am unable to correct it.

³ Read *adhikaraṇaka*.

⁴ Read *bhaṭṭādīśca*.

⁵ Read *āyur-ddharmma*.

⁶ Read *vriddhayē*.

⁷ Read *samutsarppanārttham*.

⁸ Read *ōpayōjyō*.

^{9a} Read *pratisamskāraṇarttham*.

⁹ Read *ōpayōjyas*.

6. -dēyas saḥānyāiśca dānāira cāṭabhaṭa-prāvesyam¹⁰ Brahma-dēya-sthityā¹¹ udakātisarggeṇa nisrīṣṭaḥ yatō 'syōpacita¹²-nyāyāṭa bhuñjataḥ kṛīṣataḥ¹³ pradiśata.

7. ✕ karshāpayatō¹⁴ vānakēnacis¹⁵ svalpābādhā vicāraṇā vā kāryā yaśca chidyamānaṃ anumōdāyur¹⁶ asō¹⁷ mahāpātakāis sopapātakāiśca.

8. saṃyuktō' smadvapśāgāmi-rājabhir anyāiśca sāmānyam bhūmidāyam avītya-smaddāyō¹⁸ 'numantavyō 'pi cātra vyāsakṛīṭaḥ ślōkā bhavanti.

9. Shashtiṃ varsha-sahasrāṇisvarggē mōdati bhūmidāḥ | ācēttā cānu mantā ca | tāny eva narakē vaśēt¹⁹ svadattāṃ paradatta²⁰ vā yō harēta vasundharāṃ.

10. Gavāṃ śata-sahasrasya hantu²¹ prāpnōti kilbisham Bahubhir vvasudhā bhuktā rājibhi²² śagarādibhi yasya yasya yadā bhūmi²³ tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ.

11. Bhirugavaka²⁴-dēvi-karmmāntikaḥ saṃ 100 80 3 Śrāvaṇa śuddha 10 5 svayam ājñā Likhitam Shashṭidatta-putrēna Kumarila²⁵ kshatrikēna.

Translation.

1-2. Ōm Hail! from Valabhî. The Mahārāja Drōṇasimha, who meditates upon the feet of the supreme lord, commands all the officers, deputies, headmen of villages and towns, revenue officers, local governors, regular and irregular troops and others of his territory.

2-4. Be it known unto you, that in order that my victories, years, reward of righteousness, fame and territory may increase, that I may attain for a thousand years all good fortune and desires, and that the religious merit of myself and my parents may grow great.

4-6. I have bestowed upon the Lady Goddess Pānarājyā with libations of water and upon the conditions of a gift to a Brahman, the village of Trisaṅgamaka in the Hastavapra district, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, together with gold and other gifts ; for

¹⁰ Read *praveśyō*.

¹² Read *ōcīta-nyāyatō*.

¹⁴ Read *karshayātō*.

¹⁶ Read *anumōdēta*.

¹⁸ Read *avētyāsmad-dāyō*.

²⁰ Read *paradattām*.

²² Read *rājibhis sagarādibhiḥ*.

²⁴ Read *Bhirugavakō*.

¹¹ Read *sthityā*.

¹³ Read *kṛīṣataḥ*.

¹⁵ Read *kēnacit svalpā*.

¹⁷ Read *asō*.

¹⁹ Read *vasēt*.

²¹ Read *hantōḥ*.

²³ Read *bhūmīs*.

²⁵ Read *kumārila*.

the maintenance, so long as sun, moon, sea and land endure and rivers and mountains exist, of the *bali*, *caru*, *vâśvadêva* and other offerings; to be used for (supplying) perfumes, incense, lights, oil and garlands, for repairing whatever is fallen or decayed in the temple and for the sacrifices (or for feeding the poor).

6-8. So that none should raise the smallest objection or question as to the due and rightful enjoyment, assignment or direct or indirect cultivation (of the land) by him (the *pūjāri*): and whosoever shall abet the interruption of this grant is guilty of the greater and the lesser sins.

8. Future kings of our race and others should confirm our grant: moreover on this point there are verses by Vyāsa.

9-10. The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years. But he who resumes or approves (the resumption of a grant) lives for the same number of years in Hell. He who resumes land, whether granted by himself or by another incurs the guilt of the slayer of an hundred thousand cows. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with Sagara: and to whomsoever the earth belongs for the time being, his is the fruit (the merit of the gift).

11. Bhīrugavaka the servant of the goddess. The year 183 (A. D. 502-3); (the month) Śrāvaṇa (July-August); (the lunar day)

15. (The king's) own command. Written by Kumārila the Kshatrika (Khatri) son of Shashtidatta.

II.—Grant of Dhruvasēna II.

The second grant consists of two rectangular plates inscribed on the inner side only and fastened together by two rings, one of which carries a seal of the usual Valabhî type with the figure of a bull kneeling to the left and the legend Śrī Bhaṭakkaḥ. The second plate is slightly damaged at the right-hand top corner where a few *akṣharas* belonging to the first 5 lines of writing are lost, but they can be supplied from other grants. The plates measure 13" by 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", and their rims are slightly raised to protect the inscription. The characters resemble those used in the published inscription of Dhruvasēna II (Ind. Ant. VI., 13) and show no noticeable peculiarities, except the form of the rare initial *ś* in II. 17 *Ēkô*. The letters are not so deeply cut as those of the first grant, but, they are for the most part very clearly visible on the back of the plates, which are beaten thin. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The numerical symbols for 1,

20 and 300 occur in line 22 of the second plate. The language is Sanskrit, and, except in the verses quoted in lines 19 to 21 of the second plate, the inscription is in prose throughout. The most notable orthographical peculiarities are (1) the occurrence of *jihvāmūliya* in I. 8, *akalaṅkaḥ kumuda nāthaḥ* and in II. 13 *Dharaśēṇaḥ kuśali*; (2) the occurrence of *upadhmanīya* in II. 8-9 *prakṛitibhyaḥ paraṁ*, in II. 14 *pitṛōḥpunya*, in II. 17 *dēvyāḥ pūjāhētōr* and in II. 18-19 *anumantavyaḥ pratipḍlayitavyaśca*; (3) the use of the guttural nasal for *anuvāra* before *ś* or *h* in I. 3. *vaṁśān*, I. 5. *saṅghatīḥ*, I. 12. *saṅghatārāti*, I. 22. *saṅghatī* and II. 18 *vaṁśajyāir*; (4) the use of the dental nasal for *anuvāra* before *s* in II. 4. *vidhvānsita* and II. 8. *pradhvānsita*; (5) the use of *ś* for *s* in II. 2. *śamāhita*; and (6) the doubling of *d* before *r* in *addri* I. 6. The inscription refers itself to the reign of King Dhruvasēna II. of Valabhî and records a grant made by that king in favour of the goddess Kôṭṭammahikā-dēvî established in the *svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka. A temple of Kôṭṭarā Dēvî appears to be still in existence at Tarsamiā. There are several words in the operative part of the grant (II. 15. *prāpīya* and *gudāḍāna*) the meaning of which is not clear, but it seems that the Mahārāja Drōṇasimha (the grantor of grant No. I.) had made certain gifts to the goddess, but that after a time the enjoyment of them was interrupted. Dhruvasēna therefore confirms them and adds an order for the daily payment out of the treasury of the *svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka of one piece of silver for the expenses of the temple. The inscription is dated (in numerical symbols only) in the year 320 (639-40 A. D.) and therefore confirms the popular identification of Dhruvasēna with the T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu who was king of Valabhî when Hiuen Tsiang was in Western India about A. D. 640. The other known grant of this king (Ind. Ant. VI. 13) is dated in the year 310 (A. D. 629-30), and in its phraseology throughout is very similar to that now before us, though it records a grant to a community of Buddhist mendicants settled in the *Svatala* of Valabhî.

The genealogical portion of the grant now before us which takes up the whole of the first plate and the first 12 lines of the second, differs only in a few minor details from the standard form which is represented by the Âlīna grant published by Mr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III. I therefore give only a collation of this part of the grant with the standard form, but the full text of the operative portion.

Plate I.

1. Vijaya-Valabhîtaḥ for Valabhîtaḥ.
2. Matrakânâm for Mâitrakânâm.
3. Avyavacchinna-râjavaiśân for avyavacchinna-vaiśân. pravi-
dhânta for pravivikta.
5. Samyak-shari for samyak kriyâ.
rañjanânvartha for rañjanâd anvartha.
10. śiksha-vêśêksha for śikshâ-viśêsha. akhila-dhanurddharah
for sarvva-dhanurddharah.
12. vikramôpa for vikram-ôpama.
13. sthagata for sthagita. Bhasuratar-ânsa for bhâsur-ânsa
14. parâvara for pâra-parama.
16. sucarita for saccarita.
- dharmmânuparodha for dharmmânurodha.
18. âtyadara for âtyâdaravatâ.
19. rasatay-âiv-ôdvahan for rasatay-ôdvahan.
20. rasanâlingita-for rasânâlingita.
21. âpâyâḥ for ôpâyâḥ
22. nnica for nnica. âdhirôhibhir for âbhirohibhir.
23. prakhyâta-pâurush-âstra for prakhyâta-pâurushah śâstra.
24. tasya tanayas for tasya sutas.

Plate II.

1. Sakala-vidyâ for sarvva-vidyâ.
sampadâ tyagâudâryyena ca for sampat-tyâgâih sâuryyena ca.
2. sandhânâ for sandhâna.
3. praśraya for praśrayô pi.
4. pratyâ-ôdagra for pratyayôdagra. vidhvansita - nikhila - prat-
paksha for vidhvansita-pratipaksha.
6. dussâdhânâm for dassâdhanânâm.
- 7-8. kântimân-nidrâtihebatur akalañkah kumuda-nâthah for kânti-
tiraskṛita-salâñchana-kumuda-nâthah.
8. satat-ôditas savitâ for satat-ôdita-savitâ.
10. dadad for dadatâm. Saṁkâras sâdhûnâm for saṁskâra
sâdhûnâm. Sâlâturiya for Sâlâturiya.
11. praśami for praśami.
12. sthira-sâuhṛidayô for sâuhârddô. udaya-samala-samupajani
ta-janat-ânurâga for udaya-samupajanita-jan-ânûrâga. paripihita for-
pari-vrîmbita.

13. dvitīya - nāmā parama - Māhēśvara - Śrī-Dhruvasēnaḥ kuśali sarvān ēva yathāsambadhyamānakān samājñāpayaty astu vas samviditām

14. yathā mayā mātāpitrōḥ puṇyāpyāyanāya Trisatimakā¹ svātala-pratiṣṭhita-Kōṭṭammahikā-dēvi - pā-dēvyāḥ Mahārāja-Drōṇa-simhēna Trisaṅgamaka.

15. prapīya-vāpīṣhu tāmra-śāsana² bhilikhya gudādānam prati-pāditaum³ antarācca vicchirggaṇitām⁴ tadasmabhir⁵ ggaṇḍha-pushpa dhūpa-dīpa-tāil-ādy-ōpayō

16. gāya dēvakulasya ca khaṇḍa-sphāṭita-prati-saṃskaraṇāy pāda mūla-jīvanāya ca samutsamkalitam tathā Trisaṅgamaka-svātala gañjat⁶ pratyaham

17. Tanniyuktēna rūpaka ēkō dēyō 'kshaya-nivītrēna dēvyāḥ pūjāhētōr ddharmmadāyō nisṛṣṭah yatō na kēnacid vyāsēdhē varṭitavyam āgāmi bhadra-nṛi.

18. Patibhir asmad-vañśajāir⁷ anyāir vva anityany⁸ āisvaryyāny asthira-mānuṣhya-sāmānyam⁹ dāna-phalam¹⁰ avagacchadvir^{10a} ayam asmad-dāyā¹¹ 'numantavyaḥ pratipālayita.

19. vyaśca tyuktañca¹² || Bahubhir vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhisagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhumis tasya tasya tadā phala¹³ yānt.

20. hadāridrya-bhayēn¹⁴ narēndrāir dhanāni dharmmayatānī-kṛitāni nirbhukta-mālyā-pratimānitāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar ādadīta.

21. Shashtī¹⁵ varsha-saḥasrāṇi svarggē tiṣṭhātī bhūmidah ācchattā¹⁶ cānumanta¹⁷ ca tāny ēva narakē vasēditi || Dūtakō nṛirāja putra. Śrī-kharagrahaḥ.

22. Likhitam idam sandhi-vigraha-ādhi-kṛita-divirapati-catra-bhaṭṭi putra-divirapati-skandabhaṭṭena || sam 300 20 āśhādha śu | svahastō mama.

Translation (from Pl. II. 13).

13. Dhruvasēna, the great worshipper of Śiva, being in good health commands all whom it may concern :

Be it known unto you.

¹ Read *Trisaṅgamaka*.

³ Read *pratipādita*.

⁵ Read *asmabhir*.

⁷ Read *vañśajāir*.

⁹ Read *asthira-mānuṣhyam*.

^{10a} Read *avagacchadvir*.

¹² Read *Ittyuktañca*.

¹⁴ Read *bhayān*.

¹⁶ Read *ācchattā*.

² Read *Śāsane*.

⁴ Read *vicchittim nītam*.

⁶ Read *gañjat*.

⁸ Read *anityāny*.

¹⁰ Read *dāna-phalam*.

¹¹ Read *asmad-dāyō*.

¹³ Read *phalam yānt*.

¹⁵ Read *shasthīm*.

¹⁷ Read *anumantā*.

14-16. That the Mahârāja Drôṇasimha for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother established a *guldâna* (?) writing it on a copper-plate in the *prâp'iyas* and tanks of Trisaṅgamaka, for the goddess Kottammahikâ-dêvî who is established in the *Svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka; and in process of time (the enjoyment of the gift) was interrupted. This (gift) has been confirmed by us for use (in supplying) perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, oil, &c., and for the repair of whatever part of the temple is broken or decayed and for the livelihood of his reverence (the *pujari*, or perhaps any wandering mendicants).

16-17. And from the treasury of the *svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka as from a permanent endowment, there is to be paid daily one silver piece for the worship of the goddess by the person appointed for the purpose. It is bestowed as a religious endowment so that none may act obstructively.

17-18. And this our endowment should be confirmed and protected by future good kings, whether of our own race or others, perceiving that lordships are not lasting and human fortunes unstable, and that the merit of a gift is common (to the grantor and to the confirmer).

19-20. And it has been said as follows: "The earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara, and whosoever the earth is for the time being, his for the time being is also the merit (of land-grants). The wealth, which kings in fear of poverty have in this world made to reside in (bestowed upon) righteous objects, is equivalent to an used garland, and what virtuous man would take it again?"

21. The giver of land resides in heaven for sixty thousand years. But he who resumes or approves (the resumption of a grant) lives for the same number of years in hell. The *Dātaka* is the king's son Kharagraha.

22. This has been written by the chief secretary Skandabhata, son of the Minister of peace and war and chief secretary Catrabhatti. The year 320 (A. D. 502-3) (the month) Āshāḍha: the light (fortnight): (the lunar day) 1.

My own hand.

NOTE.—The last words are followed by the *Triśūla* mark.

ART.—II.—*Some Old Books (I.) in the Society's Library.* By
 PROF. M. MACMILLAN, B.A.

[Read, 15th January 1898.]

Leaving out of consideration Oriental MSS., of which I cannot speak, there appear to be only five old MSS. in our Asiatic Library. One is the priceless MS. of Dante, Mr. Macdonell's elaborate and scholarly account of which may be found in the eighteenth volume of the Journal of the Society. From the fact that in the colophon of the *Paradiso* Dante is called a *novello poeta* (new poet) Mr. Macdonell was inclined to conjecture that the MS. cannot have been written long after Dante's death. As this MS. has already received the thorough examination it deserves, it is not necessary for me to make any remarks upon it to-day. Another MS. worth looking into is labelled on the outside of the binding Cavalca Speeches. But this is only one of the many instances that may be quoted of the ingenuity with which the Indian maker of catalogues perverts titles. On opening the volume we read on the fly leaf, in the handwriting probably of one of its successive possessors, the words: "In nome del Padre e del Figliolo e dello Spirito Santo Amen. Questo libro si chiama Specchio della Croce compilato da fratre Domenico Cavalca da Vico Pisano dell' ordine di Santo Domenico, uomo di Santa Vita," from which we learn that the real title of the work is *Specchio della Croce*, The Mirror of the Cross, and that it was composed by Cavalca, a Dominican Friar. The supplement of the *Biographie Universelle* informs us that Cavalca was a contemporary of Dante and that he died in 1342. The *Specchio di Croce* was printed in Milan as early as 1480. The MS. in our library appears to give no record of the date at which it was written. There are two initial letters near the beginning elaborately decorated in blue and red, colours which are used more sparingly in the rest of the volume. At the end some admirer has written in red ink in MS. handwriting '*Manus scriptoris salvetur omnibus horis.*' (May the hand of the scribe be blessed at all hours.) A book plate stamped on the parchment fly leaf informs us that the book once belonged to one Rudolfo Paganelli. Another Italian MS. in our library contains a collection of the lives of Paul the first Hermit, Anthony, Hilarion

Macharius of Alexandria and other early hermits. It is very difficult to read and appears to give no indication of the author's name, or of the date at which it was composed, nor have I any means of determining whether it is a translation, an abridgement, or an original work. It is written on paper, and there is no attempt at ornamentation except the enlargement of the initial capitals of each chapter. We have also a Greek MS. containing a collection of prayers intended for use in the Greek Church. The chief embellishment of this volume is an interlaced pattern in red ink in the beginning of the body of the book. The only other old MS. I can discover in the library is a copy of Cicero's moral treatise *De Officiis*, on which some modern hand has written by way of explanation the words "by Cockman." Thomas Cockman is mentioned in one of my own editions of Cicero as a collator of Cicero's MSS., and he is there honoured with the epithet of *clarus* (illustrious); but, for all that, his name does not appear in the Dictionary of National Biography. We must suppose that the MS. before us is one of the MSS. examined by Cockman, when he was working at the settlement of the text of Cicero. There seems no clue by which we can determine how this MS. found its way to India.

The earliest specimens of printed books known to the bibliographer date from the middle of the fifteenth century. Only two printed books belonging to that century are to be found on the shelves of the Asiatic Library. Manuscripts, at least those written before the invention of printing, had no title pages nor had the earliest printed books, which at first were naturally modelled on their MS. predecessors. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the title page was invented, but the useful innovation did not establish itself immediately. In the earliest printed books, as in MSS., we have to look for the author's name and the subject of the book on the first page or in the colophon at the end. The book before us, the oldest printed book in the Library, is interesting as exhibiting the title page in an embryonic stage. Although a whole page is devoted to the title page, it is after all only a meagre label title standing quite by itself in the middle of the page and consisting of the words '*Tulius (sic) de Oratore cum commento et alia opera.*' We have to look elsewhere for the name of the author of the commentary and for the printer's name. At the head of this title page is written in a beautiful hand "Edoardus Lapworthus" and the pious sentiment "*Mors Christi Vita Hominum.*" As Lapworth is not a common name, we may with some probability

assume that the owner, who has thus recorded his name on the book, was "that learned physician Doctor E. Lapworth (1574-1636)" described in the Dictionary of National Biography as being a scholarly man with a taste for poetry and in person "not tall but fat and corpulent." Some of his Latin verses signed "E. L. Oxon," will be found in our fine old edition of Sylvester's Dr. Bartas, which we shall refer to presently, if time allows. This edition of Cicero's work on rhetoric was printed in 1497 by Anthony Koberger, a famous printer of Nuremberg. It is preceded by a panegyric on rhetoric and accompanied by a commentary, both by a famous 15th century critic bearing the pretentious name of Omnibonus Leonicensis, that is to say, Ognibene of Lonigo, the Italian town in which he was born about 1420 A. D.

The other fifteenth century book in our library, the *Epistole Devotissime de Sancta Catharina da Siena*, was printed at Venice in the end of the year 1500. It is a fine specimen of the then comparatively new art, having been produced at the press of Aldo Manuccio, one of the most famous of printers, the inventor of the handy octavo volume and of italics. The first octavo that issued from his press was the edition of Virgil published in 1501. The copy of the Letters of St. Catherine is not an octavo but a heavy quarto, and it is satisfactory to see that what is probably the earliest specimen of this great printer's art to be found in Bombay has not suffered much from the ravages of the bookworm. In this book the title page is in a still more embryonic stage than in Koberger's Edition of Cicero's work on oratory. Here we find only a fraction of the first page devoted to the title.

Another Aldine edition of the classics in our library is a collection of works by various Platonists printed in 1516. The first page contains an index of contents over the Aldine Symbol, a fish coiled round an anchor, which is repeated at the end of the book.

The oldest sixteenth century book in the library appears to be the Hebrew Grammar of John Reuchlin of Pforzheim printed in his native town in the year 1506. It is composed in Latin. The first page is at the end, and at the beginning comes the last page with its proud Horatian termination—:

"Æregi monumentum ære perennius.

The frontispiece, which we should perhaps call the tail-piece, as the book has to be read backwards, represents the arms of the author and an altar with ARA CAPNIONIS (the altar of

Capnion) inscribed upon it. Reuchlin or Reuchlein means in German "little smoke," and so our learned author Graecised his name into Capnion, which bears the same meaning in Greek, just as he whose German name was Schwarzerd (black earth) chose to be called (Melanchthon), a combination of two Greek words meaning "black earth" and as our Ciceronian commentator Latinised his family name of Ognibene into Omnibonus.

We next come upon a curious little book of astronomy written in Latin by the most illustrious (clarissimus) Hyginus and printed by Melchior Sessa in Venice in the year 1512. It is the oldest book in the library with a regular title page and is an excellent specimen of the art of book illustration at an early stage. It is very astrological and ante-Copernican, and represents Ptolemy enthroned with the globe of the universe in his hand and attended upon by Geometry and Astronomy. One interesting feature of the work is the presence of MS. notes written on the blank spaces by some old reader, especially under the quaint figures of the signs of the Zodiac and other constellations. For instance under the picture of Aquila we read from the unknown writer's pen "*Aquila habet in caudâ stellam maximae Virtutis ut habetur ab Astronomis.*" (The eagle has in its tail a star of very great power as is supposed by astronomers.) The same student comments under the description and picture of Mercury "*Stella Mercurii scintillat ut a preceptore meo accepi et ego ipse vidi.*" (The star of Mercury sparkles as I have heard from my teacher and myself seen.) An idea of the state of Astronomical knowledge at the time may be derived from the following table of distances at the end of the book :—

					Miles.
From the Earth to the Moon	...	...	...	...	15,825
From the Moon to Mercury...	...	...	...	...	7,812½
Thence to Venus	...	...	...	...	7,812
Thence to the Sun	...	...	...	...	2,246
From the Sun to Mars	...	...	...	...	15,625
Thence to Jupiter	...	...	...	...	7,812
Thence to the Firmament	...	...	...	...	22,426

The pretention to strict accuracy in the avoidance of round numbers and in the half mile added to the interval between the Moon and Mercury is rather amusing.

We next come to an elegant little volume printed in Venice in 1520. It is a translation into modern Italian of the 'Secret of Petrarch' and is described on the fly-leaf in Italian as 'the first and rare

edition of this translation of the *Secret of Petrarch*. The frontispiece represents five poets with wreaths of laurel on their brows, presumably Virgil, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso. At the end of the volume we find the device of the printer, Nicolo Zopino, a picture of St. Nicholas enthroned between the letters N and Z. The book is very finely got up, has suffered little from the book worms, and is well bound in what may have been the original binding.

A book published at Lyons in 1523 is one of the few specimens of the old black letter or Gothic type in the Library. It contains the *Bucolics* of Battiste, the Mantuan, illustrated by several woodcuts and elaborately annotated. The Latin poems of this Italian monk enjoyed an immense reputation at the time. Erasmus declared that posterity would give him a place not far below his townsman Virgil. Another admirer erected his statue close to that of the great Latin epic poet. Now he is forgotten and we should never have heard of him, had not this black letter edition of his youthful poems happened to come into our hands. We find MS. evidence of previous owners of the book. One written inscription tells us that it is "*ex libris Benedicti Bresciani*." Another owner writes an elegiac couplet partly illegible for the benefit of any one "*nostrum cupiens cognoscere nomen*" (desiring to know our name), and then reveals that he was called Robionus, if I read his hand correctly.

The printing of the year 1523 is also represented by a truly monumental work, the Greek Lexicon of Guarino, generally known as Phavorinus from the town of Favara in which he was born. This great work, the quarry from which many subsequent Greek lexicons have derived valuable materials, was printed at Rome by the Cretan Zacharia Caliergi. It is not very easy to use, as each word does not, as in more modern dictionaries, have a paragraph to itself. Another learned work in the library produced at about the same time is an edition of the *Prior Analytics* of Aristotle by John Alexander surnamed Philoponus or the laborious. This work was printed at Venice in 1536.

Of the many Italian books in our library belonging to the latter half of the sixteenth century, I can only find time to call your special attention to a splendid illustrated description of Cremona printed in that city in 1585 and dedicated to Philip II. of Spain. It contains several large full page illustrations and a plan of the town that has to be doubled up. Among the many life-like portraits on its

pages is an almost contemporary picture of Mary of England, who gains her place in the book as the wife of the Spanish monarch to which it is dedicated. Gilt is profusely employed in the ornamentation of the book and every page is embellished with an elaborate border.

I pass over other Italian books in our possession dating from the latter half of the sixteenth century in order to press on to a work of great importance in the history of science and literature. Among the scientific books in our library may be found the original edition of the *Dialogo dei due Massimi Sistemi del Mondo* (Dialogue of the two greatest systems of the Universe) in which Galileo discusses the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems. The work was finished in 1630, but some two years elapsed before the permission to print it could be obtained from the ecclesiastical authorities who suspected that it was heterodox. At last the necessary imprimaturs were obtained and the book was published at Florence in 1632 by Giovanni Batista Landini. The great work took Europe by storm and brought Galileo into great trouble. He was summoned before the inquisition, and threatened with torture although not actually tortured. Galileo recanted the Copernican doctrine, but was nevertheless condemned to be imprisoned. He did not, however, remain long in the custody of the inquisition, and does not appear to have been actually put into prison. He was only confined within certain limits and could not return to Florence for some months. In fact, it is evident that the woes of the starry Galileo have been considerably exaggerated.

The greater number of the many old Italian books in the library were probably presented by Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir James Mackintosh, the Founder of the Literary Society, who was a zealous student of Italian literature. The inscription on the MS. of Dante shows that it was presented by Elphinstone. Mackintosh is known to have presented many books to the library. He was a great book collector, and his journal shows that he was studying Italian literature when he was in Bombay.

My remarks on the old foreign books may conclude with the following brief notes in chronological order of some of the other sixteenth century books in the library:—

1. Latin Poems of Pontanus (1426—1503). Venice, 1518. An Aldine Edition.

Libro di Natura d'Amor, by Mario Equicola. Venice, 1531.

Paradossi, Venice, 1544. A small book containing a budget of paradoxes, such as that 'poverty is better than riches,' that 'it is better to be ugly than beautiful,' &c. The name Gio. Batista Vilano is written on the title page and elsewhere on the book. Was he the owner or the author of the book?

La Coltivazione, an agricultural poem, by Luigi Alamanni (1475—1556). Paris, 1546. Dedicated to Francis I. Described in Chalmers Biographical Dictionary as a "beautiful edition corrected by the author."

Gyrone il Cortese, a long heroic poem, by the same author, dedicated to Henry II. of France. Paris, 1548. It is based on the French Romance Gyrion Courtois.

Tri Discorsi di Girolamo Ruscelli on the Decameron, the vernacular tongue, and the translation of Ovid, Venice, 1552.

Le Trasformazioni of Lodovico Dolce. Ovid's Metamorphoses translated by Lodovico Dolce (1508—1569), Venice 1553. Dedicated to Charles V., printed in italics, and illustrated by many woodcuts.

Inferni of Doni (1503—1574). Venice, 1553. The book describes seven different hells or divisions of hell which are also represented in woodcuts. It appears to be a humorous parody of Lucian and Dante. The members of the Academia Peregrina to which he belonged are represented as being led to the various hells by Virgil, Dante and other shades. The work was so popular that the French translation ran through several editions in a few years.

Panegyrics and Lives of Famous Men by Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, and translated with his sanction presumably from the Latin by Lodovico Domenichi. A manuscript note on the fly-leaf informs us that one copy is "the first and most beautiful edition of this book." It was printed in Florence in 1554.

The original author and the translator of the above work are associated again in the

Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amoroze (Dialogue on Devices of War and Love), by Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, and S. Gabriel Symeon of Florence, with a discourse on the same subject by M. Lodovico Domenichi. Lyons, 1574. It contains various woodcuts of ingenious devices illustrating mottoes. For instance, "Furor fit laesa saepius sapientia" is illustrated by a ram running at a boy who has been teasing him.

Indian History of Maffei (1590). One of the first books in which the name of Bombay appears in its present form.

Before proceeding to the oldest English books in the library we must consider a curious and interesting work closely connected with England, namely, De Bry's *Americæ Descriptio* (Description of America), written in Latin, printed at Frankfort, and embellished with many quaint and graphic pictures of the natives of the country. Unfortunately the copy of this rare work in our library is in a mutilated state. The first part of the book is a Latin translation of Thomas Harriot's "Brief and True Report of the new found land of Virginia." Thomas Harriot is described without exaggeration by a contemporary as being "that true lover of virtue and great learned professor of all arts and knowledges who lived there (in Virginia) in the time of the first colony, spoke the Indian language, searched the country, and made many proofs of the riches of the soil, and commodities thereof." He was mathematical tutor to Sir W. Raleigh and accompanied Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of the Revenge, to Virginia in 1585. The reader of this old work naturally turns over the leaves to find what it has to say of the two familiar vegetable products with which the names of Virginia and Raleigh are indissolubly connected. "There is an indigenous plant," we read "called by the natives Uppowoc. Its leaves dried and reduced to dust are placed in certain small tubes formed of clay, lighted, and the smoke is drawn through the mouth. The smoke thus inhaled draws phlegm and thick humours from the head and belly and cleanses and opens the passages of the body. Those who use it not only save their bodies from obstructions, but are quickly freed from those that they have, provided they are not of too long standing. Hence their bodies are healthy and I do not remember to have noticed among them the many severe diseases by which we are so much troubled in England." Smokers will be gratified to hear this early appreciation of their favorite poison. The following is obviously an account of the potato. "Openawk are round roots, some of which are as large as nuts, others much bigger. They grow in wet and marshy places, many clustering together as if they were strung on a rope. Cooked in water or otherwise they supply good nourishment."

There are traditions in the office of the Society that the library used to possess fragments of an English book printed by Caxton and another one on the subject of the Curfew Bell addressed to Henry VII. or Henry VIII., but these have disappeared and the earliest specimen of English printing now to be found in the library dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. Our oldest English book

is "An exposition of the kinges prerogative" by Sir William Stamford. We find ourselves here once more in the age of the undeveloped title page, as the title only occupies the upper half of the page on which it is printed. The author of the work was born in 1509 and being a zealous Roman Catholic was made Queen's Sergeant on the accession of Queen Mary. He was knighted in 1554 and died in 1558. The work before us was finished in 1548, the year after the death of Henry VIII., and dedicated to the "right worshipful and his singular frinde Nicholas Bacon," father of the great Bacon. It was not published until 1567, at which date it appeared with a prefatory letter written by Richard Tottell, the printer. It is printed in Gothic characters, except the Latin quotations, which are in Roman type, and Mr. Tottell's letter, which is printed in italics. The book is almost untouched by the book worms and is in a capital state of preservation. It is, however, a dry legal treatise of little interest to the general reader.

The second oldest English book in the library is "The Historie of the World, commonly called the Natural Historie of C. Plinius Secundus," translated into English by Philemon Holland, Doctor in Physics, and printed in London by Adam Islip in the year 1601. The two handsome folio tomes of which the work consists are in an excellent state of preservation. From the title page we learn that the work is "ex libris John Forbes Royle," the eminent Anglo-Indian Surgeon and naturalist, born in Cawnpore, 1799, whose name appears on two or three of the oldest books in our library. Philemon Holland did so many translations that he was called by Fuller "the translator general in his age." As we contemplate the large folio before us and remember that he published several other folio volumes of translations, we are able better to appreciate the point of Pope's line in the Dunciad—

"And here the groaning shelves Philemon bends."

Still more must the shelves of libraries have groaned under the weight of the volume we have next to consider, the last and, I think, only complete edition of the poetical works of Joshua Sylvester, including his translation of Du Bartas. This cumbersome and quaint volume was published in London in 1641. It begins with anagrams and verses printed in the forms of columns and pyramids to suit the taste of the fantastic society for whose benefit it was produced.

The next oldest English work in the library seems to be the *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinae* or the works of that Great Monarch and

Glorious Martyr King Charles (*sic*) I. printed at the Hague by Samuel Browne in 1650.

The frontispiece is a picture of the king which does not appear to do justice to the "comely head" attributed to King Charles even by a hostile poet. The work contains the letters and speeches of the lately executed monarch and the *Eikon Basilike*. The authenticity of this "Pourtraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings" was doubted from the very beginning, as we see from Milton's prose rejoinder and from such verses as the following, by which the *Eikon Basilike* is introduced in the volume before us:—

So curious is this work. 'Tis easily known
'Twas drawn by no man's pencil but thine own.
None could express a king, but thou. We see
Men cannot, gods may limn a Deity.
The style betrays a King, the art a Man,
The high devotion speaks a Christian.

This book was presented to our library in 1841 by the Secretary who would at this time appear from Mr. Tivarekar's Historical Sketch of the Society to have been Dr. Malcolmson. It is falling to pieces and ought to be bound, if it is not already in such a condition as to defy the binder's skill.

We have a valuable collection of the works of the famous Duchess of Newcastle published in the end of the Commonwealth and in the first decade of the Restoration. The reign of Charles II. is also represented by a copy of the original English translation of Bernier's Travels printed in London, in four volumes, of which two were published in 1671 and two more in the following year. Our predecessors have had all the four volumes bound into one thick book, and printed the title of the first volume on the back, as if it were the title of the whole. With regard to this work I may perhaps be allowed to recount an amusing experience of my own. I sometimes visit the secondhand bookshops of Bombay to see what relics of the past may be found there. Some years ago a secondhand bookseller offered me a copy of Bernier's Travels. The pages were yellow, the date at the foot of the title page was 1671. The saloons of the secondhand booksellers in Kalbadevie are neither spacious nor well ventilated and do not encourage a long stay. So paying a rupee or two, I walked off rejoicing in my purchase. On examining the book at leisure I found on the back of the title page of what I fondly supposed to be a genuine product of the seventeenth century the

fatal words "Bombay: Reprinted at the Sammachar Press, 1830." It is a reprint, almost a facsimile, of the original and is dedicated to Sir John Malcolm. It is introduced by a long and magniloquent prospectus describing Bernier's Travels as a work "now so scarce, that even a transient and hasty sight of it is a treat hardly attainable, as a volume that requires (as it did in the present instance) years of patient and persevering search to procure." The reprint is itself something of a bibliographical curiosity and is interesting to us as a record of the literary enterprise of one of our oldest Bombay printing presses.

A few years after the appearance of Bernier's Travels was published the only other book I will now mention, an anonymous translation of Machiavelli's History of Florence, printed in London, in 1674, and dedicated to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. This book appears from what is written on the fly leaf to have been bought at an early age of its existence for 4/6, "price £00 04s. 06d." by one Charles Fairfax, who first writes his name elegantly in good English and then the name is repeated by some one else, probably a mischievous son, in bad Spanish as "Charlos Fairfax." On the back of the frontispiece we read "This book belongs to the Grange House 1783 A. K." Finally it was presented by H. A. Cannon (?) to the Asiatic Library.

In conclusion, I must express my regret that I have only had time to examine a very small selection of the oldest books in the library and that my ignorance of the Italian language and literature has prevented me from giving a satisfactory account of the old Italian books that it contains. Perhaps these few remarks of mine may stimulate some one better fitted for the work to undertake a more thorough survey of the treasures of this library. On its crowded shelves many volumes of great value repose undisturbed from year "born to blush unseen and waste their sweetness" on the devouring insect, who appreciates old books much more than the modern reader does.

ART. III.—*Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirājamārga*. By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.

[Read 17th February 1898.]

The Kavirājamārga is the oldest Kannāḍa work that has yet been discovered. It was little known to the public before it was first introduced to Oriental Scholars by Mr. Rice in a paper contributed to the Journal¹ of the Royal Asiatic Society. Though the work is hardly known to the student of Kannāḍa literature at the present day, there is ample evidence to prove that it was held in high esteem as an authority on Alaṅkāra in ancient times. Most of the verses, in which Nṛipatuṅga treats of prāsa, are quoted in the Chhandōmbudhi.² That these verses cannot have been composed by Nāgavarmā and that they must have been borrowed from an older author is pretty clear to any one who remembers the fact that the author of the Chhandōmbudhi addresses his verses to his wife. The Kavirājamārga is also alluded to in the Kāvyaśāloka;³ and the illustration of *nīyārtha* occurring in the last named work seems to have been directly suggested by that given by Nṛipatuṅga himself. Kēśirāja quotes three verses⁴ from the Kavirājamārga while the Śabdānuśāsana cites one verse⁵ and appeals to Nṛipatuṅga as a standard authority on Alaṅkāra.

These facts suffice to place beyond dispute the claims of the Kavirājamārga to a high antiquity. This conclusion is further supported by archaisms found in the present work. According to Nāgavarmā and Kēśirāja, "e" the termination of the instrumental singular, is restricted to neuter⁶ nouns ending in "a." Hence the

¹ For July 1883.

² Verses II., 28-43 and III., 232-233; see Mr. Kittel's edition of Nāgavarmā, pp. 17-21.

³ Introduction to the Śabdānuśāsana, p. 24; Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa, App. I., p. 4.

⁴ Verses I., 32, 58 and II., 7; see Mr. Kittel's edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, pp. 71, 98 and 121.

⁵ Verse III., 232; see Śabdānuśāsana, p. 122. This verse which begins with the words "arasaor! ela" is therefore not a later interpolation in the Chhandōmbudhi, Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 8. Both Nāgavarmā and Śivarakav quote it from Nṛipatuṅga.

⁶ Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, p. 131; Śabdānuśāsana, p. 155 Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa App. I., p. 3.

form *añtiye* which Nripatuṅga repeatedly uses,⁷ must have gone quite out of use when these grammarians flourished, while it is frequently met with in the literary records⁸ of the Râshṭrakûṭa era.

The next question that arises is who is Nripatuṅga so often mentioned in the present work? We meet with the following expressions :—

Nripatuṅga-dêva-matatiṃ (III. 98).

Atiśayadhavaḷa-dharâdhipa-matadindam (III. 11).

Akhila-dharâ-vallabham Amôghavarshsha-nripêndram (III. 1).

From these expressions it is manifest that Nripatuṅga composed the Kavirâjamârگا, that he had the titles of Amôghavarshsha and Atiśayadhavaḷa, and that he was a paramount sovereign. And since he writes in Kannaḍa, it may be further inferred that the Karnâṭaka formed part of his dominions. Two verses,⁹ which praise Jina, reflect the religious opinions of the author. These facts enable us to identify him with the Râshṭrakûṭa emperor Nripatuṅga or Amôghavarshsha I.¹⁰

We may here point out one or two expressions occurring in the present work, which are apt to lead one into the belief that Nripatuṅga may not have been the real author of the work. For instance, in the colophon of each of the three parichchêdas we have the words : Nripatuṅga-dêvânumatam appa Kavirâjamârگا. Here the word "anumatam" is obviously intended to express the author's approval of those views of his predecessors, which are summarised in the present work. But the following passage cannot be so satisfactorily explained :

sa-viśêsha-guṇam Atiśaya- |

dhavaḷôkti-kramadin aripuvem tad-bhavadol || (II., 53).

But against this solitary instance, which is calculated to give one the impression that the writer of the work was different from Nripatuṅga, we may set off the following passages, which establish Nripatuṅga's claims to authorship beyond dispute :—

bhâvisi besasidan akhila-dha- |

râ-vallabhan int Amôghavarshsha-nripêndram || (III., 2).

endan Atiśayadhavaḷam (II., 27).

Atiśayadhavaḷôrvvipôditâlakṛiti (I., 147).

Atiśayadhavaḷôkta-kramade (I., 24).

⁷ Verses I., 84, 114; III., 5.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 223; Pampa-bhârata, I. 140.

⁹ I. 90; III. 18.

¹⁰ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, III., 2nd ed.

In verse III., 230, we read that knowledge contained in Nṛipatuṅga-dēva-mārgga or Kavirāja-mārgga is a ship which safely carries a high-souled person across the ocean of Kannaḍa poetry. And in the expression nuta-sarasvatī-tīrtthāvatāra-mārgga which occurs in verse III., 225, Nṛipatuṅga is compared to a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of Sarasvatī. These facts prove that Nṛipatuṅga composed the present work.

The title of the work—Kavirājamārgga—is easily explained by the expression Nṛipatuṅga-dēva-mārgga which the author so frequently employs. And we are further told that Nṛipatuṅga-deva-mārgga means the path indicated by the great Nṛipatuṅga:

Mahā-Nṛipatuṅga-dēvan ādaradoḷe pēḷda mārgga (II., 105).

Atiśayadhavaḷōpadēśa-mārgga (III., 106).

It is thus clear that Kavirājamārgga means the path indicated by the king of poets who is no other than Nṛipatuṅga himself.

Besides the titles which have been noticed above, the author occasionally calls himself Naraḷōkachandra, Nītinirantara, Nityamalla-Vallabha, and Kṛita-kṛitya-malla-Vallabha.¹¹ We learn from inscriptions that Vallabha was one of the titles of Amōghavarsha I.¹² Nor should we lose sight of the fact that Kannaḍa authors sometimes transfer their own titles to the god whose aid they invoke in their works. Abhinava-Pampa may be cited as an instance in point.¹³ It is therefore not surprising to find that the god who is praised in the opening verses of the Kavirājamārgga is called Nṛipatuṅga, Nītinirantara, Kṛita-kṛitya-malla and Vīra-Nārāyaṇa. The last mentioned title is given to Nṛipatuṅga in the Nava-sāri grant, which speaks of him as Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, because he retrieved the fortune of the Raṭṭas who had suffered reverses at the hands of the Chalukyas, just as Viṣṇu lifted up the earth which had sunk in the ocean. This explains the verse, III., 180, in the present work, which compares the court-yard of Vīra-Nārāyaṇa to the starry heavens because it was adorned with pearl-strings dropped from the crests of hostile kings who made obeisance to him.

As I have already pointed out, Nṛipatuṅga, better known as Amōghavarsha I, belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, which for more than two centuries ruled with splendour over the Karṇāṭaka

¹¹ I., 23; II., 99, 11; I., 61.

¹² The Nava-sāri grant.

¹³ Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, edited by Mr. Rioc.

and Mahārāshtra. This dynasty was first raised to power and prosperity by Dantidurga who defeated the Chālukya King Kīrtivarmā II. Dr. Fleet says¹⁴ that Dantidurga "seems to have ultimately made himself unpopular and to have been deposed" by his uncle Krishnarāja I. But this view is amply refuted by an inscription¹⁵ of Amoghavarsha III, according to which Dantidurga left sons, who proved incompetent to sway the sceptre. They were consequently superseded by Krishnarāja I., who was also called Subhatunga. Krishnarāja was succeeded by his son Gōvinda II., also known as Vallabha, who reigned for a short time. After him his younger brother Nirupama-Dhruva assumed the sceptre of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. His son and successor was Gōvinda III. From him the sceptre passed to his son Nripatunga, who ascended the throne in Śaka 737 and who wrote the Kavirājamārga.

The Rāshtrakūṭas were munificent patrons of learning. Hence we meet with numerous allusions to them in the literature of the Karnaṭaka. In a verse quoted in the Kāvyaśālōkana we are introduced to Dantiga, the Mēru of the Rattas or Rāshtrakūṭas:

mundaṇ ḍ-1

duva ripu-dantigaṃ peṇagaṇ attuva Raṭṭara Mēru Dantigaṃ ||

Kāvyaśālōkana.

Brahmanēmidatta has preserved a tradition that Akalaṅkadēva flourished in the time of Subhatunga or Krishnarāja I., who reigned at Mānyakhēṭa. This tradition is amply confirmed by the date which has been fixed for Akalaṅkadēva and which rests upon independent evidence.¹⁶ An objection¹⁷ raised against this tradition is based on the assumption that the town of Mānyakhēṭa was built by Nripatunga, a subject to which we shall presently recur. It is, however, necessary to mention here that the proposal¹⁸ to interpret

¹⁴ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, 2nd ed., chap. III.

¹⁵ It will be shortly published by Mr. Rice.

¹⁶ See my paper on Bhartrihari and Kumārila.

¹⁷ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, 2nd ed., chap. III.

¹⁸ *id.* Dr. Fleet proposes to make Prabhāchandra live before A.D. 750 and his teacher Akalaṅka after A.D. 878, making the latter contemporary with Krishnarāja II. But not content with this small interval of 128 years between the pupil and the teacher, the eminent scholar would make Akalaṅka live on even to A.D. 940, making him contemporary with Krishnarāja III.; and what is still more startling, it is the pupil who, according to Dr. Fleet, preceded his own teacher Akalaṅka by one hundred and ninety years or nearly two centuries!!!

the tradition as referring to Kṛishṇarâja II. or III. can be regarded as little short of an anachronism since Kṛishṇarâja II came to the throne nearly half a century after the composition of the Âdipurâṇa, which speaks of Akalaṅkadêva and his pupil Prabhâchandra as classical authors, while Kṛishṇarâja III. lived a full century after the Jayadhavalâṭikâ was completed, which gives the latest date for Jinasêna. Thus the objection to the view that Subhatuṅga, of whom tradition speaks as a contemporary of Akalaṅkadêva, is Kṛishṇarâja I., is easily disposed of.

Gôvinda II. or Vallabha II., the son of Kṛishṇarâja, is thus referred to by Jinasêna as reigning in 'Saka 705 :—

Sâkêshv abda-sâtêshu saptasu disaṃ pañchôttarêshûttarâṃ |

pât Indrâyudha-nâṃni Kṛishṇa-nripajê Sṛi-Vallabhê dakshinâṃ ||

Jaina Harivaṃśa.

Dr. Fleet disputes¹⁹ the accuracy of my interpretation of these lines and proposes to construe the expression "son of king Kṛishṇa" with the name of Indrâyudha, who is otherwise unknown to us. But it seems to be forgotten that this proposal involves two gratuitous assumptions. In the first place we are asked to believe without a particle of evidence, that Indrâyudha's father was named Kṛishṇarâja. In the next place, Dr. Fleet would have us take for granted that Gôvinda III. was actually reigning in Saka 705 !!! On the other hand, the construction which I have put on the passage is the most natural one that it can bear. It does not depend on the mere position of the expression "son of king Kṛishṇa." It depends on two historical facts, namely, that Vallabha was the title²⁰ of Govind II. and that his father's name was Kṛishṇarâja. Moreover, there was a special reason for Jinasêna, after mentioning Vallabha, to add the qualifying expression "son of Kṛishṇarâja"; for the title Vallabha was not by itself sufficiently distinctive. It was borne by Gôvinda's immediate predecessor Kṛishṇarâja I.; nor was it peculiar to the Râshtrakûṭas, since they only inherited it from the early Chalukyas whom they supplanted. It is hardly necessary to add that Vallabha, king of Karṇâṭa, on whom Dantidurga inflicted a crushing defeat, was the Chalukya king Kîrtivarmâ II. My view is also corroborated by the Karhâd plates, which have been recently published.²¹

¹⁹ id.

²⁰ id.

²¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV. Part VI.

Dhruva or Nirupama is the Nirupamadêva mentioned by Pampa²² in his account of the genealogy of his patron, the Chalukya king Arikêšari II. But the Râshtrakûṭa king, who is most frequently mentioned in Indian literature, is Nṛpatuṅga or Amôghavarsha I., the author of the present work. In the praśasti²³ of the Uttara-purāṇa we are told that he became the disciple of Jinasēna, the well-known Jaina author, who also bears testimony to the fact in the Pârśvabhyudaya.²⁴ The interesting reference to the royal author in the Jayadhavalâṭikâ has already been noticed elsewhere.²⁵ I will now introduce to the reader the Jaina mathematician Virâchârya, who flourished in the interval that elapsed between the rise of Varâhamihira and that of his illustrious commentator Bhâṭṭôtpala. The following is the opening praśasti of the Gaṇitasârasaṅgraha,²⁶ in which Virâchârya alludes to our author by his two names Nṛpatuṅga and Amôghavarsha :—

a-laṅghyaṃ tri-jagat-sâraṃ yasyânanta-chatusṭayaṃ |
 namas tasmai Jinêndrâya Mahâvirâya tâyine || 1
 Saṅkhyâ-jñâna-pradipêna Jainêndrêṇa mahâ-tvishâ |
 prakâśitaṃ jagat sarvaṃ yêna taṃ praṇamâmy ahaṃ || 2
 prâṇitaḥ prâṇi-sasyaughô nirîtir niravagrahaḥ |
 śrî-mat Amôghavarshêṇa yêna svêṣṭa-hitaishinaḥ || 3

²² Intro. to Śabdânusâsana, p. 26.

²³ My paper on Bhartṛhari and Kumârila.

²⁴ Intro. to my edition of the Mēghadûta.

²⁵ Bhartṛhari and Kumârila.

²⁶ Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina maṭha at Kolhapur. Nēmichandra in his Pratishṭhâtîlaka, would identify Virâchârya with Virasēna the teacher of Jinasēna

tad-anvayê bhûd viduṣhâṃ varishṭhaḥ |
 syâd-Vâda-nishṭhaḥ sakalâgamajñâh ||
 śrî-Virasēnô jani tâṛika-śrî [h] |
 pradhvasta-râgâdi-samasta-lôshaḥ ||
 yasya vâchhâṃ prasâdêna hy amēyaṃ bhuvana-trayaṃ |
 âśid ashtâṅga-rûpêṇa gaṇitêṇa pramâṇitaṃ ||
 tach-çhishiyah pravaro jñâtô Jinasēna-muniśvaraḥ |
 yad-vâñ-mayaṃ Purôṣit purâṇaṃ prathamam bhuvi ||

This Nēmichandra is later than Hastimalla to whom he refers. The latter completed his Kannaḍa Âdipurâṇa in Śaka 1212, the Râkshasa samvatsara, on Friday, the fifth day of the dark half of Pausa. The celebrated Nēmichandra, who has immortalised Çâmuṇḍarâya in the Trilôkasâra and Gommaṭasâra is a different and earlier author.

pāpa-rûpāḥ parā yasya chitta-vṛitti-havirbhuji |
 bhasma-sād-bhāvam īyus tēvaudhya- kôpō bhavēt tatali || 4
 vaśi-kurvan jagat sarvaṃ svayaṃ nānuvaśaḥ parali |
 nābhibhūtaḥ prabhus tasmād apūrva-makaradhvajah || 5
 yō vikrama-kramākṛānta-chakri-chakra-kṛita-kriyah |
 chakrikā-bhañjanō nāmnā chakrikā-bhañjanō ījasā || 6
 yō vidyā-nady- adhishṭhānō maryādā-vajra-vēdikah |
 ratna-garbhō yathā-khyāta- chāritra-jaladhir mahān || 7
 vidhvastaikānta-pakshasya syād-vāda-nyāya-vādinah |
 dēvasya Nṛipatuṅgasya vardhatām tasya śāsanaḥ || 8

Nṛipatuṅga is also mentioned in two verses, one of which is quoted in the Śabdamanidarpana²⁷ and the other, in the Śabdānuśāsana.²⁸

Who the Rāshtrakūṭas were is a question which has been frequently raised. The authority of the later records of the family, which represent them as descendants of Yadu in the Lunar race, is questioned on this point. The late Dr. Burnell suggested long ago that they were a caste of Reddis. But this view has not been accepted by other scholars. Dr. Fleet remarks²⁹ that no trace of the Rāshtrakūṭas is found in Southern India, and that they seem to have been of Northern origin. The question, however, can be settled by an appeal to the history of the Chalukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas. There were inter-marriages between the two families on terms of equality. Sōmadēva, a contemporary of Krishnarāja III. and therefore an author of the Rāshtrakūṭa period, tells³⁰ us that in his time pratilōma vivāhas or inter-marriages of girls with inferior castes were not allowed. If therefore the caste of the Chalukyas had been superior to that of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Chalukya princesses would never have been given in marriage to Rāshtrakūṭa princes. But we learn from inscriptions³¹ that many Chalukya princesses had Rāshtrakūṭa kings for their husbands. It follows therefore that the caste of the Rāshtrakūṭas, was equal to or identical with that of the Chalukyas. Again, the surnames Chālkē, Sēlār, Kadam, Mōrē, Jādhav and Rāshtrakunḍa which are borne at the present day by the Marāṭhā families of the Dekkan, can be easily identified with Chālkya or Chālukya, Silahāra, Kadamba, Maurya, Yādava and Rāshtrakūṭa, the names of the

²⁷ p. 171.

²⁸ p. 194.

²⁹ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.

³⁰ Nītivākyaṃrita. Bombay ed. p. 13.

³¹ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.

dynasties which held sway over the Kārṇāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra from the sixth to the thirteenth century. All these surnames, including Rāshṭrakuṇḍa, are given in Sivānanda Yōgīśvara's Marāṭhī vaṃśāvalī.³² The object of this work, which is considered very old,³³ is to expose the attempts of those who try to pass themselves off as Marāṭhās but who have no claims to be considered as such. From these facts we can safely conclude that the Rāshṭrakuṇḍas or Rāshṭrakūṭas belonged to the same caste as Sivāji who founded the Marāṭhā Empire in later times. Nor is there anything surprising in the fact that they were cultivators of Kannaḍa literature, since the Chālukya king Bhūlōka-malla, in his Mānasōllāsa,³⁴ has preserved many a Kannaḍa song current in his day.

Nṛpatuṅga was not only a liberal patron of letters, but he is also known as a Sanskrit author. A few years ago I discovered a small Jaina work entitled Praśnōttararatnamālā³⁵ the concluding verse of which owns Amōghavarsha as its author :—

vivēkāt tyakta-rājyēna rājādēyaṃ ratnamālikā |
rachit āmōghavarshēṇa su-dhiyā sad-alaukṛtiḥ ||

Several editions of this work have since been published in Bombay. It is variously attributed to Śaṅkarāchārya, Śaṅkarānanda, and a Svētāmbara writer Vimāla. But the royal authorship of the Ratnamālā is confirmed by a Thibetan translation³⁶ of it discovered by Schiefner, in which the author is represented to have been a king and his Thibetan name, as re-translated into Sanskrit by the same scholar, is Amōghōdaya, which obviously stands for Amōghavarsha. This work was composed between Śaka 797-799 ; in the former year Nṛpatuṅga abdicated in favour of his son Akālavarsha.

Mānyakhēṭa or Maḷakhēḍa was the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. Whether it was Nṛpatuṅga who built this town is a question which has exercised the ingenuity of scholars. Dr. Bhandarkar holds³⁷ that it was founded by Nṛpatuṅga. Dr. Fleet inclines to the same opinion. Let us examine critically the grounds on which this view is based. The only evidence adduced by Dr. Bhandarkar is a passage in

³² Edited by Dr. Dādā Nāthāji Śōḷkē. In this work the name Chāḷke appears as Chulakiyā and Sāḷonkhē.

³³ Not older than Rāmadēva king of Dēvagiri, whom it mentions.

³⁴ Deccan College MSS.

³⁵ Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 218.

³⁶ Early History of the Dekkan, Section XI.

³⁷ Id. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Chapter III.

the Wardha grant, which also occurs in the Karhâd grant and runs as follows :—

tat-sûnur ânata-nṛipô Nṛipatuṅga-dêvaḥ
sôbhût sva-sainya-bhara-bhaṅguritâhi-râjaḥ |
yô Mânyakhêṭam amarêndrapurôpahâsi
gîrvâṇa-garvvaṃ iva kharvvaṃ iva vyadhata ||

This verse Dr. Bhandarkar thus translates: "His son, to whom kings bowed, and who tortured the king of serpents by the heavy mass of his army, was that lord Nṛipatuṅga who founded Mânyakhêṭa which laughed down [to scorn] the city of the Indra of the gods, in order, as it were, to humble the pride of the gods." The second part of the verse, on which Dr. Bhandarkar relies, is open to another interpretation. The Sanskrit word which is rendered by "founded" is *vyadhata* which simply means "made"; and taking the expression *amarêndra-purôpahâsi* as the completion of the predicate, *vyadhata*,³⁸ we may translate the passage thus:—Nṛipatuṅga made Mânyakhêṭa superior to the capital of Indra. That this is the only correct interpretation of the above verse will appear from the fact that the town of Mânyakhêṭa existed before Nṛipatuṅga as it is mentioned in the *Pramêyakamala*³⁹ mârtaṇḍa by Prabhâchandra who preceded⁴⁰ Jinasêna and his disciple Nṛipatuṅga. This affords an interesting confirmation of the tradition preserved by Brahmanêmidatta that Mânyakhêṭa was the capital of Kṛishṇarâja I.

I have thus placed before the reader all the information concerning Nṛipatuṅga, which recent research has made accessible to us. We shall now turn to his work the *Kavirâjamârگا*. Since he ascended the throne in Śaka 737 and abdicated in Śaka 797, it is clear that the work was composed between these two dates, and is therefore the earliest Kannaḍa poem that has come down to us. On this account it is replete with interest both for the student of the Kannaḍa language and the historian of Indian literature.

The work is divided into three *parichchêḍas*. The first treats of faults in poetry; the second deals with śabdâlankâras, while the third and last discusses arthâlankâras. Nṛipatuṅga's introductory remarks are invaluable as they throw an interesting light on the early history

³⁸ Cf. *Mâgha* XIX. 50; *Bhâravi* XV. 49.

³⁹ *Dekkan College MS. No. 836 of 1875-76 p. 372a*; *MS. No. 638-49, p. 306*.

⁴⁰ *Bhartihari and Kumârila*. Dr. Fleet says that Prabhâchandra lived before A. D. 750, but that the town of Mânakhêṭa [mentioned by this Jain author] was built only in the time of Gôvinda III. and Nṛipatuṅga. !!!

of the Kannaḍa language. In verse I., 29, we are introduced to Vimalōdaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvviniṭa as the best writers of Kannaḍa prose who flourished before the ninth century. It is hard to say whether, in the verse referred to above, Vimalōdaya is an adjective qualifying Nāgārjuna or a name. It may also be treated as a compound of two names, Vimāla and Udaya, as suggested⁴¹ by Mr. Rice who identifies Vimāla with Vimalachandra mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgōla. We possess no information about Nāgārjuna and Jayabandhu. Durvviniṭa was one of the early Gaṅga kings who had Pūjyapāda for his preceptor.⁴² We are told in verse I., 33 that Śrīvijaya, Kaviśvara, Paṇḍita-Chandra and Lōkapāla were some of the best Kannaḍa poets whose works were read and admired in the first half of the ninth century. Śrīvijaya⁴³ is named by Kēśirāja and Maṅgarasa,⁴⁴ and is mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgōla. Kaviśvara may be identified with Kaviparamēśhī who is spoken of as Kaviparamēśvara in the praśasti of the Uttarapurāṇa and in the Chāmuṇḍarāja-purāṇa.⁴⁵ The last named work cites a few Sanskrit verses from the Jinadharmadipakāśhṭaka which it ascribes to Kaviparamēśvara. Paṇḍita-Chandra may be the Chandrabhaṭṭa mentioned by Kēśirāja and praised⁴⁶ by Durgasiṃha, a contemporary of the Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II. As suggested⁴⁷ by Mr. Rice, Lōkapāla may be connected with Lōkāditya, the son of Bankarasa, of the Chella-kētana^{47a} family, after whom Bankāpur was named. Unfortunately the works of these authors have not escaped the ravages of time. But the fact that they were extremely popular when Nṛpatuṅga wrote, is of itself sufficient to prove that the Kannaḍa language was highly cultivated and possessed a considerable literature during the Rāshṭrakūṭa period.

⁴¹ Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 20.

⁴² Id., p. 19.

⁴³ Id., p. 21. But Śrīvijaya (I. 149; II. 153; III. 236) may also be a title of Nṛpatuṅga. This view is correct if Durgasiṃha means the Kavirājamārga when he speaks of Śrīvijayara Kavimārgam. Pañchatantra in Kaṇṇāṭakakāvyamañjari, Nov. 1896.

⁴⁴ Śāhāpur MS.

⁴⁵ Hoṣṭur MS.

⁴⁶ Kannaḍa Pañchatantra in the Kaṇṇāṭakakāvyamañjari.

⁴⁷ Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 23.

^{47a} Challa-kētana is chēla-kētana, chaila-kētana or vastra-kētana = cloth-banner; see my paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., pp. 104, 105.

According to verse I., 36, the region in which Kannaḍa was spoken, extended from the Kāvēri as far as the Gôdāvāri. This includes a considerable part of what is now regarded as a purely Marāṭhā country. But this ought not to incline us to dispute the accuracy of Nṛipatunga's statement concerning the Northern limit. It must, indeed, be admitted that at the present day Kannaḍa is spoken only in the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency, Belgaum, Bijāpur, Dharwar and North Kanara. Kolhapur is considered a purely Marāṭhā District. With the exception of a few Jains and Lingāyats, the people at Kolhapur speak Marāṭhi which is also the official language of the place. In the vernacular schools Marāṭhi alone is taught, Kannaḍa being little understood. But that this was not the case in ancient times is abundantly proved by the Kannaḍa inscriptions in the temple of Mahālakshmī which is situated in the heart of the town. Nor is this all. In the Jaina Māṭha at Kolhapur which contains the richest collection of Digambara Jaina works in Southern India, all the manuscripts are written in Kannaḍa characters, the language employed being Sanskrit, Māgadhī or Kannaḍa. The illustrious Kannaḍa author Guṇavarmā tells us that he finished one of his works entitled Udyōgasāra⁴⁸ in the Chandranāthabasti at Kolhapur. He must have been a native of this town or must have been attracted to it as the centre of Kannaḍa learning in his days. Local names in the Kolhapur territory are also Kannaḍa, as, for instance, Śirol which is nothing but Siri-voḷal = Śrī-poḷal. Then again the head of the Lakshmīsēna Māṭha at Kolhapur to this day issues his circulars in Kannaḍa to his numerous disciples in the Karahāṭaka Prānta which is identical with the Satārā District, the name Karahāṭaka or Karhāḍa being now restricted to the town of that name. The town and district of Śolāpur also contain numerous Kannaḍa inscriptions. From these facts it is evident that in the ninth century Kannaḍa was spoken over a considerable part of the Marāṭhā country, and that it has had to yield its place to the encroaching Marāṭhi idiom since the rise of the Marāṭhā empire.

We also learn from verse I., 37, that in the ninth century the Kannaḍa spoken at Kisuvoḷal, Kopāṇa, Purigere and Oṅkunda was considered the pure well of Kannaḍa undefiled. Kisuvoḷal is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijāpur District. Kopāṇa is Koppāla, a railway station between Gadag and Bellary. Purigere is the

⁴⁸ MS. belonging to Padmarāja Pandit.

modern Lakshmēśvara in the Dharwar District, which belongs to the Miraj State Senior; one of the five baṇas or parts into which Lakshmēśvara is divided, still goes by the name of Pulikar or Hulikar. Ōṅkunda or Okkunda is in the Belgaum District. The opinion that natives of these districts enjoyed the reputation of being consummate masters of Kaunṇaḍa composition is confirmed by Pampa, who in 941 A. D. professes to write in the pithy Kaunṇaḍa of Puligeṇe.⁴⁹

We shall next proceed to consider what light the Kavirājamārga throws on the history of Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa's two works, Harsha-charita and Kādambārī, are extolled as master-pieces of Sanskrit prose. This reference to Bāṇa is not the earliest known to us as Prabhāchandra frequently refers to the Kādambārī and its author in his Pramēyaka-malamārtanḍa.⁵⁰ The best Sanskrit poets whose works were most popular in the time of Nṛpatuṅga (I., 31) were Guṇasūri, Nārāyaṇa, Bhāravi, Kālidāsa and Māgha. We know nothing about the first author. Nārāyaṇa is mentioned by Sōmadēva in his Yaśastilaka.^{50a} As regards the other three poets we may observe that their popularity continues undiminished to the present day. The fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi dates from an earlier epoch, both being mentioned in the Aihole inscription⁵¹ of Pulikēśi II. Kālidāsa is quoted by Bhaṭṭa Kumārila;⁵² and I have told the Sanskrit student how in Nṛpatuṅga's own time the great poet's Cloud-messenger was subjected to the process known as samasyāpūraṇa so as to baffle all the attempts of subsequent scribes or commentators to tamper with the text of that charming poem.⁵³ The mention of Māgha in the Kavirājamārga is the oldest reference we have met with to the author of the Śisupālavadha. This poet is also mentioned in inscriptions.⁵⁴

The Kavirājamārga also affords an interesting glimpse of the religious condition of the people during the Rāshṭrakūṭa era. One of the faults we are advised to avoid in poetical compositions is called samayaviruddha; and in verse I, 104 Nṛpatuṅga explains samaya to mean "Those well-known sects of Kapila, Sugata, Kaṇāda and Chār-

⁴⁹ Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina Māṭha at Kolhapur.

^{50a} Dr. Peterson's Report for 1833-84, p. 45.

⁵¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII.

⁵² Bhartṛhari and Kumārila.

⁵³ Intro. to my edition of the Mēghadūta.

⁵⁴ They will be shortly published by Mr. Rice.

vāka." We are further told in the same verse that an account of the Sāṅkhyas, Buddhists, Vaiśeṣikas, and Lōkāyatikas, or an allusion to them in literary productions should be in perfect accord with their opinions; any author, who should neglect this rule, would lay himself open to the fault named above. A natural inference from these remarks of Nṛpatuṅga is that in his time these sects owned numerous followers among his subjects. This is confirmed by inscriptions of his time, one of which compares an ancestor of Nṛpatuṅga to Sugata in kindness, and three others record grants to Buddhist monks.^{54a} Akalaṅkadēva, a distinguished author of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, asks

yô jagdhvâ piṣitaṃ samatsya-kavalaṃ jīvaṃ cha śūnyaṃ vadaṃ |
kartâ karma-phalaṃ na bhuṅkta iti yô vaktâ sa Buddhaḥ
kathaṃ ||

Akalaṅka-stôtra.

The fact that Buddhism continued to prevail long after the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire had passed away, is attested by three Kannada inscriptions.⁵⁵ A contemporary account of these sects from the pen of Jinasēna, who was our author's preceptor, supplies an interesting commentary on the latter's verse alluded to above.

tatas tad-vachanaṃ sôdhum a-śaktô durmadôddhataḥ |
dvitīyas sachivô vācham ity uvācha Mahāmatih || 27
bhūta-vādam athālambya sa Laukāyatikiṃ śrutim |
prastuvan jīva-tattvasya dūṣhaṇē matim ātanô || 28
sati dharmīṇi dharmasya ghaṭate dēva chintanaṃ |
sa ēva tāvaṇ nāsty ātmā kutô dharma-phalaṃ bhajêt || 29
prithivy-ap-pavanāgnīnāṃ saṅghātād iha chētanā |
prādurbhavati madyāṅga-saṅgamān madaśakti-vat || 30
tatô na chētanā kāya-tattvāt prithag ih āsti naḥ |
tasyās tad-vyatirēkēṇ ānupalabdheḥ kha-pushpa-vat || 31
tatô na dharmāḥ pāpaṃ vā para-lōkaś cha kasya-chit |
jala-budbuda-vaj jīvâ vilīyante tanu-kshayāt || 32
tasmād dṛishṭa-sukhaṃ tyaktvâ para-lōka-sukhārthinaḥ |
vyartha-klēśhâ bhavanty êtē lōka-dvaya-sukhāch chyutāḥ || 33
tad ēśhāṃ para-lōkārthâ samīhâ krôṣhṭur āmishaṃ |
tyaktvâ mukhāgataṃ mōhaṇ mīnâśôtpatanāyatê || 34

^{54a} Cave-Temple Inscriptions, p. 92; Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., pp. 134-136.

⁵⁵ Dambaḷ inscription; the other two inscriptions will be shortly published by Mr. Rice.

piṇḍa-tyāgāl likant imē hastam prēṭya-sukhēpsayā ।
 vipralabdhas samutṣṛiṣṭa-dṛiṣṭa--bhōgā vichētasah ॥ 35
 sva-matē yuktim ity uktvā viratē bhūta-vādinī ।
 vijñāna-mātram āśritya prastuvan jīva-nāstitam ॥ 36
 Sambhinnō vāda-kaṇḍūyā-vijrimbhitam ath ōdvahan ।
 smitam sva-mata-saṃsiddhim ity upanyasyati sma sah ॥ 37
 jīva-vādin na tē kaś chij jīvō'sty an-upalabdhitaḥ ।
 vijñapti-mātram ēv ēdam kṣaṇa-bhaṅgi yatō jagat ॥ 38
 nir-aṃsaṃ tach cha vijñānam nir-anvaya-vinaśvaram ।
 vēdya-vēdaka-saṃvitti--bhāḡair bhinnam praśāsate ॥ 39
 santānāvasthitēs tasya smṛity-ādy api ghaṭām atēt ।
 saṃvṛityā sa cha santānaḥ santānibhyō na bhidyatē ॥ 40
 pratyabhijñādikam bhrāntam vastuni kṣaṇa-naśvarē ।
 yathā lūna-punar-jāta-nakha-kēśādishu kva chit ॥ 41
 tatō vijñāna-santāna-vyatiriktō na kaś cha na ।
 jīva-sañjñāḥ padārthō 'sti prēṭya-bhāva-phalōpabhuk ॥ 42
 tad amutr ātmanō duḥkha-jihāsārtham prayasyataḥ ।
 tiṭṭibhasy ēva bhītis tē gaganād a-patishyataḥ ॥ 43
 ity udīrya sthitē tasmin mantrī Satamatis tataḥ ।
 nairātmya-vādam ālambya prōvāch ētham vikatthanāḥ ॥ 44
 śūnyam ēva jagad viśvam idaṃ mithy āvabhāsatē ।
 bhrāntēḥ svapnēndrajālādau hasty-ādi-pratibhāsa-vat ॥ 45
 tataḥ kutō 'sti vō jīvaḥ para-lōkaḥ kutō 'sti vā ।
 asat sarvam idaṃ yasmād gandharva-nagar-ādi-vat ॥ 46
 atō 'mī para-lōkārtham tapō 'nushṭhāna-tatparāḥ ।
 vṛith aiva klēśam āyānti paramārthānabhijñākāḥ ॥ 47
 gharmārambhē mṛigā yad-vad dṛiṣṭvā Maru-marīchikāḥ ।
 jalāsya ānudhāvanti tad-vad bhēgārthiṇō 'py amī ॥ 48

Ādipurāṇa, Chap. V.

The present work invites our attention to another field of inquiry. The subject of Alaukāra has engaged the pens of many eminent Sanskrit authors. Some of these must have certainly preceded Nṛpatuṅga. Bhāmaha, Dharmakīrti and Daṇḍi are the earliest writers on Alaukāra known to us. Bhāmaha also wrote a commentary on the Prākṛita-prakāśi of Vararuchi, an excellent edition of which we owe to Professor Cowell. Bhāmaha's views are frequently criticized by Daṇḍi.⁵⁶ Dharmakīrti is the illustrious Buddhist author quoted by Kumārila and Śāṅkarāchārya.⁵⁷ But the works of Bhāmaha

⁵⁶ Kāvya-darśa, Chap. I.

⁵⁷ My paper on Dharmakīrti and Śāṅkarāchārya.

and Dharmakīrti have not survived to our times. As regards the third authority on Alaukāra, namely, Daṇḍi, we find that he is assigned to the sixth century by Professors Weber⁵⁸ and Max Müller. But Dr. Buhler⁵⁹ holds that there is no evidence for claiming so high an antiquity for the author of the Kāvyaḍarśa. It is therefore very important to ascertain whether any fresh light is thrown on the age of Daṇḍi by the work before us. In the fifth verse of the third parichehhēda, Nṛpatunga says that in explaining arthālaṅkāras he will follow ancient authorities. But he does not name them. Let us endeavour to identify at least one of them. The Kāvyaḍarśa which has escaped the fate that has befallen the works of Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti will greatly facilitate the present inquiry.

We know that Nāgavarmā, a later Kannaḍa author, has also treated of Alaukāra in his Kāvyaḍalōkana. At the end of this work he informs us that he has laid under contribution the works of Vānana, Rudraṭa, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍi

Vāmananuṇ Rudraṭanuṇ |

Bhā[maha]nuṇ Daṇḍiyuṇ manam-gole pēlv au- ||

tī mahige negaḷe pēḷḍan |

Dāmōdara-tanayan ī vachōḷankṛitiyaṇ ||

Kāvyaḍalōkana.

If Nāgavarmā had not vouchsafed to us the names of his authorities, we should still have been able to find them out by the comparative method, thus :—

a-vinaśvara-gati saṃskā |

raṇ emba Sugatōkti satyam ant alladoḷ ā ||

nava-nīla-nīrajākshiya |

sa-vilās-ālōkam innum irkkame manadoḷ ||

Kāvyaḍalōkana, p. 80.

satyam ēv āha Sugataḷ saṃskārān a-vinaśvarān |

tathāhi sâ chakōrākshī sthīt aiv ādy āpi mē hṛidi ||

Kāvyaḍarśa, Chap. III., 174.

Paḍuval kīliloḷ emma toḷtu paḍuval mutt-abbey ā kōneyo—|

ī paḍuvaṇ śakti-vihānan andha-badhiraṇ kēḷ aḷḷan ī bāgiḷoḷ ||

paḍuvem bāleyen orvvaḷ illi maney āṇamaṇ pōḍan ind ūrgge nīṇ |

paḍal end ent eḍe vēḍuvai pathika matt ī poḷṭinoḷ gāmpaṇē ||

Kāvyaḍalōkana.

⁵⁸ History of Indian literature.

⁵⁹ Introduction to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 52.

êkâkinî yad abalâ taruṇî tath âha-
m asmin grihê griha-patiś cha gatô vidêśam |
kiṃ yâ-hase tad iha vâsam iyaṃ varâki
śvaśrûr mam ândha-badhirâ nanu mûḍha pântha ||

Rudraṭa, Kâvyâlaṅkāra, VII, 41.

No scholar who reads these verses can avoid the conclusion that the Sanskrit verses are the originals of the Kannaḍa ones. Let us now apply this test to some of the verses in the third parichchhêda of the Kavirâjamârگا, which, as we are assured by Nripatuṅga himself, are based on those of ancient authorities. The following verses are most striking:

viśêśhōkti is thus illustrated:—

sphuriyisade daśana-vasanân—|
taram âraktaṅgaḷ âgad enasum kangaḷ ||
bharita-bhrûkuṭi kalam â—|
g irade mukhaṃ geldan intuv ari-nripa-balamam ||

Nripatuṅga, III, 122.

na baddhâ bhrukuṭir nâpi sphuritô daśana-chchhadah |
na cha raktâ bhavad-dṛiṣṭir jitaṅ cha dvishatâṃ balam ||

Daṇḍi, Kâvyâdarśa, II, 326.

hētu is thus illustrated:—

aṇiv ullavaroḷ berasu(sa)vu(du)—|
daṇindam aṇiyadaroḷ appa parichayadindam ||
nerēy indriyamam gelladu—|
daṇindam akkuṃ janakke pīnam besanam ||

Nripatuṅga, III, 165.

an-abhyâsēna vidyâvâm a-saṃsargēpa dhimatâṃ |
a-nigrahēṇa châkshâṇâṃ jâyatê vyaśanam nṛiṇâṃ ||

Daṇḍi, Kâvyâdarśa, II, 247.

amīśayâkshēpa is thus illustrated:—

dhanamam nerapade vidyâ—|
dhanamam mâḍade taguḷdu negaḷade tapadoḷ ||
manujatvam a-phalam âyt en—|
t enag embudan aṇivud ati (nu) śayâkshēpakamam ||

Nripatuṅga, III, 101.

arthô na sambhṛitaḷ kaśchin na vidyâ kâchid arjitâ |
na tapaḷ sañchitaṃ kiñchid gataṅ cha sakalam vayaḷ ||

Daṇḍi, Kâvyâdarśa, II, 161.

atīśayôkti is thus illustrated : —

âśâ-vaḷayita-lôkâ—l

kâsam id ên ati-viśâlamô ninna yaśô—||

râśīyan indu-dyutiya ni—l

kâsaman ola-kolḡum aḷavi-gaḷid irddudumaṃ ||

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 94.

ahô viśâlam bhûpâla bhavana-tritayôḍaram l

mâti mâtum a-śakyô'pi yaśô-râśir yad atra tê ||

Daṇḍi, Kâvyâdarśa, II., 219

Two more instances will suffice :—

hariṇadhara-sarasijaṅga—l

l dorey all ivu tanage tâne dore ninna mogam ||

nirupamam embudan aṇivudu l

nirutam asâdhâraṇôpamôḍaya-vidhiyam ||

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 77

chandrâravindayôḥ kântim atikramya mukham tava l

âtman aiv âbhavat tulyam ity asâdhâraṇôpamâ ||

Daṇḍi, Kâvyâdarśa, II., 37

hariṇadharanoḷ visham mala- l

yaruhadoḷ analârchchi ninna vadanôḍaradôḷ ||

parushatara-vachanam appudu l

duravâpam id int asambhavôpamam akkum ||

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 79.

chandra-bimbâd iva visham chandanâd iva pâvakah l

parushâ vâg itô vaktrâd ity asambhâvitôpamâ ||

Daṇḍi, Kâvyâdarśa, II., 39.

We have only to glance at these verses to be convinced that Nṛipatuṅga has here given us literal translations from the Kâvyâdarśa. It is worth noticing that most of the verses in the third *parichchhêda* of the *Kavirâjamârga* are either translations or adaptations from Daṇḍi. Nor do we fail to recognize his influence in other parts of the work. It is, moreover, easy to infer that Nṛipatuṅga was also indebted to Bhāmaha and Dharmakîrti since *dhvani*, which is mentioned as a figure of speech in this work, finds no place in the *Kâvyâdarśa*, though it is hard to estimate the extent to which Nṛipatuṅga was influenced by these authors, as their works are no longer extant. But the fact that translations from Daṇḍi are found in the *Kavirâjamârga* is most important from a historical point of view. It amply proves that Daṇḍi was regarded as an ancient

authority on Alaukâra in the beginning of the ninth century. And the following verse in the Kāvyaadarśa also furnishes some clue to his age :—

nāsikya-madhyâ paritaś chatur-varṇa-vibhūshitā |
asti kâchit purī yasyâm ashta-varṇ-âbhvayâ nṛpāḥ ||

Kāvyaadarśa, Chap. III.

This is a puzzle the solution of which is Kāñchī ruled over by the Puṇḍraka¹ kings. It is thus clear that in Daṇḍi's time Kāñchī was the capital of the Puṇḍrakas. It must have subsequently fallen into the hands of the Pallavas, who, as we learn from inscriptions, retained possession of it from the time of Pulikēśi II. to that of Nṛpatuṅga himself. These facts enable us to assign Daṇḍi to the end of the sixth century and afford an interesting confirmation of the views held by Professors Weber and Max Müller on this point.

¹ According to the commentator Vijayānanda (Dekkan College MS. No. 42 of 1872-73) the solution is Kāñchī ruled over by Chōḍarāja; but this does not affect my conclusion as to the age of Daṇḍi.

ART. IV.—*A new Chalukya Copper-plate from Sanjan.*
By A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

(Read, 17th March 1898.)

The grant which is the subject of this paper was found by Hasanji Kelia, a cultivator of Sanjân in the Umbargaon pêtha of the Dâhânu Tâlukâ of the Thâna district, twelve or thirteen years ago. He discovered it at a depth of about three feet below the surface of the ground in his compound where he was digging the foundations of a new house. On finding it he burnt off the coating of earth that covered it and cleaned it with tamarind juice. In consequence of sickness occurring in his family shortly after its discovery, Hasanji began and has continued till the present the practice of offering incense to the plate every Thursday night.

The grant consists of two plates, somewhat damaged, the first one on the upper edge and in the two lower corners, and the second one along the lower part of the left-hand edge. With this exception the plates are in good condition and very legible. They both have raised rims and are pierced with two holes for the connecting rings, of which the left-hand one, bearing a heavy copper seal with the figure of a lion walking to the left, still remains intact.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are of the regular type in use in Chalukya inscriptions of the 7th century. They are deeply cut, but the plates are so thick that they do not show through.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the usual quotations from the Mahâbhârata towards the end, it is wholly in prose.

The numeral sign for 5 occurs in plate II. line 5 and that for 30 in lines 4 and 6 (twice) of the same plate. The inscription refers itself to the time of Vikramâditya I. of the Western Chalukya family. It mentions first his father Pulakêsi II., with special reference to his victory over Harshadêva, the king of Kanauj. It next mentions Vikramâditya, for whom it gives the additional name of Kôkkulla and whom it describes in general terms as an active and successful

warrior. The next name is that of Buddhavarasārāja, who is stated to be the uncle of Vikramāditya and the younger brother of Satyāśraya (Pulakēśi). He speaks of himself as devoted to the service of gods and Brahmans, and as having won a victory over the chief of the Natyana tribe. Though he calls himself "a moon in the sky of the kings of the Chalukya house" it is clear that he was only a feudatory chief subordinate to his nephew Vikramāditya. The purpose of the inscription is to record the grant by Buddhavarasa of a landed estate consisting of a mango-orchard and two fields to Sagula Dīkshita son of Rēva of the Hārīti gōtra and the Hiranyakēśi subdivision of the Taittiriya Śākhā of the black Yajurveda. The name of the village in which the land granted was situated, is not preserved, but it was included in the Am̐varanta Vishaya, and the land was bounded on the north and west by the sea. The grantee was a resident of a place called Śrīkalvīvana, and the grant was made at the city of Pinuka on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon tithi of the month of Pāuṣa, but no year is mentioned.

The grant must, however, be subsequent to the year 655 A. D. when Vikramāditya appears to have ascended the throne, and earlier than the year 671-2 A. D., which is the date of the earliest grant of Sryāśraya Śilāditya.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant, the Am̐varanta Vishaya may be compared with the Avaretikāvishaya named in another grant of Pulakēśi II. The correct form of the name is apparently Aparānta or Aparāntaka, which was the old name of the Western coast of India from the Mahi to Goa (see I. A., VII., 259) Śrī Kalvīvana at which the grantee resided, should apparently be identified with the village of Kelva close to Mahim in the tālukā of the same name. The city of Pinuka may be Pen, the chief town of the Tālūkā of that name in the Kolaba district.

The language of the grant is somewhat confused and ungrammatical, and I am not sure that I have always succeeded in grasping its meaning. There are also certain words in the specification of boundaries in pl. II, 2-3 which do not appear to be Sanskrit at all. I have further been obliged to have untranslated the terms *prātibhēdika*, *apavikīna* & *atyantarasiddhi* in pl. II., 8, which appear to denote different kinds of revenue derivable from land. The opening invocation and the genealogical portion of the grant resemble the Chalukya form rather in spirit than in wording, and, though the grant contains many words belonging to the usual formulæ, they are often used in

unusual senses or in unusual collocations. Luckily, however, there is not much room for doubt about the meaning of the historical part.

The occurrence of the word *râshṭrakūṭa* (in the form *râshṭragrâma kûṭa*) as the name of an official is the earliest known to me in any Western grant. The enumeration of the puranic kings *Nṛiga Nahusha*, *Dhundhumâra Daśaratha* and *Râma* is of some interest in connection with the question as to the age of the puranic history, as is also the mention of *Arjuna* of the *Mahâbhârata*. The *Natyana* tribe and the *Nêka* family were both hitherto unknown.

The seal bears the figure of a lion instead of the usual Chalukya cognisance which was the boar. But except this fact and the confused language of the grant there seems no reason to doubt its genuineness.

The *akshara* *shâ* or *shaḥ* in Plate II., lines 5, 6 and 7, seems to be an abbreviation of the name of some measure of length, but I am not able to supply the full form of the word.

Plate I.

1. Om Svasti Amara samkâśa kâya bhîṣhaṇa raktânalô
danata śikhāṇḍadaṁshtrô¹ nataṁ.

2. Jayatu sadâ varâha-rûpain || śrîmatâṁ sakalabhu[vana] saṁs-
tûyamâna Mânavya-sagô.

3. trāṇāṁ Hârîti-putrāṇāṁ sapta-mâtar² âbhisiktāṇāṁ Śrî Ma-
hâsēnasya pādānuḍhyâtâ.

4. nām Kârttikēya-saṁrakṣhaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paramparāṇāṁ
Bhagavâ³ pratyakṣa Harinâ tusṭê.

5. na varô dattaḥ samâśadita pratyayô varâha-lâṁchanam ca
Calukyânâṁ kṛita câśvamêdha⁴-râ.

6. jasûya-paunḍarîka-yâgâḥ⁵ yat kiñcit kula-duritam tad vinasṭi
am avabhṛitha snânâḥ śuci-pa.

7. vitri-kṛita-sira-garîra⁶-nṛiga-naghusha⁷-Dhundumâra-D a ś a -
atha-Râmadēva-tat-pratimānam iva⁸ dhanu.

8. shmatâ⁹ Uttarâpath-âdhipatiḥ Śrî Harshadēva-parâ-jay-ôpa
labdh-ôgrah pratâpa¹⁰-paramêśvaraḥ.

9. Paramâsaty-âśrayaḥ¹⁰ Śrî Pulakêśi-prithivî-Vallabha-mahâ-
râjaḥ¹¹ tasya sutaḥ statpâdâ.¹²

¹ Read *ônnatam*.

² Read *mâtr*.

³ Read *Bhagavatâ*.

⁴ Read *kṛit-âśvamêdha*.

⁵ Read *yâgânâṁ*.

⁶ Read *śiraḥ-garîra*.

⁷ Read *Nahusha*.

⁸ Read *Râmadēva-pratimâna*.

⁹ Read *dhanushmatâṁ*.

¹⁰ Read *ugra-pratâpaḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *Parama-saty-âśrayaḥ*.

¹¹ Read *mahârâjas*.

¹² Read *sutas tat*.

10. nudhyâtâ¹³ dakshinamiva¹⁴ bâhudanḍapṛithivî-pâlana-kshamô
vyapagata-sajala-jaladhara-pa.
11. ṭala-vyôma-tala-gata-śarad-indu-kiraṇa-dhavaḷa-vimala-yaśô-
mahipati-samara-vâraṇa-vâ.
12. raṇa-niśêsha¹⁵-karkkaś-âbhôga-bhîṣhaṇâtur¹⁶-opanît-ôsha-
dhîm¹⁷ iva tushṭi karôm arjunam¹⁸ ivâ.
13. śêsha-sa(m)grâma-vijayô Pṛithivî-vallabhaḷ rāj-âtirāja-para-
mêśvara-Jayaśrî-Kokkulla-Vikra.
14. mâditya-mahârâjaḷ tasya pitriyô¹⁹ Saty-âśrayasy-ânujô dēva-
dvija śuśrûṣâbhiratô
15. Natyana-gaṇa-yati-bhayaṁ nêka-câturdanta²⁰-gaja-ghaṭ-âṭo-
palabdha²¹-vijayô Calukya-kula.
16. narapatiṇâm gagana-candranâm²² iva mahi-pâlana-sita-vi-
pula-prakhyâta-yaśô mâtâ-pitri.
17. pādānudhyâtô paramamâhêśvarô madanaṅg-âśrayaḷ Sṛi
Buddhavarasa-rāja kuśâlî
18. [sa] rrvân ēva vishayapati-râṣṭra-grâma-kûṭa-kula-mahatarâ-
dhikâri²³ samanubôdhaya.
19. [ty astu sa] rrvva-viditaṁ yathâ O mayâ sâgara-taṭê
dvâśa²⁴ O grâmyâ avaranta visha[y]âm.
20. [targata . . . gr]â mē uttara-diśâ daśa-nivarttanâ.²⁵

Plate II.

1. Pramâṇena-Mahindârāmô sthâvaram Ambârâmēna vibhû-
shita²⁶-dattaṁ Sagula-dîkshita.
2. sya râmasya²⁷ dakshinadiśâ Sê O ḍiva-kshêtram malla-kshê
raṁ ca saha O lavanivâundēna varasigi.
3. lēna-sahitaṁ sîmâsyâpi kramita-pramâṇam dvâdasabhôgikaiḷ
Nêkakula-pradhânaiḷ Mâtridina-grâma.
4. Kûṭēna Kamñcaḍi-pratihârēna sahitaṁ amkkavijaḍi Uddha-
vâlkânakôcarâtatâyikâpû.
5. rrvvêṇa bânâmtarēna gatâyâ tala²⁸-vṛikshaṁ shâ pûrvvêna
sandhiḷ Vyâghra-taṭâkaṁ tasya ca pari.

¹³ Read nudhyâtô.¹⁵ Read niśêsha.¹⁷ Read âushadhir.¹⁹ Read pitriyayâ.²¹ Read ghaṭṭ-ôpalabdha.²³ Read mahattar-âdhikârinah.²⁵ Read na.²⁷ Read ârâmasya.¹⁴ Read dakshina.¹⁶ Read bhîṣhaṇa âtur.¹⁸ Read tushṭikarô s rjuna iva.²⁰ Read pati-bhayaṇaka-caturdanta.²² Read candramâ.²⁴ Read dvâdaśa (?).²⁶ Read vibhûshitaṁ.²⁸ Read yâvat-tâla.

6. vāhō 30 shā dakṣiṇādisā sīma-sandhiḥ paścima-diśā uttara diśā ca mahōdadhi-maryādā.

7. shaḥ sa sīmaparikarḥ caturādghāṭana²⁹ viśuddhaḥ sēdiva vāpakō sarvvādānaṁ dattaṁ viśiṣṭhē prā.

8. ti-bhēdikāpa-vihīnō-tyāmtara-siddhiḥ bhūmi-cchidra-nyāyēna acāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśyaḥ ācandr-ārka.

9. sama-kālīnaḥ putra-pōtra³⁰-prapāutrānvayaḥ³¹ kramō-pab h-ogyāḥ Śrīkalvīvana-vāstavya-Hārīti.

10. sagōtra-Tēttirī³²-śākhā-Hiranyakēśiḥ manēka³³-sāstra-pāraṁ-gata-pradhāna-prathamōttama-nagara.

11. vilacchēna-dhāyirāḥ Rēva caturvēdasya putrāya³⁴-Sagula-svāmi-dīkṣhitasya Bali-caru.

12. vāisvadēvāgnihōtrāya kriyōtsarppan-ārthaṁ mātāpitṛrō ātma naśca puṇya-yaśō-bhi.

13. vṛiddhayē Pāuśa-māsasya amāvāsyām³⁵ āditya-grahaṇē Pinuka-nagara sthitēna Śrī Buddhavarasē.

14. na sahasṭēna³⁶ udakātisarggēna Sagula-dīkṣhitasya taṁ Sēdiva-kshetraṁ || Bahubhiḥ rvvasu.³⁷

15. dhābhuktā rājābhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi stasya³⁸ tasya tadā phalaṁ.

16. svadattāṁ paradattāṁ ca yō harēta vasundharāḥ³⁹ shashtīm dvarsha⁴⁰-sahasrāṇi viśṭāyām

17. jāyatē kṛimih || Tatākānām sahasrēṇa masvāmēdha⁴¹-śatēna ca gavām kōti pradānēna

18. Bhūmi-hartā na śudhyati || pūrvvadattāṁ dvijātibhyō yatn⁴² raksha Yudhishtīra mahī⁴³-mahī.

19. matām śrēṣṭha dānāc chrēyo nupālanam || Likhitaṁ Reva-āgaṇna. ||

Translation.

1-2. Om good luck Ever victorious be the boar form, which has a body resembling a god, which red fire . . and which is lofty in crest and tusk.

2-4. The divine incarnate Vishnu, being pleased, granted a boon to those, who are glorious, who belong to the Mānavya Gōtra that is

²⁹ Read *catur-udghāṭana*.

³¹ Read *ānvaya*.

³³ Read *Hiranyakēśy-anēka*.

³⁵ Read *amāvāsyāyām*.

³⁷ Read *Bahubhiḥ rvvasu*.

³⁹ Read *vasundharāṁ*.

⁴¹ Read *asvāmēdha*.

³⁰ Read *pāutra*.

³² Read *Tāttirīya*.

³⁴ Read *putrasya*.

³⁶ Read *svahastēna*.

³⁸ Read *bhūmis tasya*.

⁴⁰ Read *shashtīm dvarsha*.

⁴² Read *yatnād*. ⁴³ Read *mahīm*.

praised through the whole world, who are sons of Hârîti, who have been anointed kings by the seven mothers, who meditate upon the feet of the glorious Mahâsêna, and who have obtained a succession of blessings through the favour of Kârttikêya (to wit) the confidence which they had attained, and the boar crest.

5-6. All the sin of the Calukya race, who have performed the Aśvamêdha Râjasûya and Pâundarîka sacrifices, have been blotted out.

6-7. (In the lineage) of them whose heads and bodies were made pure and clean by ritual ablutions, and who as bowmen rival Nriga Nabusha, Dhundhumâra, Daśaratha and Râma (there was).

8-9. The Mahârâja Śrî Pulakêśi, the favourite of the earth, who acquired fierce valour by defeating Śrî Harshadeva, lord of the northern region, and who was the highest abode of truth.

9-14. His son, who meditates on his feet, who is capable of protecting the earth with his right arm, as it were, whose fame is pure and white as the rays of the autumn moon in the sky from which the heavy masses of rain clouds have departed, who is terrible by reason of the utterly violent force (he displays) in driving away elephants in battle against (other) kings, who is soothing as medicine brought to the sick, and who like Arjuna is victorious in all his battles (was) Jaya Śrî Kokkulla Vikramâditya Mahârâja, the favourite of the earth, the king of kings, the supreme lord.

14-17. His uncle, Satyâśraya's brother, who is devoted in his service of the gods and Brahmins, who gained a victory in the shock of battle against the terrible four-tusked elephants of the lord of the Natyana tribe, who is like a moon in the sky of kings of the Calukya race, whose fame in ruling the earth is pure and widespread and well-known, and who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, the king Madanaṅgâśraya Śrî Buddhavarasa, being in good health.

18. Enjoins all the lords of districts, heads of provinces and villages, chiefs of tribes, and officials.

19—II.-14. Be it known to all that I have granted to Sagula Dikshita a landed estate, measuring on the north ten *nivartanas* in the village of . . . which is included in the Am̐varanta district, which consists of 12 villages (?) :—(to wit) the mahinda garden adorned with a mango orchard, and to the south of the garden the field Sêḍiva and the field of the Wrestler, with the *lavanivâḍṇa* and *varasigila*. The boundary thereof: the number

of paces taken by the 12 *bhōgikas* who are the chiefs of the Nēka tribe, and by Mātridina the headman of the village with Kāmcaḍi the door-keeper (village watchman) is the figure 30. Vijāḍi Vālikana-kôcarātaṭayikā. On the east (the boundary) runs for a bowshot up to the Tala tree 5 shâ. The point of junction on the east is the Tiger tank, and its circumference is 30 shâ. On the south is a junction with the (village) boundary. On the west and north is the seashore, 30 sha. This is the boundary line marked out by four openings (?) The Sêḍiva field and all the income therefrom has been given, in particular the *prâtibhêdika*, the *apavihîna* (?) and the *atyantarasiḍḍhi* by the rule of *Bhāmichidra*, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, for as long as the sun and moon exist, to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons and great grandsons in succession, to Sagula Svâmi Dikshita, son of Reva the student of the four Vêdas, who dwells at Srî Kalvîvana and belongs to the Hârîti *gôtra* and is a Hiraṇyakêśi of the Taittiriya School, who has studied many *śâstras*, who is the chief minister, and is : for the performance of the ceremonies, for the purpose of the *u* *Vâisadêva* and *Agnihôtra* sacrifices the Sêḍiva field has been granted to Sagula Dikshita by Srî Buddhavarasa under his own hand and with outpouring of water at the city of Pinuka on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon tithi of the month of Pâusha for the increase of the spiritual merit and the fame of his parents and himself.

II-14-19. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings from Sagara downwards. Whoever at any time has the land his also then is the fruit. He who resumes land granted whether by himself or by another is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. The tresumer of land is not cleansed (of his guilt) by (building) a thousand tanks and by a hundred Aśvamêdhas or by the gift of a crore of kine. O Yudhishtîra, preserve carefully the land granted aforetime to Brahmins. O best of kings, to respect a grant is better than to make it.

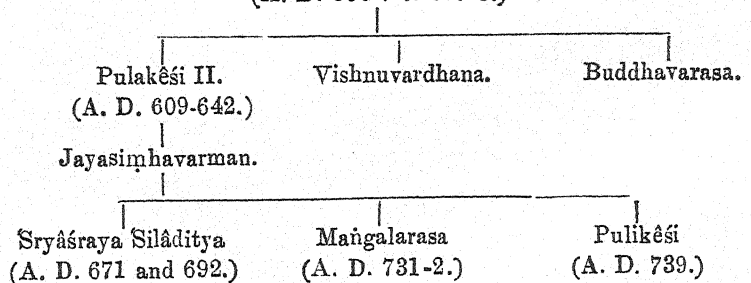
19. Written by Revagana.

It will be observed that this inscription gives the name of a hitherto unknown brother of Pulakêśi II. It is well-known that Kîrtivarman I. left at least two sons, namely, Pulakêśi II. and Vishnuvardhana, and it has been very generally believed on the authority of the Nirpaṇ grant of Nâgavardhana, that he also left a third son named Jayasimhavarman. Dr. Fleet has however

(Bo. Gaz. I. ii. 358) given good reasons for looking upon the Nirpaṇ grant with suspicion. I have elsewhere expressed the opinion that, even if the grant itself is a forgery, still the genealogical statements made in it may be correct, and I hazarded the suggestion that Nāgavardhana had preceded Vikramāditya on the imperial throne of the Calukyas. I now however see reason to withdraw this suggestion and to question the correctness of the genealogy of the Nirpaṇ grant. It would seem that the drafter of that grant was misled by one of the standing epithets of Vikramāditya, *viz.*, "meditating on the feet of the illustrious Nāgavardhana," and supposed that this person was the predecessor of Vikramāditya instead of a religious teacher, and therefore adopted him as the nominal grantor. Whether Jayasimhavarman really existed or not must be regarded as very doubtful, and in any case he cannot well be identified with the Buddhavarasa of the Sanjān grant, for Jayasimhavarman appears to have been dead before the date of the Nirpaṇ grant which refers itself to the reign of Pulakēśi II., whereas we find Buddhavarasa alive and ruling in the reign of Pulakēśi's son and successor. The Kaira grant of Vijayarāja (I. A. VII. 241) gives the name of Vijayarāja's father as Buddhavarमारāja, but the rest of the genealogy does not agree with that of Buddhavarasa in the Sanjan grant. I however agree with Dr. Bhandarkar in believing the Kaira grant to be a forgery. If these conclusions are accepted, we must strike out of the Chalukya genealogy the so-called first and second Gujarat branches as imaginary and there will remain only—

Kīrtivarman I.

(A. D. 566-7 to 597-8.)



Buddhavarasa ruled the Konkan in the early part of Vikramāditya's reign (from A. D. 655), but he must by that time have been nearly 60 years of age, and he probably left no son, as by A. D. 671 his nephew Jayasimhavarman was governor of the same part of the

country. The succession of the sons of Jayasimhavarman is not altogether free from chronological difficulties. The eldest (known) son Silāditya was of an age to make grants in A. D. 671, while the latest date known for the third son Pulikēśi is A. D. 739. Such a difference is not, it is true, impossible, but it is rather unusual in an Indian genealogy. This point, however, is not one for discussion on the present occasion. I merely mention it in order to show that there are still many points to be cleared up as regards the chronology, succession and relationships of the Calukyas of Gujarat.

ART. V.—*Dr. G. Thibaut on the Sankara-bhâshya.*

By T. R. AMALNERKAR, B.A.

(Communicated May 1898.)

There is an important collection of Sûtras which goes under the name of the Vedânta-sûtras. These are looked upon by the Hindus as embodying the deepest and the subtlest conceptions in philosophy. These venerable Sûtras of antiquity, of which Bâdarâyana is the reputed author, have been the subject of more than half a dozen commentaries, the most famous being the gloss of Sankara, commonly known as the Sankara-bhâshya.

It is, however, tantalising to observe that, with the devotion of so many exegetes, the precise meaning of the Vedânta-sûtras still remains a matter of doubt and uncertainty. This excellent treatise, composed by Bâdarâyana, is most eminently successful in weaving together in a system of harmony, if harmony can be said to exist in such things, the most discordant philosophical utterances of the Upanishads. That the meaning of this far-famed composition, which is a systematic exposition of the philosophy of the Hindus contained in the sacred literature of the Vedas, should be enshrouded in doubts and encompassed with difficulties, and should be the subject sometimes of mere guesses, is a matter of great regret and astonishment, and marks the fanaticism of sects and the stagnation of scholarship among the Hindus.

A systematic attempt to decipher the true meaning of the aphorisms of Bâdarâyana is therefore not only a desideratum, but a matter of absolute necessity. Dr. Thibaut, in welcoming my paper on the "Priority of the Vedânta-sûtras over the Bhagavadgita," writes as follows :—

"Please accept my best thanks for the copy of your interesting paper on the "Priority of the Vedânta-sûtras over the Bhagavadgita." I have not yet had time to examine your arguments as carefully as the importance of the subject requires, but it appears to me that you made out a very good case. You need not count me among your adversaries that consider that certain Sûtras refer to the Bhagavadgita. I have only provisionally accepted it on the authority of commentators. But I should not be surprised to see this assumption finally refuted. The whole subject of the true meaning of the Vedânta-sûtras requires a renewed methodical investigation. In my introduction to the

translation of the Sûtras I merely aimed at pointing out that such an investigation is required, and that we have absolutely no right whatever blindly to accept Shankara's interpretations."

The old Indian scholars and the orthodox community generally consider it a heresy to deviate from the interpretations of one of the recognised âchâryas. But they overlook the fact that these âchâryas widely differ among themselves, and arrive at conclusions as opposed to one another as are the poles asunder. Dr. Thibaut considers that modern scholars, not being wedded to any particular sect of philosophy, are better qualified to interpret the Vedânta-sûtras.

Both Sankara and Râmânuja frequently stretch the meaning of the Sûtras, so that their teaching may harmonise with the system of which they are the determined and thorough-going advocates. Sankara takes the greatest possible liberty in separating Sûtras into groups called the adhikaranas. Every impartial critic of the Sankara-bhâshya will be inclined to praise it in the highest terms possible. It is my opinion that the Sankara-bhâshya gives a better idea, both of the Sûtras of Bâdarâyana and much more of the Upanishads, chiefly in relation to their spirit and leading metaphysical tenets which it clothes in a grand, lofty, and vigorous style, than all the existing commentaries put together. It is perhaps the best work in the department of the Vedânta literature. It is the best commentary on the Vedânta-sûtras. Yet the Shribhâshya of Râmânuja claims a far higher value in other respects, namely, in point of scholarship and a patient and critical study of the Sûtras. So very satisfactory is the arrangement in the Shribhâshya of the topics and the interpretation of a large number of individual Sûtras which are not opposed to the sectarian views it advocates that had Râmânuja belonged to the school of Sankara or not belonged to any school at all, the Sankara-bhâshya would possibly have sunk into insignificance after the appearance of the Shribhâshya before the public.

It is plain from these broad and general outlines that the Sûtras of Bâdarâyana have been continually falling into the hands of commentators who have tried to improve upon the renderings of their predecessors. And yet the admirers of these Âchâryas would hardly tolerate any new inquirer proposing or suggesting new and rational interpretations, and would sometimes go the length of cursing him as a heretic.

Mere abstract speculations and inflated common places as to the possibility of improving upon the existing interpretations of the

Sūtras would, of course, be useless if one did not cite instances of the same. As I am desirous in this paper to examine the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Thibaut in the preface to his translation of the Sankara-bhāshya, and as I mean to publish a separate treatise dealing with this question in detail, I shall point out only one instance here in support of my assertion.

The following are the four Sūtras from the fourth pāda of the third adhyāya :—

सर्वज्ञानुमतिश्च प्राणात्यये सदृशानात् २४ अवाधाच्च २१ अपिच स्मर्यते ३०
शब्दश्चातोऽकामकारे ३।

Here Bādarāyana introduces the question whether a प्राणोपासक, as Rāmānuja takes it, or a Vidvān generally, as Sankara understands it, is authorised to eat food of whatever sort. Both commentators, interpret the first Sūtra to mean that the food of whatever sort is to be resorted to only when a man is at the point of death. The question appears to take Sankara by surprise, and he expresses himself as follows :—

नच श्वादिमर्त्यादिमज्जं मानुषेण देहेनोपभोक्तुं शक्यते । शक्यते तु प्राणस्थाननि-
ति विचिन्तयितुम् । तस्मात् प्राणान्नविज्ञानप्रशंसार्थोऽयमर्थवाको नानुविधिः । एतदु-
क्तं भवति प्राणात्यये परस्थामापदि सर्वमन्नमदनीयत्वेनाभ्यनुज्ञायते सदृशानात् ।

Sankara evidently does not look upon the Sūtra as laying down an injunction or permission to the Vedāntins to eat food of any sort but merely embodying a praise of the power possessed by the vital breath.

In the first place, such an interpretation is not satisfactory, and appears to be far from the general import of the four Sūtras quoted. For the result of this interpretation would be to place the knowers of Brahman on a par with men of ordinary type. The question then becomes, as Sankara takes it, one in which not only the devotees of Brahman are concerned, but ordinary men as well.

In the second place, the passages of the Chhândogya and Brihadâranyaka Upanishads, on which this question is based, contain not a trace of such a supposition, but, on the contrary, appear to exclude it. In these passages the supremacy of प्राण is established and प्राण is consequently allowed by all organs to enjoy peculiar privileges. These passages nowhere hint at the restriction that food of any sort is to be eaten only when a man is in the last extremity. This is clear from the following words of Rāmānuja :—

वाजिनं ह्यंशेयानां च प्राणविद्यायां प्राणविदः सर्वज्ञानुमतिः
संकीर्त्यते । किमियं सर्वज्ञानुमतिः प्राणविद्यानिष्ठस्य सर्वदा उत प्राणात्ययापत्ता-
विति ।

From these words of Râmânuja himself, we find that the texts of the Upanishads above referred to do not contain any such restriction. This then appears to be an extraneous addition of the commentators not found in the passages upon which the Sûtras under discussion are based. The contents of the Upanishad passages will be at all times found to be of great use and importance in fixing the meaning of the sûtras. And we shall not be mistaken if we are able to interpret the sûtras without giving to the question a turn not warranted by the texts of the Upanishads. Sûtra 28 may be thus interpreted: 'And there is permission to eat food of every sort since that is observed in the last extremity.' Bâdarâyana means to say that the prânopâsakas or vidvâns have peculiar privileges. For living as they do in forests or retired places they will die if they are not allowed to use any sort of food they can procure there.

In the third place, the last sûtra of the adhikarana makes reference not to *time* but to *men*. It does not teach that food of every sort is to be used at a *particular time* but declares that the text makes reference to *particular men*. The text, the sûtra adds, refers to men who have given up worldly desires. The sûtra is quite general and goes against the far-fetched interpretations of the commentators. In explaining the sûtra both the commentators give a turn to it and interpret it as corroborating their view. The Sankara-bhâshya runs thus:—

शब्दश्चान्नस्य प्रतिषेधकः कामकारनिवृत्तिप्रयोजकः काङ्क्षानां संहितायां श्रूयते.

The commentators here either consciously or unconsciously misinterpret the word कामकार. In the fifteenth chapter of the Bhagavadgita, the latter half of the thirteenth verse runs thus:—

अयुक्तः कामकारेण फले सक्तो निबध्यते.

Here the commentators agree to take the word कामकार in the sense of desires or passions of the heart. I think in the sûtra in question the word कामकार means the same thing. The word अकामकार would then mean one without passions or worldly desires. And this interpretation is confirmed by one aphorism of the Vedânta-sûtra itself where the word कामकार occurs. It is the sûtra कामकारेण चैके (III 4, 15). The adhikarana of which this sûtra is a part is a long one. Bâdarâyana in this adhikarana concludes that absolution results from Vidyâ or knowledge. But Jaimini contends that it is the effect of actions or works. In the purvapaksha Jaimini asserts that the

knowers of Brahman also practise actions. The sūtra कामकारेण चैकै refutes this assertion. According to commentators the sūtra means that knowers of Brahman perform actions not as a duty, but as the act of will or pleasure. In my opinion the Sūtra teaches that some vidvāns perform actions with a view to secure some worldly object. Not only actions but certain ūpāsanas yield worldly pleasures. The sūtra काम्यास्तु यथाकामं समुचीयेत् in the same pāda teaches that certain ūpāsanas secure to the vidvān the fruits of the world. Thus interpreted, the sūtra furnishes a pointed answer to the objection of Jaimini while the same sūtra, as interpreted by commentators, would make no answer. Absolution results from vidyā alone. But those vidvāns that perform actions do so being smitten by the desires of the world and as a natural consequence do not secure by the performance final beatitude but merely pleasures of the world. We are then sure that the word कामकार means desires of the world. The word अकामकार would thus mean persons without worldly desires.

After this let us again look to the Sūtra शब्दश्चातोऽकामकारे and Sankara's gloss on it, namely, शब्दश्चानन्नस्य प्रतिषेधकः कामकारनिवृत्तिं प्रयोजनः काष्ठकानां संहितायां दृश्यते.

In the first Sūtra there is the word सर्वान्नानुमतिः and that is the principal thing which is referred to in all the Sūtras of this adhikarana. We are to keep this word steadfastly before our eyes. In the second, sūtra of this adhikarana अवाधाच्च, the commentators have kept the word सर्वान्नानुमति before them. The sūtra अपि च स्मर्यते which follows next only refers to Smrities for corroborating the view already propounded. So far then सर्वान्नानुमति is the principal thing dealt with. There only remains one sūtra, namely, शब्दश्चातोऽकामकारे. From what we have observed above, it would seem to follow as a natural consequence that it is the same word सर्वान्नानुमति that is referred to. But according to Sankara it is not the word सर्वान्नानुमति : but अनन्नस्य प्रतिषेधकः शब्दः that we are to understand here. Instead of understanding the word शब्द as conveying scriptural injunction Sankara takes it in the sense of prohibition which is not even remotely hinted at in any of the sūtras. Sankara has thus converted an injunction to the Vedāntins to eat food of whatever sort into a prohibition to them of that food which is prohibited to ordinary men as well.

I propose to render the sūtras as follows: “ (There is) Permission to eat food of whatever sort; as it is seen at the time of the last extremity (28). And this does not affect (ordinary rules of diet).

And Smritis declare so (29), Hence the word सर्वानुमति refers to persons that have left off worldly desires" (31).

After these remarks on the comments on the sūtras let us resume the subject of this paper. Dr. Thibaut has rendered a very valuable service to the study of Vedānta literature by publishing his excellent translation of the Sankara-bhāshya. His very accurate and scholar-like translation of the Sankara-bhāshya has placed him in the foremost ranks among the students of the Vedānta. He has prefixed a very critical and elaborate introduction to his translation of the Sankara-bhāshya. We thank him for having brought to bear on the commentary of Sankara so much scholarship and such brilliant faculties both of criticism and of exegesis. We thank him for yet a higher service in setting forth before the world the real importance of the Shribhāshya and thus lifting to a higher level Rāmanūja, the worthy competitor of Sankara.

It is my object in this paper to endeavour to point out that some conclusions, of great importance concerning the fundamental doctrines of the Vedānta-Sūtras, drawn by Dr. Thibaut in the introduction to his translation of the Sankara-bhāshya, are not free from doubts and cannot therefore be accepted as final. The weight of the evidence, in my opinion, rather tends to support opposite conclusions. Dr. Thibaut holds that the philosophy of Sankara is nearer to the teaching of the Upanishads than the Sūtras of Bādarāyana, since in his opinion the latter lays a greater stress on the personal character of the highest being than is in agreement with the prevailing tendency of the Upanishads and that the teaching of the Sūtras, is more closely related to the system of Rāmanūja than to that of Sankara. Dr. Thibaut is consequently of opinion that Bādarāyana amalgamates the philosophy of the Upanishads with beliefs springing up in altogether different quarters. He further holds that this amalgamation finds a parallel in another work in the same department, namely, the Bhagavadgita in which there is great stress laid on the personal character of the highest being.

He doubts what Mr. Gough maintains that Sankara is the generally recognised expositor of the true Vedānta doctrine, and that there existed from the beginning one Vedānta doctrine agreeing in all essential points with the doctrines known to us from Sankara's writings. "It is, I admit," says he, "not altogether impossible that Sankara's interpretation should represent the real meaning of the sūtras; that the latter, indeed, to use the terms employed by Dr. Deussen should

for the nonce set forth an exoteric doctrine adapted to the common notions of mankind which, however, can be rightly understood by him only to whose mind the esoteric doctrine is all the while present. That is not impossible, I say; but it is a point which requires convincing proofs before it can be allowed." Similar, though not quite the same, opinions were, I am led to believe, expressed several years ago by Dr. Bhandarkar, the authority on Sanskrit in the Bombay Presidency in his lectures, both public and collegiate. Dr. Bhandarkar in those lectures preferred, it is said, the interpretations of Râmânûja generally to those of Sankara. He was strongly of opinion that there was no Mâyâvâda in the Sûtras and that Sankara consequently was not right in drawing the conclusion that Bâdarâyana looked upon the world as unreal. After the publication of Dr. Thibaut's work Dr. Bhandarkar expressed to me his general approbation of Dr. Thibaut's conclusions. The reader will thus perceive that the views advanced in this paper are equally in oppositon to those of Dr. Bhandarkar as well as to those of Dr. Thibaut.

In summing up the negative results of his inquiry, Dr. Thibaut gives it as his opinion that *the Sûtras do not set forth the distinction of a lower and higher knowledge of Brahman; that they do not acknowledge the distinction between Brahman and Ishwarain the sense Sankara attaches to these words; that they do not teach the unreality of the world, and that they do not proclaim the absolute identity of the individual and the supreme self.*

On these points I express myself as follows:—Bâdarâyana does not lay stress on the personal character of the highest being and therefore, in my opinion, there is no attempt on the part of Bâdarâyana to make a compromise with those beliefs which, in Dr. Thibaut's opinion, spring up in altogether different quarters. As for the question whether the Bhagvadgita makes such a compromise, it is sufficient for the present to observe that although the glorification of a personal god is the especial mission of the Divine song, still it is expressly and repeatedly asserted that the devotee of such a personal god, will, by the grace of the Lord, be initiated into the real mystery of the godhead which is nothing but the highest self of the Upanishads transcending all attributes, and which has been misunderstood by ignorant people as possessing a human form or personal attributes. The teaching of the sûtras bears no special affinity to the system of which Râmânûja is the classical exponent. On the contrary, the sûtras appear to be more closely related to the system represented Sankara.

As for the first two negative results of Dr. Thibaut's inquiry, I observe as follows: The sūtras do recognise a distinction between a lower and higher Brahman. But the sense the sūtrakāra attaches to these is different from that of Sankara. Hiranyagarbha is a part and consequently a lower form of the Lord. Knowledge of Hiranyagarbha is of an inferior nature since it is the knowledge of a part of the Lord. Knowledge of the higher kind is the knowledge of the Lord himself. The devotee of Hiranyagarbha may acquire further knowledge, namely, of the Lord and ultimately proceed to the highest self along with Hiranyagarbha. Devotees of the Highest self being devotees of a higher order approach the Lord directly and return no more. Whether this certainty of not returning back attaches to the devotees of Hiranyagarbha, the sūtras teach nowhere. Sankara's idea of a lower and higher Brahman is more refined than that of the sūtras. According to Sankara there stands Ishwara, the lower form of the self, midway between the lower and higher Brahman of Bādarāyana.

Dr. Thibaut truly maintains that the sūtras nowhere appear to recognise the distinction between Brahman and Ishwara. But if for the purpose of systematising the teaching of the sūtras, a choice has to be made, Sankara is right in drawing a distinction between Brahman and Ishwara inasmuch as Bādarāyana represents Brahman as transcending all attributes and yet attributes to it functions such as the creation, order, and disposition of the world—which functions regarded as attributes of Brahman are expressly declared to be created by limiting adjuncts which are unreal.

As for the remaining results of Dr. Thibaut's inquiry I declare myself decidedly to hold opposite views. Bādarāyana does look upon the world as unreal, but would not with Sankara advance further.

The sūtrakāra pronounces in favour of the identity of the soul and the highest self. And in one sense—which is the principal sense conveyed by the sūtras and the Upanishads, the Sūtrakāra asserts absolute and unqualified identity of the soul and the Lord. Bādarāyana repudiates the system of the Bhāgavatas who are looked upon by him as schismatic, and are not therefore, in his opinion, the true representatives of the Upanishad philosophy. The Sūtrakāra appears to be opposed to the Vishishtādvaita doctrine. Brahman has not the soul and the world as its body; that is to say, the same Brahman has not an admixture of the soul and non-sentient matter. There are several other points on which I beg to differ from the learned doctor.

But these I reserve for the present. As the paper would be a long one I shall only discuss in this place the question whether Bādarāyana lays any stress on the personal character of the Lord.

Dr. Thibaut's idea of a compromise is based on the assumption that the sūtras of Bādarāyana inculcate the doctrine of a personal god and not that of an impersonal one as the Upanishads teach. My opinion is that a personal god is not the teaching of the sūtras. There are three adhikaranas where the nature of the Lord can be said to be discussed. These are first the आनन्दाधिकरण, the adhikarana dealing with the पांचरात्र system, and the उभयलिङ्गत्वाधिकरण.

The first set of sūtras (III. 3, 11-15) declare that even in the Ūpāsanas, the Lord cannot really be considered as being endowed with such qualities as having joy for the head and so on. In Ūpāsanas, some qualities only, such as joy, &c., can be predicated to him, and not others which are mentioned by way of meditation. These sūtras go against the idea of a personal god.

In II, 41-44 the Sūtrakāra condemns the system of the Pāñcharātras to which Rāmānuja belongs. If it can be maintained that Bādarāyana shelves this system, one may be justified to some extent, and with some show of reason, in concluding that the Sūtras favour the idea that the Lord is personal. The following are the sūtras of this adhikarana :—उत्पत्त्यसंभवात् 42 न च कर्तुः करणम् 43 विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः 44 प्रतिषेधाच्च 45.

"The last adhikarana," says Dr. Thibaut, "of this pāda refers according to the unanimous statement of commentators to the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñcharātras. But Sankara and Rāmānuja totally disagree as to the drift of the Sūtrakāra's opinion regarding the system. According to the former, it is condemned like the systems previously referred to; according to the later it is approved of — sūtra 42 and 43 according to both commentators raise objections against the system; sūtra 42 being directed against the doctrine that from the highest being called Vāsudeva there originates Sankarshana, *i. e.*, the Jīva, on the ground that those scriptural passages would be contradicted which teach the soul's eternity and sūtra 43 impugning the doctrine that from Sankarshana there springs Pradyumna, *i. e.*, Manas. The sūtra, on which the difference of interpretation turns, is the 44th (विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः). Literally translated, it runs 'or on account of there being (or there being) knowledge and so on, there is non-contradiction of that.' This means, according to Sankara, 'or if in consequence of the

existence of there being knowledge and so on (on the part of Sankarshana, &c., they be taken not as soul, mind but Lords of pre-eminent knowledge, &c.) yet there is non-contradiction of that (*viz.*, of the objection raised in sūtra 42 against the Bhāgavata doctrine). According to Rāmānuja, on the other hand, the sūtra has to be explained as follows "or there is non-contradiction of that (*i. e.*, Pāñcharātra doctrine) on account of there being knowledge and so on" (*i. e.*, on account of there being Brahman). Which means Sañkarshana and so on are merely forms of manifestation of Brahman, so that the Pāñcharātra doctrine, according to which they spring from Brahman, is not contradicted. The form of the sūtra makes it difficult for us to decide which of the two interpretations is the right one; it, however, appears to me that the explanation of the "vā" and the "tat," implied in Rāmānuja's comment are more natural than those resulting from Sankara's interpretations. Nor would it be an unnatural proceeding to close the polemical pāda with a defence of that doctrine which—in spite of objections—has to be viewed as the true one."

I do not see why Dr. Thibaut is dissatisfied with Sañkara's explanation of the "vā." The Sūtrakāra frequently holds two views of the same matter and connects them by 'वा' as in the case of देहयोगाद्वासौऽपि मुणाद्वालोकवत्, प्रकाशाश्रयवद्वा &c. The same latitude he allows here to his opponents. If you say so and so we urge this objection; if you say otherwise, we have another objection to urge. This is manifest from the tone of the sūtra. As for 'तत्' we observe that 'तत्' very often carries the force of an objection. For instance, take the sūtra विकरणत्वादिति चेत्तदुक्तम् (II 1, 31). Here the Sūtrakāra asserts that the objection has been disposed of. I refer the reader to जीवमुख्यप्राणर्लिङ्गाच्चेति चेत्तद्व्याख्यातम् (I, 4, 18) अहमादिवच्च तदनुपपत्तिः (II, 1, 23) विकरणत्वाच्चेति चेत्तदुक्तम् (II 1, 31) &c.

The objections of Dr. Thibaut may be thus disposed of. But I have a very strong objection to urge against Rāmānuja's explanation of the word 'तद्' as denoting a system. Nowhere in the sūtras nor in the polemical pāda where the sūtra occurs is the word 'तद्' ever found to denote a system. Leaving aside this objection we find that Rāmānuja's interpretation appears to be far-fetched and unsatisfactory. The lines in the Śhrībhāshya necessary for our purpose run thus :—
विज्ञानमादि चेति परब्रह्मविज्ञानादिसंकर्षणप्रद्युम्नानिरुद्धादीनामपि परब्रह्मभावे सति तत्प्रतिपादनपरस्य शास्त्रस्य प्रामाण्यं न प्रतिषिध्यते. Thus construed, the sūtra would run as follows:—(संकर्षणप्रद्युम्नानिरुद्धानां) विज्ञानादिभावे

(सति) तदप्रतिषेधः which is equivalent to संकर्षणप्रद्युम्नानिरुद्धानां परब्रह्म संकर्षणप्रद्युम्नानिरुद्धभावे सति तदप्रतिषेधः—This means that there is non-contradiction of the Bhāgavata system, if the three things प्रद्युम्न, अनिरुद्ध and संकर्षण are taken in the sense of four things ब्रह्म, संकर्षण-प्रद्युम्न and अनिरुद्ध. Now this makes no sense unless we have recourse to some arithmetical calculation. If no such calculation is to be resorted to then the word आदि coming after विज्ञान which Rāmānuja renders by ब्रह्म remains unexplained. It is the interest of Rāmānuja to omit the word आदि as if it did not exist, but not of modern scholars. I am therefore inclined to reject the interpretation of the Śrībhāṣya.

The sūtra in question, namely विप्रतिषेधाच्च according to Rāmānuja denies the derivative character (उत्पत्ति) of the soul in the Bhāgavata system. From Vāsudeo three things are produced. Two things have *utpatti* while the soul has not. The *utpatti* of the two things is then real while that of the soul is metaphorical. It is the habit of Bādarāyana to close the refutation of a system by urging against it some general objection such as सर्वथानुपपत्तेश्च, अपरिग्रहाच्चाद्यन्तमनपेक्षश्च and विप्रतिषेधाच्चासमंजसम् which is a sūtra in the same pāda and which brings the refutation of the Sankhya system to a close. In the sūtra we are now dealing with, *viz.*, विप्रतिषेधाच्च only the word असमंजसम् is omitted to avoid repetition. In a copy of the Madhavabhāṣya, the reading of the sūtra is full, namely विप्रतिषेधाच्चासमंजसम्. It is better to assume that the sūtrakāra uses the word विप्रतिषेध in the same pāda in one and the same sense, namely, in the sense of inconsistency than to take it in the sense of prohibition as Rāmānuja does. If this reasoning is correct, there is not the least doubt that Bādarāyana condemns the Bhāgavata system.

“Nor would it be,” observes Dr. Thibaut, “an unnatural proceeding to close the polemical pāda with a defence of that doctrine which in spite of objections has to be viewed as the true one.” The proceeding does not appear to be natural as Dr. Thibaut supposes. The four pādas of the first ādhyāya establish that the particular passages of the Upanishads refer to Brahman and not to Pradhāna nor to something else. The first pāda of the second ādhyāya appears to refute the objections brought against the Vedānta system represented by Bādarāyana. The second pāda of the second ādhyāya refutes the different systems of importance that are opposed to the doctrines of the sūtras. Now the Pāñcharātradhikarāna is the last topic that is dealt with by the second pāda. This is the last of the

systems which, according to Shankara, is condemned by Bâdarâyana, but which, according to Râmânuja, is approved of by him. If we accept the opinion of Râmânuja, it is difficult to understand why the system should find its place in a pâda which is nothing but a battle-field where Bâdarâyana offers battle to his enemies. If we look to the arrangement of the topics of this polemical pâda the system of the Pancharâtras appears to be one of the least importance. The system of the Sâmkhyas appears to occupy the foremost rank and that of the Pâncrâtras the lowest one. Dr. Thibaut contends that the system is to be defended in spite of objections. But Bâdarâyana has already devoted a pâda to the defence of his own system, and there is no longer any necessity for defence in this place. Forty-three sûtras of this pâda all level objections, it is admitted, against hostile systems. There are only two sûtras which, according to Râmânuja, are devoted to the defence of his system. Such a view cannot be held without strong grounds. And I have already adduced arguments which put it beyond doubt that the system of the Bhâgavatas is condemned by the sûtras.

Lastly in connection with the nature of the Lord, we come to the topic of the ūbhayalingatva, which is most important on the point. Here we accept in the main the interpretation of Sankara which represents Brahman as pure intelligence without form, without attributes. Dr. Thibaut considers that this adhikarana is vague, sometimes favouring the interpretation of Sankara and sometimes that of Râmânuja. But in reality this is far from being the case. When we closely look into the sûtras, they do not appear to be vague. Examined minutely, they everywhere favour the view of Sankara. The following are the sûtras of this adkikarana :—

न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गत्वं सर्वत्र हि ११ न भेदादिति चेन्न प्रत्येकमतद्वय-
नान् १२ अपि चैवमेके १३ अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात् १४ प्रकाशवच्चैवैय्यर्थ्यात्
१५ आह च तन्मात्रम् १६ दर्शयति चाधो स्मर्यते १७ अथ तव चोपमा सूर्यकादिवत्
१८ अम्बुवदग्रहपातु न तथात्वम् १९ वृद्धिः सात्तन्मात्रमन्तर्भावोभयसामंजस्यादेवम्
२० दर्शनाच्च २१

“ Adhikarana V (11-21) is according to Sankara taken up with the question as to the nature of the highest being Brahman in which the soul is merged in the state of deep sleep. Sûtra declares that the two-fold characteristics (viz., absence and presence of distinctive attributes, nirvisheshatva and sa-visheshatva) cannot belong to the highest Brahman even through its situations, namely, its limiting adjuncts since all passages which aim at setting forth

Brahman's nature declare it to be destitute of distinctive attributes The fact, sūtra 12 continues that in many passages Brahman is spoken of as possessing distinctive attributes, is of no relevancy since wherever there are mentioned limiting adjuncts on which all distinction depends, it is especially stated that Brahman in itself is free from all diversity ; and sūtra 13 adds in some places the assumption of diversity is especially objected to That Brahman is devoid of all form (sūtra 14) is the pre-eminent meaning of all the Vedânta texts setting forth Brahman's nature That Brahman is represented as having different forms as it were, is due to its connection with its (unreal) limiting adjuncts, just as the rays of the sun appear straight or crooked according to the nature of the things they illuminate (15). The Brihadâranyaka expressly declares that Brahman is one uniform mass of intelligence (16), and the same is taught in other scriptural passages and in Smritis (17). At the unreality of the apparent manifoldness of the self caused by limiting adjuncts aim those scriptural passages in which the self is compared with the sun which remains one although his reflections on the surface of the water are many (18). Nor must the objection be raised that that comparison is unsuitable because the self is not material like the sun ; for that comparison merely means to indicate that as the reflected images of the sun participate in the changes, increase, decrease, &c., which the water undergoes while the sun himself remains unaffected by the attributes of the ūpâdhis so the self in so far as it is limited by the latter, is affected by them as it were (19-20) That the self is in the upâdhis scripture declares (21)

"According to Râmanuja the adhikarana raises the question whether the imperfections clinging to the individual soul (. . . .) affect also the highest Lord, who, according to scripture, abides within the soul as antaryâmin. Notwithstanding the abode (of the highest soul within the self) (it is) not affected by the soul's imperfections as having two-fold characteristics (*viz.*, being on the one hand free from all evil and on the other hand endowed with all auspicious qualities satyakâma (11). Should it be objected that just as the soul though essentially free from evil yet is liable to imperfections owing to its connection with a variety of bodies, we deny this because he is expressly called the Immortal, the ruler within, which shows him free from all short-

comings of the Jīva (12) Brahman although connected with such forms is in itself devoid of form since it is the principal? element (agent pradhāna) in bringing out names and form (14) But does not the passage सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म teach that Brahman is nothing but light (intelligence) without difference and does not the passage नेति नेति deny of it all its qualities? We admit that Brahman is light, so we must also admit that Brahman is Satyasankalpa and so on, for if not the passage in which those qualities are asserted would become purportless (15). Moreover, the Taittirīya passage only asserts so much, viz., prakāsa-rūpatva of Brahman and does not deny all other qualities (16). . . . Because Brahman abiding in many places is not touched by their imperfections, the similes of the reflected sun, of the ether limited by jars, &c., are applicable to it (18) should it be said that the illustration is not an appropriate one because the sun is apprehended in water erroneously only while the antaryāmin really abides within all things and therefore must be viewed as sharing their defects (19). We reply that what the simile means to negative is that Brahman owing to its inherence in many places should participate in the increase, decrease and so on of its abodes. On this view both similes are appropriate (20). Analogous similes, we observe to be employed in ordinary life as when we compare a man with a lion (21)."

Dr. Thibaut often remarks that Rāmānuja's interpretation is pure and simple, while Sāṅkara sees himself reduced to the necessity of supplementing. The reverse is the case here. The chief characteristic of Rāmānuja's interpretation of this adhikarana is the unusual number of additions to the text. In every sūtra almost he is driven to the necessity of supplementing, thus obscuring the topic and perverting the teaching of the sūtras. The main question discussed in these sūtras, according to Rāmānuja, is whether the imperfections which cling to the soul affect the Lord as well on account of his abiding within the soul in those various states of the soul such as the waking state, deep sleep, &c. But there is nothing in the sūtras to warrant such a supposition.

The Shribhāshya on sūtra (11) न स्यान्तःस्यैऽपि परस्वोभयार्तिगत्वं सर्वत्र हि runs thus. दोषदर्शनाद्वैराग्योदयाय जीवस्यावस्थाविशेषा निरूपिताः—इतानीं ब्रह्मप्राप्तिदृष्ट्याजननाय प्राप्यस्य ब्रह्मणो निर्दोषत्वकल्याणगुणात्मकत्वप्रतिपादनायारभते। तत्र जागरस्वप्नसुषुप्तिमुग्धुत्क्रान्तिषु स्थानेषु तत्तत्स्थानप्रयुक्तजीवस्यैते दोषाः ते तदन्तर्यामिणः परस्य ब्रह्मणोऽपि तत्र तत्रावस्थिताः सन्ति नेतीति विचार्यते. From the passage of the Shri-bhāshya

quoted above it appears to be the opinion of Rāmānuja that different states (अवस्थाऽ) and not positions (स्थानाऽ) of the soul are discussed by the preceding sūtras. Let us, however, grant that स्थानाऽ are described above. जागरस्वप्नसुषुप्तिमुग्धुत्क्रान्ति are the स्थानऽ of the soul enumerated by Rāmānuja. Since the Lord, argues the Shribhāshya, resides within the soul in those various स्थानाऽ. He may be affected by the imperfections of the soul in those places. The objection and the answer run thus in the words of the Shribhāshya :— अतो यद्यपि जगदेककारणं सर्वज्ञत्वादिकल्याणगुणाकरत्वं च ब्रह्म तथापि यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन् य आत्मनि तिष्ठन् यश्चक्षुषि तिष्ठन् यो रेतासि तिष्ठन्नित्यादिवचनात्तत्र तत्रावस्थितस्य तत्तत्संबंधरूपा पुरुषार्थाः सन्तीति— एवं प्राप्ते आचक्ष्महे (न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योति) न ह्यथिव्याद्यात्मस्थानतोऽपि परस्य ब्रह्मणोऽपुरुषार्थगंधः संभवति क्लृप्तः (उभयलिङ्गं सर्वत्र हि) यतः सर्वत्र श्रुतिस्मृतिषु परब्रह्मोभयलिङ्गं उभयलक्षणमभिधीयते— निरस्तनिखिलदोषत्वंकल्याणगुणाकरत्वलक्षणोपेतमित्यर्थः—

The passage, namely यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन्, &c., referred to by the Shribhāshya is found in the seventh Brahman of the fifth ādhyāya of the Brihadāraṇyaka. But the words य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्, &c., twice quoted by the Shribhāshya both in the pūrvapakṣa and the siddhānta are not found in the passage of the Brihadāraṇyaka. I have looked into two copies of the Brihadāraṇyaka, one printed in Bombay and one in Calcutta, but I failed to find the words य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्, &c. If the passage contains no such word as the soul, it has consequently nothing to do with the imperfections of the soul in different positions. It is therefore difficult to understand with Rāmānuja the question whether the imperfections clinging to the individual soul affect the Lord as well.

The Shribhāshya is not able to maintain the same subject consistently all through. In the opening sūtras 11-14 the Shribhāshya institutes a parallel as it were between the soul and the Lord who is shown to be free from the shortcomings of the soul. But after this the individual soul drops out of consideration and the subject of अपुरुषार्थत्व yet continues. Neither the स्थानाऽ of the soul, nor the soul itself is even remotely alluded to in the sūtras of the topic nor mentioned in the passage of the Brihadāraṇyaka relied on by the Shribhāshya.

Even if such a question were admitted the topic of the ubhayalingatva, i.e., the nature of the Lord a topic, which is of the highest importance, and at discussing, which the sūtras must be

supposed, to aim principally . . . would but occupy a subordinate position. There appear to be no imperfections taught in the preceding sūtras attaching to the soul which may lend countenance to the supposition that the Lord may be affected by them. The question, moreover, whether the imperfections incidental to the individual soul affect the Lord also, has been once discussed in its right place. The sūtra अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात् (II., 2, 42) asserts that the soul is a part of the Lord. An objection whether the imperfections of the individual soul affect the Lord has been raised and disposed of by the sūtra प्रकाशादिवत् नैवं परः. The objection is thus worded in the Śhrībhāshya अंशत्वे अपि जीवस्य ब्रह्मैकदेशत्वेन जीवगता दोषा ब्रह्मण एवेत्याक्षय्याद् &c. Nothing appears more natural in the sūtras under consideration than that the nature of the Lord should be discussed. The preceding sūtras have treated of the nature of everything including the individual soul except the nature of the Lord. It is, therefore, right to suppose that the nature of the supreme self is discussed here and discussed too with great elaboration. Such a question, it is proper to imagine, deserves all elaboration. Moreover, in the opening sūtras 11-13 there is no general question that is raised. The three sūtras merely discuss a particular passage as I shall point out further on, deducing from it the general proposition. Sūtras from 11 to 30 can be appropriately explained without the aid of Rāmānuja's supposition.

The unreality of such a supposition is manifest from the fact that Rāmānuja has sometimes to take up the question of अपरुषार्थत्व of the Lord (the question whether the imperfections affect the Lord) and sometimes that of उभयलिङ्गत्व inserting any subject in any place so as to suit his convenience and not consistency of reasoning.

Rāmānuja treats of the subject of अपरुषार्थत्व of the Lord in the first four sūtras of the topic, namely, in sūtras 11-14. In the next three sūtras in 15-17 he takes up the subject of the उभयलिङ्गत्व of the Lord. In sūtras 18-20 he returns to the subject of अपरुषार्थत्व, and in 21-25 he resumes the other subject. From the presence of certain particles, and from some other indications, it appears that the first three sūtras 11-13 form one set. It would, therefore, have been proper for Rāmānuja to drop the subject of अपरुषार्थत्व at 13 and not at 14. Sūtra 15 प्रकाशवच्चैवैयर्थ्यात् contains च which serves to show that the sūtra merely continues the subject of sūtra 14 and yet Rāmānuja starts another subject in sūtra 15. Let us grant for a time that another subject is treated in sūtra 15 or rather as the Rāmānuja would have

it a collateral branch of the same subject. After closing the comment on sūtra 14 Rāmānuja starts an objection against the conclusion of sūtra 14, which he disposes of by sūtra 15. If so, sūtra 14 and 15 teach the same subject. But I think sūtra 15 is not intended to answer an objection raised against the conclusion of sūtra 14, for, in sūtra 15, we find the particle च and not तु. In sūtra 18 Rāmānuja returns to the subject of अपुरुषार्थत्व but the words of the sūtra अत एव च show that the sūtra only continues the subject treated of before. All this serves to show if it shows any thing at all that one and the same subject is treated of by the sūtras of the chapter all along.

Rāmānuja does not assign a precise meaning to पुरुषार्थत्व the opposite of अपुरुषार्थत्व which is the objection of the pūrvapakshin. He sometimes uses it as a synonym of उभयलिङ्गत्व and, therefore, wherever he establishes पुरुषार्थत्व he also deduces from it उभयलिङ्गत्व and *vice versa*. He uses the word पुरुषार्थत्व sometimes for the निर्गुण qualities which along with the सगुण qualities go to make up उभयलिङ्गत्व and sometimes for उभयलिङ्गत्व itself. In either case it is the same subject of उभयलिङ्गत्व that is treated of.

That the उभयलिङ्गत्वं of the Lord is denied by the sūtras of the topic as Sankara understands may be seen from the following considerations. In sūtra 11 न स्थानतोऽपि परस्वोभयलिङ्गत्वं सर्वत्र हि it can be seen at once that न is to be connected with उभयलिङ्गत्व which is thus denied of the Lord. Rāmānuja connects न with अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplements. Modern scholars will agree with me in discarding such supplementations. This is, moreover, the supplementation of the main topic according to Rāmānuja. It is not easy to believe that the sūtrakāra leaves the main subject to be supplemented.

No doubt उभयलिङ्ग is apparently retained by the Shribhāshya as a nominative. But on account of the addition of अपुरुषार्थत्व and consequent change of construction the Shribhāshya makes उभयलिङ्गत्व to convey the force of उभयलिङ्गत्वात् thus changing the nominative उभयलिङ्गम् into an ablative which merely supplies grounds, but cannot be supposed to be an affirmation. Dr. Thibaut observes that a new adhikarana is marked by a nominative. This is beyond doubt a new adhikarana; उभयलिङ्गम् must, therefore, be retained as a nominative. If उभयलिङ्गम् is to be retained as it is, as a nominative not conveying the force of an ablative, then certainly उभयलिङ्गत्व is denied of the Lord and not affirmed.

Sūtra 12 again contains a denial of उभयलिङ्गत्व. The sūtra runs thus भेदादिति चेन्न प्रत्येकमतद्वयान्. It may be thus rendered. "If

from diversity you reply that there is उभयलिङ्गत्व we say the objection cannot be urged since diversity is denied everywhere (in all places (प्रत्येकम्) the Lord is said to be 'not that' (अतद्).” The denial in this sūtra, according to Rāmānuja, is not of diversity (भेद) as evidently appears, but of अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplied in sūtra 11, and which he supplies in this sūtra too. Thus, while the sūtras deny the qualities of the Lord he understands all through the denial of अपुरुषार्थत्व or the Lord maintaining उभयलिङ्गत्व all along. Rāmānuja is not able to interpret भेद as diversity pure and simple, but तत्तद्देवादिशरीरयोग-रूपावस्थामेव a long explanation by way of supplementation thus giving up स्थानाऽ and resorting to अवस्थाऽ.

There is a third प्रतिषेध or denial of the उभयलिङ्गत्व or qualities of the Lord in sūtra 22 प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः In sūtra 11-13 Rāmānuja took the प्रतिषेध as referring to अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplied, and not as referring to उभयलिङ्गत्व or qualities of the Lord. In sūtra 22 he admits so far that the प्रतिषेध refers to qualities and not to अपुरुषार्थत्व. If the denial has here reference to qualities, this corroborates our conclusion that in sūtra 11 उभयलिङ्गत्व was denied of the Lord and weakens Rāmānuja's supposition that अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplies was denied there and not qualities of the Lord. The Shribhāshya considers that in sūtra 22 the प्रतिषेध has reference to qualities, but in such a manner that not only are qualities not denied, but they are on the contrary emphatically asserted. The Shribhāshya runs thus:—नैतदुपपद्यते—यद्ब्रह्मणः प्रकृतिविशेषत्वं नेति नेतीति प्रतिषिध्यत इति—तथा सति श्रान्तजल्पितायमानत्वात्। नहि ब्रह्मणो विशेषणतया प्रमाणान्तरा प्रज्ञातं सर्वं तद्विशेषणत्वेनोपदिश्य पुनस्तद्देवानुष्मत्तः प्रतिषेधति। यद्यापि निर्दिश्यमानेषु केचन पदार्थाः प्रमाणान्तरप्रसिद्धास्तथापि तेषां ब्रह्मणः प्रकारस्त्वमज्ञातमेव। इतरेषां तु स्वरूपं ब्रह्मणः प्रकारत्वं चाज्ञातम्। अतस्तेषामनुवादासंभवादत्रैवोपदिश्यते। अतस्तन्निषेधो नोपपद्यते। यस्मादेवं तस्मात् प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं ब्रह्मणः प्रतिषेधतीदं वाक्यम्—ये ब्रह्मणो विशेषाः प्रकृतास्तद्विशिष्टतया ब्रह्मणः प्रतीयमानेयत्ता नेति नेति प्रतिषिध्यते। नेति नेति नैवं नैवम्। उक्तप्रकारमात्रविशिष्टं न भवति ब्रह्म उक्तप्रकारविशिष्टतया या ब्रह्मण इयत्ता प्रकृता साऽनेतिशब्देन परामृश्यत इत्यर्थः यतश्च निषेधानन्तरं ब्रह्मणो भूयो गुणजातं ब्रवीति वाक्यम्।

The words नेति नेति mean even according to Rāmānuja 'Not thus, not thus' for he renders them by नैवं नैवं as given above. They mean that the Lord is not of the description given above. According to Rāmānuja the sūtra means that the Lord has not only two-forms, but many more. In the opinion of the Shribhāshya then the Lord is endowed with रूप or form. But the words "not thus, not thus" primarily mean that the Lord is not of the description given above, i. e., He has not the रूपाऽ

or forms described in the foregoing lines in the passage of the Brihīdāranyaka. The Shribhāshya considers that the Lord has not only two forms, but many more. Surely, then the Lord is "Thus" and not "Not thus, not thus." The emphatic denial "Not thus, not thus" would thus be a positive reiteration. It would, moreover, involve a contradiction in terms. एतावान् primarily denotes a thing of such and such a description, and not limitedness of the description of the thing as Rāmānuja supposes, प्रकृतैतावत्त्व then means being of the description in question. The sūtra 22 then merely teaches that the Lord is not of the description stated above. This serves to show that the interpretation of the Shribhāshya of sūtra 22 is far-fetched.

Dr. Thibaut decidedly prefers the interpretation of the Shribhāshya of sūtra 22 to that of Sankara possibly because Rāmānuja observe that it would be senseless at first to teach of the qualities and finally to deny them. But Rāmānuja forgets what the sūtra (III., 3, 14) आध्यानाय प्रयोजनभावात् teaches that those qualities are mentioned by way of meditation, there being no other purpose.

Let us for a time suppose with Rāmānuja that the Lord is possessed of many forms or रूपाः. But the sūtra 14 अरूपवदेव declares that the Lord is absolutely destitute of form or रूप. This would only serve to show that Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 22 is in Dr. Thibaut's words "the shift of a commentator in straits." Rāmānuja would not consider that the Lord is absolutely void of form, but observes that *the Lord is as nearly as possible void of form, and hence उभयार्थिग i. e., having many forms.* ! Rāmānuja is not able to take the sūtra 14 अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात् as it is but is driven to the necessity of supplementing. The sūtra simply teaches that the Lord is absolutely void of form, since his being void of form is principally asserted of him (अरूपवदेव हि ब्रह्म अरूपवत्त्वं हि ब्रह्मणः प्रधानत्वेनाभिधीयते) But Rāmānuja supplements निर्वाहकत्वेन before प्रधानत्वात् (निर्वाहकत्वेन ब्रह्मणः प्रतिपादयति Brahman is the principal element in bringing out names and forms).

Sūtra 15 containing च and merely adducing the illustration of light must be supposed to cite an additional ground for the conclusion of sūtra 14, which teaches that the Lord is without form. But in Rāmānuja's opinion sūtra 15 teaches that the Lord is endowed with form. Similarly sūtra 16 likens the Lord to light to corroborate sūtra 14. Sūtra 17 merely cites passages from scripture and smritis to the same effect. In the same manner sūtras 18, 19 and 20 merely cite illustrations of the fact that the Lord is devoid of form. And

yet Râmânuja sees in these sûtras the firmestablishment of उभयलिङ्गत्व. The word अन्तर्भावत् of sûtra 19 is unanimously interpreted by both, Sankara and Râmânuja as उपाध्यन्तर्भावत्. But while the former considers the उपाधि as unreal, Râmânuja looks upon it as real. The words वृद्धिशासभास्त्वम् and अन्तर्भावत् show that the उपाधि is unreal. This is moreover confirmed by the fact that the simile of the reflected sun requires an unreal adjunct. The last sûtra of the third pâda of the second adhyâya is प्रदेशादिति चेज्ज्ञान्तर्भावत्. Here in the opinion of Râmânuja even the उपाधि is unreal. The weight of the evidence is therefore in favour of an unreal adjunct. If so, the qualities are denied of the Lord beyond doubt. The word दर्शन always denotes scripture, but here it means an illustration drawn from practical life सिंह इव माणवकः is the illustration put forward by Râmânuja. If the illustration is accepted the उपाधि becomes real. The illustration proposed by Râmânuja is diametrically opposed to that given by Bâdarâyana, namely, the illustration of the reflected sun. In this topic in sûtras 27-29 the sûtrakâra proposes three illustrations of the Lord, out of which that of light is retained. The illustration of light shows that the उपाधि is unreal, while Râmânuja's illustration proves it real. Could not the venerable sûtrakâra propose an illustration like that of Râmânuja appropriate to the subject or did he propose illustrations so as to receive the stigma of disapprobation at the hands of his commentators? This seems strange enough.

Sûtra 23 terms the Lord अव्यक्त (the non-manifest) since it possesses no रूप or qualities by which it can be manifest. That this is the meaning of the sûtras Râmânuja appears to be aware, since he quotes the following passage from scripture to explain the meaning of the sûtra :—न संदृशे तिष्ठति रूपमस्य न चक्षुषा पश्यति कश्चनैनम् But Râmânuja gives a turn to the meaning of the sûtra by supplying the word प्रमाणान्तरेण. The next sûtra teaches according to him that the Lord can be known by sincere devotion alone. Interpreted in this way the two sûtras appear to be irrelevant to the topic under discussion. Râmânuja thus appears to impress upon our mind that the two sûtras incidentally as it were turn upon a different subject. But if the sûtras quite apparently discuss the topic of उभयलिङ्गत्व which subject is not yet wound up even according to Râmânuja, none will look upon them as dealing with a different topic or a side point if they are able to connect them with the topic in question. Sûtra 24 would require according to Râmânuja's comment एव to be supplemented. Let us construe and combine the two sûtras तन् अव्यक्तम् आह हि (23) अपि

संराधने (अव्यक्तम्) प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् Rāmānuja's comment on sūtra 24 runs thus :—

अपि च संराधने सम्यक् प्रीणनेभक्तिरूपापन्ने निदिध्यासन एवास्य साक्षात्कारो नान्यत्रेति श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यामवगम्यते । नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया वा बहुना श्रुतेन । यमेवेष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा दिवृणुते तनुं स्वाम्. Construed according to Rāmānuja sūtra 24 would run thus :—अपि (च) संराधने (एव व्यक्तम्) प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम्. Instead of अव्यक्तम् which, as I have shown, the natural construction of the sūtras demands, Rāmānuja puts in व्यक्तम् which is quite the reverse of the proper sense !! Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 25 is exceedingly forced.—वैशेष्य means in sūtras (II., 4, 23, II., 3, 25) attributes, peculiarities or the state of being differentiated by attributes.—अवैशेष्य as applied to the Lord in sūtra 25 would then denote the state of not being differentiated by attributes. By means of supplementations, this very word अवैशेष्य Rāmānuja is able to take in the sense of the state of being differentiated by attributes !! The Śrībhāṣya runs thus on sūtra 25 (प्रकाशादिवच्चा-वैशेष्यं प्रकाशश्च कर्मण्यभ्यासात्) इतश्च प्रकृतैसावन्वमेव प्रतिषेधति न मूर्तामूर्तादिविशिष्टत्वं—यतः साक्षात्कृतपरब्रह्मस्वरूपाणां वामदेवादीनां दर्शने प्रकाशादिवत्—ज्ञानानन्दादिस्वरूपवत्—मूर्तामूर्तादिप्रपञ्चविशिष्टतया अपि ब्रह्मगुणत्वा वैशेष्यं प्रतीयते—तद्वैतत्पदयत् ऋषिर्वाग्देवो प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुर्भवमहं सूर्यश्चेत्यादि ब्रह्मरूपभूतप्रकाशानन्दादिश्च तेषां वामदेवादीनां संराधनात्मके कर्मण्यभ्यासादुपलभ्यते—तद्वच्चाभ्यस्तसंराधनानां तेषां मूर्तामूर्तादिविशिष्टत्वमप्यविशेषेण प्रतीयते. Here Rāmānuja renders the word प्रकाश by ज्ञान attaching a metaphorical meaning to it. Outside the उभयलिङ्गत्वाधिकरण the word प्रकाश occurs several times, प्रकाशादिवत् occurs at II., 3, 45 and at III., 2, 34, and the word ज्योतिरादिवत् is found at sūtra II., 3, 47. In all these places Rāmānuja himself interprets the word प्रकाश in the sense of light and takes it as an illustration. In the उभयलिङ्गत्वाधिकरण itself the word प्रकाश occurs three times besides in the sūtra in question. In all these places Rāmānuja takes the word प्रकाश in the sense of light, and as an illustration of the Lord as being destitute of रूप or form as asserted in sūtra अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात्. The sūtra in question, namely, sūtra 25 merely illustrates the fact of the Lord being अव्यक्त which by Rāmānuja himself is taken in the sense of अरूप. We thus see that in both the places, the same fact, namely, the Lord's being without form is illustrated by means of the same word प्रकाश. It, therefore, follows that the word प्रकाश must mean light here also. Moreover, if we take into consideration the fact that the word प्रकाश is uniformly in all places interpreted by Rāmānuja, and also by Sankara as meaning light, it should be

understood as light in this place too. We may then be sure that the word प्रकाश means light in sūtra 25. But if the word प्रकाश means light, we must reject Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 25. But suppose for argument's sake that the word प्रकाश means ज्ञान as Rāmānuja understands. The Shribhāṣhya interprets प्रकाशादिवत् as ज्ञानानन्दादिस्वरूपवत्. There is then again another difficulty as to what word or words should be understood after प्रकाश. In sūtra 18 अत एव चापमा सूर्यकरादिवत् and in the next sūtra Rāmānuja understands ether besides light as an illustration proper to set forth the nature of the Lord. I am not able to understand why आनन्द is to be taken after प्रकाश in the sūtra in hand. It is possibly to suit the change. Since प्रकाश is taken in the sense of ज्ञान Rāmānuja thinks proper to insert आनन्द after it. Yet there is the further difficulty that प्रकाश is to be taken singly as illustrating the nature of the Lord. The words प्रकाशादिवत् cannot be understood to convey a combined idea if we follow Rāmānuja himself in his interpretations of प्रकाशादिवत् and व्योतिरादिवत् in other places where they occur. Rāmānuja does not appear to take प्रकाश as an illustration and he interprets प्रकाशादिवत् as conveying a collective idea. But this is directly opposed to the teaching of the sūtra. The sūtra runs thus:-प्रकाशादिवच्चावैशेष्यं प्रकाशश्च कर्मण्य-यासात्. The latter part of the sūtra teaches that प्रकाश is often employed for such a purpose. Rāmānuja is not able to interpret the latter part of the sūtra as it is. He writes ब्रह्मरूपभूतप्रकाशानन्दादिश्च तेषां वामदेवादीनां संराधनात्मके कर्मण्य-यासादुपलभ्यते. The word प्रकाश only is found in the latter part of the sūtra, but Rāmānuja talks of प्रकाशानन्दादि.

By adding आनन्द after प्रकाश and by supplementing the word स्वरूप after आनन्द Rāmānuja appears to take ज्ञान and आनन्द as constituting the ingredients which go to make up Brahman and answering to the oft-quoted phrase सच्चिदानन्द or सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म. But do the sages perceive the Lord as प्रकाशानन्दादिस्वरूपवत् at the time of संराधन? The passage quoted by Rāmānuja only teaches that वामदेव thought he was Manu, he was the sun and so forth. Is the word Manu here to be interpreted as meaning ज्ञान or the word सूर्य to be taken to denote light? This would be stretching the words to an inconceivable degree. The passage only teaches that at the time of absolution वामदेव thought himself identified with Brahman, and consequently with every thing in the world. If the Lord, as sūtra 23 teaches, is really अव्यक्त (without form) the sages will only perceive Him as such. The interpretation of the Shribhāṣhya, therefore, is not satisfactory.

It does not appear as Rāmānuja supposes that this topic is suggested by what is taught in the preceding sūtras. The sūtrakāra has already taught the nature of the soul and of inanimate objects. It now remains for him to treat of the nature of the Lord. The first three sūtras (11-13), moreover, of the ubhayalingatvādhikarana appear to discuss a particular passage. The commentators suppose that Bādarāyana treats of the ubhayalingatva generally and quote passages, therefore, from various upanishads to establish the proposition. Bādarāyana on the contrary discusses in the first three sūtras a particular passage, and deduces from it the general proposition. The third sūtra अपि चैवमेके proves that this is the discussion of a particular passage. In my opinion the following is the passage of the Brihadāranyaka that is discussed in these sūtras.

साहोवाच नमस्तेऽस्तु याज्ञवल्क्य यो मे एतं व्यवचोऽपरस्मै धारयस्वेति पृच्छ गार्गीति । साहोवाच यदूर्ध्वं याज्ञवल्क्य दिवो यदवाक् पृथिव्या यदन्तरा द्याव-पृथिवी इमे च यद् भूतं च भवच्च भविष्यच्चाचक्षते कस्मिन्स्तदोतं च प्रोतं चोति । स-होवाच यदूर्ध्वं गार्गी दिवो यदवाक् पृथिव्या यदन्तरा द्यावपृथिवी इमे यद् भूतं च भवच्च भविष्यच्चेत्याचक्षते आकाशे तदोतं च प्रोतं चोति कस्मिन् खल्वाकाश ओतश्च प्रोतश्चेति ॥ ७ ॥ सहोवाच तद्धेतदक्षरं गार्गी ब्राह्मणा अभिवदन्त्यस्थूलमनण्वहस्व-मदीर्घमलोहितमस्नेहमच्छायमतमोऽवाध्वं नाकाशमसंगमरसमगंधमचक्षुष्कमश्रोत्र-मवागमनोऽजेजस्कमप्राणममुखममात्रमनन्तरमबाह्यं न तदश्नाति किञ्चन न तदस्माति कश्चन ॥ ८ ॥ एतस्य वाक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गी सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ विधृतौ तिष्ठत एतस्य वाक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गी द्यावपृथिव्यौ विधृतौ तिष्ठतः &c. (IV. 8).

This passage of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad teaches that every thing abides in the Lord. The Lord is thus here looked upon as the repository of all things. The pūrvapakshin urges that the Lord, since he is the repository of so many things, possesses attributes of both the sorts. The sūtra न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गं सर्वत्र हि thus disposes of the objection. Although, so many things abide in the Lord still the Lord cannot be looked upon as being endowed with attributes since in all places the Lord is represented as void of attributes (11). Should it be objected that there is diversity found there (भेदादिति चेत्) we deny this since in the case of each thing the Lord is said to be "Not that" (न प्रत्येकमतद्वचनात्) (12) for after having taught that every thing abides in the Lord the passage distinctly asserts that the Lord is neither large nor atomic, neither short nor long, &c., neither air nor ether, &c. (अस्थूलमनण्वहस्वमदीर्घ-मलोहितमस्नेहमच्छायमतमोऽवाध्वनाकाशम् &c.

Sūtra 13 needs no explanation for our present purpose. These three sūtras form one group.

Sûtra 14 contains a nominative and introduces a new set. Sûtra 14 contains हि and must, therefore, be supposed to cite additional grounds for the conclusion arrived at in sûtra 11. Sûtras 14 — 21 also refer to a particular passage. But I have not yet been able to find out the passage answering the description although I searched for it one hundred and eight upanishads which were accessible to me at Indore. There is no doubt that sûtras 14 — 21 discuss a passage from scripture. For instance, look to sûtras 20 and 21 वृद्धिःसभास्त्वमन्तर्भावादेवम् 20 दर्शनाच्च 21. The Shribhâshya combines the two sûtras into one. The reading of the shrîbhâshya is better for we are able to take the word एवम् with दर्शनाच्च. The sun, the sûtra teaches, appears to increase and decrease owing to उपाधि and this is seen from the passage of scripture. This is not asserting a doctrine, but merely arguing out an illustration for which the scriptural passage is referred to. It is, therefore, a particular passage which the sûtras discuss. Look again to sûtras आह च तन्मात्रम् (16) and दर्शयति चाथोऽपि स्मर्यते (17). The first sûtra declares that the Lord is nothing but light as taught in the passage of scripture. The second sûtra quotes passages from scripture and smritis generally for confirmation. Had not a particular passage been discussed in this place we would have found simply sutra 17 and not 16. The grouping together of both the sûtras shows that the adhikarana discusses one particular passage, while other passages to the same effect are merely brought forward for corroboration. If no body will be able to discover a passage answering the description we shall have merely to conclude that an Upanishad of that description is lost to us. But this is certain that the sûtras discuss a passage which represents the Lord as void of form, asserts that He is nothing but light, cites the illustration of the reflected sun, and explains the increase and decrease of the sun by the supposition of an unreal adjunct.

Sûtra 14 teaches that the Lord is void of form ; for that is the gist of the Upanishad passages, which describe the nature of the Lord. Sûtras 15-21 dispose of objections raised against this conclusion and closely reason out the Lord's being void of form.

Sûtra 22 forms an adhikarana by itself. This sûtra contains हि and must be consequently looked upon as corroborating the conclusion of sûtra 11 that the Lord is void of attributes. The commentators here unanimously understand that the sûtra refers to the passage of the Brihadâraṇyaka constituting the third Brahmana of the fourth

adhyāya which begins with the words हे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे and ends with अथात आदेशो नेति नेति &c. This does not appear to be the passage referred to by the sūtra. For the आदेश is explained thus by the Upanishad न ह्येतस्मादिति न ह्यन्यत्र परमस्ति. We are, therefore, to understand that the words नेति नेति teach that there is nothing higher than the Lord. The words of the sūtra प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः would not apply. We must, therefore, look to some other passage. I think the following is the passage alluded to by sūtra 22. यस्मिन् पंच पंचजना आकाशश्च प्रतिष्ठितः तमेव मन्ये आत्मानं विद्वान् ब्रह्माद्यतोऽ-सृत्तम् ॥ १७ ॥ (Brih. VI. 4). When we come to the close of the Brahmana, we meet with the following words:—स एष नेति नेत्यात्माऽ-सृष्टो नहि सृष्टतेऽशीर्यो नहि शीर्यतेऽसंगो नहि शीर्यतेऽसंगो नहि सञ्ज्ञतेऽसितो नहि व्यथ्यते न रिष्यते. In this passage the Lord is declared to be the repository of every thing. Sūtra 22 may then be thus interpreted. There is no उभयलिङ्गत्व of the Lord which has been already taught in sūtra 11 since the passage denies that the Lord is of the description given above, and, therefore, explains the same thing further on. The words ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः refer to अग्राह्यो नहि सृष्टते &c., which explain स एष नेति नेत्यात्मा.

Sūtras 23—26 refer, in my opinion, to the following passage of the Brihadāranyaka. अयमात्मा सर्वेषां भूतानामध्वस्यात्मनः सर्वाणि भूतानि मधु यश्चायमस्मिन्नात्मनि तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः पुरुषोऽयमेव स योयमात्मेदममृतं ब्रह्मेदं सर्वम् ॥ १४ ॥

सवायमात्मा सर्वेषां भूतानामधिपतिः सर्वेषां भूतानां राजा तद्यथा रथनाभौ च रथनेभौ चाराः प्रतिष्ठिता एवमेवास्मिन्नात्मनि सर्वाणि भूतानि सर्वे एते आत्मनः समर्पिताः ॥ १५ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽग्निभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोचद्वाजरा-सनयेदं स उपमाविष्कृणोमि तन्मतुर्न वृष्टिं दध्यङ्गहमध्वाथर्वणो वामश्वस्य शीर्ष्णां प्रयवीमुवाचेति ॥ १६ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽग्निभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोचद्वाथर्वणा-थाग्निना दधीचेऽश्वं शिरः प्रत्यैरयतं स वो मधु प्रावोचद्वातायन्त्वाष्टं यद्वावापिकश्चं वामिति ॥ १७ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽग्निभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोचत्पुरश्चक्रे द्विपदः पुरश्चक्रे चतुष्पदः पुरः स पक्षी भूत्वा पुरः पुरुष आविशदिति स वायं पुरुषः सर्वासु पुरुषे पुरि शयौ नैनेन किञ्चनावृतं नैनेन किञ्चनासंवृतम् ॥ १८ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽग्निभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोचद्दूपं रूपं प्रतिकूपो बभूव तदस्य रूपप्रतिचक्षणाय इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते युक्ताह्वस्य हरयः शता दशेत्ययं वै हरयोऽयं वै दश च सहस्राणि बहूनि चानन्तानि च तदेतद्ब्रह्मा पूर्वमनपरमनन्तरमवाह्यमयमात्मा ब्रह्म सर्वानुभूतित्यनुदासनम् ॥ १९ ॥ (III 5).

This passage declares that the soul is the repository of all existing

things. The sūtra तदव्यक्तमाह हि refers to the last words of the passage तदेतद्ब्रह्मापूर्वमनपरमन्तरमवाह्यमयमात्मा ब्रह्म सर्वानुभूः Sankara also quotes these words in commenting on this sūtra to prove that the Lord is non-manifest. The next sūtra अपि संराधने प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् teaches that this is the case even at the time of आराधन. The sūtra asserts that the Lord is non-manifest even at the time of meditation. The passage quoted by us bears apparent marks that it is a passage for meditation. But Sankara thinks otherwise. This is the fifth Brahmana. The fourth Brahmana of the Brihadāranyaka contains a conversation between Yajñavalkya and Maitreyi. In connection with the fifth Brahmana Sankara writes as follows :—यत्केवलं कर्म निरपेक्षममृतत्वसाधनं तदव्यक्तमिति मैत्रेयिब्राह्मणमारब्धम् । तच्चात्मज्ञानं सर्वसत्त्वासांशविशिष्टम् । आत्मनि च विज्ञाते सर्वमिदं विज्ञातं भवति आत्मा च प्रियः सर्वस्मात्तदात्मा द्रष्टव्यः स च श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्य इति च । दर्शनप्रकारा उक्तास्तत्र च श्रोतव्य आचार्यागमाभ्याम् । मन्तव्यस्तर्कतस्तत्र तर्कश्च उक्त आत्मैवेदं सर्वमिति । प्रतिज्ञातस्य हेतुवचनमात्मैकसामान्यत्वमात्मैकौद्भवत्वमात्मैकप्रलयं च । तत्रार्थं हेतुरसिद्ध इत्याशङ्कते आत्मैकसामान्यौद्भवप्रलयाख्यस्तदा शंक्रानिवृत्त्यर्थमेतद्ब्राह्मणमारभ्यते .

अन्वैष्ट्याख्यातं आनुनुभिदृष्टान्ताच्छ्रोतव्याधिमागमवचनं प्राङ्मधुब्राह्मणान्मन्तव्याधिसुपपत्तिप्रदर्शनेन मधुब्राह्मणेन तु निदिध्यासनविधिरुच्यते इति । सर्वथापि तु यथागमेनावधारितं तर्कतस्तथैव मन्तव्यम् । यथा तर्कतोमस्य तर्काभ्यां निश्चितस्य तथैव निदिध्यासनं क्रियते इति पृथङ्निदिध्यासनविधिरनर्थक एव । तस्मान् पृथक्प्रकरणविभागोऽनर्थक इत्यस्मदभिप्रायः । श्रवणमनननिदिध्यासनानामिति । सर्वथाऽपि त्वध्यायद्वयस्यार्थोऽस्मिन् ब्राह्मण उपसंह्रियते ।

Thus Sankara connects the fifth Brahmana with the fourth. But if we examine the fifth Brahmana from beginning to end we find that it is an upāsana and nothing else. Commentators try to find out some connection between one chapter and another. But the Brihadāranyaka contains passages which have no connection with what precedes and what follows. The fourth Brahmana is argumentative and deals with the knowledge of the soul. The fifth Brahmana is simply devoted to meditation. It enjoins that the soul and other things are to be looked upon as honey. This is meditation pure and simple. Moreover, the fifth Brahmana may be called the दध्यङ्गाथर्वण-ब्राह्मण and may be ascribed to a sage of that name, while the fourth Brahmana called by Sankara the Maitreyi Brahmana may be ascribed to Yajñavalkya.

We may then fairly assume that the passage in question is a passage for meditation, and hence the words अपि संराधने fit in. The sūtra then quotes passages from scripture and smritis for a confirma-

tion of the view. The next sūtra प्रकाशवच्चावैशेष्यं प्रकाशश्च कर्मण्यभ्यासात् teaches that the Lord is void of attributes, and may, on that account, be likened to light, and that light is often made use of for this purpose. Hence, adds the next sūtra (अतोऽनन्तेन तथा हि लिङ्गम्) the Lord is compared to *endless rays*, and that there is sign to that effect. This sūtra refers to the following words of the passage:—

तदेतद्वृषिः पश्यन्नवोच्चद्रूपं प्रतिरूपं बभूव तदस्य रूपं प्रतिचक्षणाय इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते युक्ता ह्यस्य हरयः शता दशैत्यर्थं वै हरयोऽयं वै दश च सहस्राणि बहूनि चानन्तानि च.

Sankara and Rāmānuja separate the last four sūtras उभयव्यपदेशात्त्वहिकुण्डलवत् 27 प्रकाशाभयवद्वा तेजस्त्वात् 28 पूर्ववद्वा 29 प्रतिषेधाच्च 30 from the ubhayalingādhikarana calling it the ahikundaladhikarana. Rāmānuja thus connects the last sūtra with what precedes:

मूर्तामूर्तात्मकस्याचिदप्रपञ्चस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपत्वं द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे इत्यादिनोपविश्यते। अथात आदेशो नेति नेतीति मूर्तामूर्ताचिद्वस्तुरूपतया ब्रह्मण इत्यत्रा प्रतिषिध्यते। न ह्येतस्मादिति नेत्यन्यत्परमस्तीति ब्रह्मणोऽन्यदुत्कृष्टं न ह्यस्तीति प्रतिपादितं तदुपादानाय अथ नामधेयं सत्यस्य सत्यमिति प्राणा वै सत्यं तेषामपि सत्यमिति प्राणशब्दनिर्दिष्टभ्यश्चेतनभ्योऽप्येष सत्यमिति कदाचिदपि ज्ञानादिसंकोचाभावादुक्तम्। तथा प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतिसुणेशः पति विश्वस्यात्मेश्वरं नित्यो नित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानामित्यादि श्रुतेश्चायमर्थोऽवगम्यते। तस्याचिद्वस्तुनो ब्रह्मरूपत्वप्रकार इदानीं चिन्त्यते ब्रह्मणो निर्दोषसिद्ध्यर्थम्। किमस्याचिद्वस्तुनो ब्रह्मरूपत्वमहिकुण्डलन्यायेन While commenting upon sūtra 29 पूर्ववद्वा Rāmānuja arrives at the following conclusion अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात्-प्रकाशादिवत् नैवं पर इति जीववत् पृथक् सिद्ध्यतर्हविशेषणत्वेनाचिद्वस्तुनो ब्रह्मांशत्वं विशिष्टवस्त्वेकदेशत्वेनाभेदव्यवहारो मुख्यः विशेषणविशेष्ययोः स्वरूपस्वभावभेदेन भेदव्यवहारो मुख्यः ब्रह्मणो निर्दोषत्वं च रक्षितम् तदेवं प्रकाशजातिगुणशरीराणां मणिव्यक्तिगुणात्मनः प्रत्यपृथक्सिद्धिलक्षणविशेषणतया यथांशत्वं तथैव जीवस्याचिद्वस्तुनश्च ब्रह्मप्रत्यंशत्वम्.

Sankara understands the connection of the sūtras with what precedes as follows तस्मिन्नेव च संराध्यसंराधकभावे मतान्तरमुपन्यस्यति स्वमतमविशुद्धये। क्वचिज्जीवप्राप्तयोर्भेदो व्यपदिश्यते.

क्वचित्तु तयोरेवाभेदो व्यपदिश्यते उभयव्यपदेशदर्शनादहिकुण्डलवदत्र तत्त्वं भवितुमर्हति यथाहिरित्यभेदः कुण्डलप्रांशुत्वादीनि च भेदः एवमिहापीति

Sankara interprets sūtra 29 as follows यथावा पूर्वमुपन्यस्तं प्रकाशादिवच्चावैशेष्यमिति तथैव तद्वितुमर्हति.

Sankara here introduces the soul and Rāmānuja the non-sentient matter. There is nothing in these sūtras nor in the preceding ones

which lends countenance to such a supposition. There is no hint even thrown out about the non-sentient matter in the passages of the Upanishads which Rāmānuja quotes in the beginning of his *ahikun-dalādhikarana* and of which I have given a citation above. The last sūtra पूर्ववद्वा Rāmānuja takes as referring to अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात् and प्रकाशादिवस्तु नैवपरः The sūtras are found neither in the pāda nor in the adhyāya in question, but in the third pāda of the last adhyāya. Moreover, they occur in connection with the nature of the soul and not of the non-sentient matter. The subject of the non-sentient matter has been already disposed of in the opening chapter of this adhyāya. The soul in the third pāda of the second adhyāya is declared as part of the Lord. No such thing is ever said about the non-sentient matter. Both the soul and the Lord being intelligence pure and simple, the former can well be looked upon as part of the latter. But it is difficult to suppose how the non-sentient matter can be viewed, like the soul, as part of the Lord. Moreover, the sūtra पूर्ववद्वा would, according to Rāmānuja, refer to the illustration of light. But Rāmānuja has recourse to an illustration which is not found in the sūtras and which appears not to be appropriate.

As for Sankara, although he appears to hint at another subject still he keeps substantially to the same matter discussed in the preceding sūtras, since in the sūtra पूर्ववद्वा he returns to the sūtra प्रकाशवच्चैवोपपद्यते. This is a proof of the fact that the sūtras do not discuss a new subject. The sūtra उभयव्यपदेशात्त्वहिकुण्डलवत् contains "तु" which suffices to show that there is no new subject. For a new *adhikarana* does not begin with a sūtra containing तु. तु only serves to show that the sūtra disposes of an objection raised against the conclusion of the preceding sūtras. Besides the four sūtras put forward three different views about the same matter and consequently there cannot be a new point mooted in these sūtras.

The last two sūtras, as interpreted by Sankara, return to the view laid down in sūtra 25. The last sūtra प्रतिषेधाच्च is substantially the same as sūtra 22 प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः We may therefore safely assume that the four sūtras also treat of the उभयलिङ्गत्व. The preceding sūtras have established that there is no उभयलिङ्गत्व. But the *pūrvapakshin* objects that the Lord is taught in scripture both as possessing attributes and as transcending them. The sūtra उभयव्यपदेशात्त्वहिकुण्डलवत् meets the objection by comparing the Lord to a snake which is one only but difference into which is introduced by means of coils. But the view not being satisfactory

the sūtrakāra puts forward another alternative. The next sūtra likens the Lord to a repository of light. This view too is rejected by the succeeding sūtra पूर्ववद् which returns to the teaching of the sūtra 25 प्रकाशवच्चैशेष्यम्.

From the eleventh sūtra downward up to sūtra 30 inclusive, one and the same subject is treated of. Sūtras 11-13 appear to form one set discussing the meaning of one particular passage and deducing from it the general proposition that the Lord is void of attributes. Sūtras 14-21 form another group which upholds the same conclusion by declaring that the Lord is void of form. For this end the sūtras, refer to another passage. These sūtras are connected, in my opinion, with the preceding set by the fact of sūtra 14 containing हि which supplies a reason for the foregoing conclusion. Sūtra 22 appears to form a section by itself which affirms the same proposition by asserting that all forms are denied of the Lord in a third passage. This sūtra is connected with sūtra 11 by the same particle हि. Sūtras 23-30 form the last section of the adhikarana by teaching that the Lord is non-manifest, not having qualities or forms. It refers to a fourth scriptural passage and is connected with the first set by means of the same preposition हि. From what I have shown above almost all the passages are taken from the Brihadāranyaka. Upanishad, passages from other Upanishads being occasionally made use of. All these sūtras most elaborately establish the proposition that the Lord is without form, without attributes.

Thus, the sūtras of the so-called topic of उभयलिङ्गत्व which ought rather to be termed the topic of अनुभयलिङ्गत्व emphatically and repeatedly declare the Lord as void of attributes. The sūtras represent the Lord as intelligence pure and simple without form, without attributes. I do not, therefore, find any stress laid by the Vedānta sūtras on the personal character of the Lord as Dr. Thibaut is inclined to think and consequently the theory of Bādarāyana making a compromise with beliefs springing up in altogether different quarters does not appear to be countenanced by the teaching of the sūtras.

ART. VI.—*A Note on the Growth of Marathi Literature.* By the
Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

(Communicated July 1898.)

PART I.—INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1863, the Directors and Vice-Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland addressed a communication to the then Secretary of State for India, drawing his attention to the fact that "of late years the Hindus had shown great literary activity, partly by editing numerous texts of their ancient Sanskrit literature, partly by translating English and Sanskrit works into their vernacular dialects, and partly by producing original compositions on subjects of a political, scientific and religious character." They added that "though these books were very numerous, and in many respects important, only a small portion of them were accessible to European scholars," and they suggested that "the attention of the Indian authorities should be drawn to the matter, and instructions issued to publish catalogues of such works for the past years, and supplement them by quarterly publications of the titles of all native books and pamphlets that issue from the Indian presses." The Secretary of State thereupon addressed a despatch to the Government of India, and that Government desired the local administrations to undertake the publication of a catalogue of works published up to 1864, and to supplement that catalogue by quarterly lists of new publications. Sir Alexander Grant became the Director of Public Instruction about this time, and it was under his orders that the first catalogue was brought out containing a list of printed works in Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarathi, Canarese, Sindi, Hindustani and Persian, published up to the end of 1864. The writer of these observations was officially entrusted with the preparation of a catalogue of Marathi works, and he submitted at the same time a report reviewing the principal features of the progress made in the different departments of Marathi literature during the whole period covered by the catalogue. This report traced the gradual rise of literary activity as tested by its published results almost from the very commencement. This catalogue shows that, during the first ten

years of British rule from 1818 to 1827, only three Marathi works were published, and they were all works on Mathematics, translated by Colonel Jervis for the use of the students of the school of which he was placed in charge.

Ten works appear from this catalogue to have been published during the next ten years between 1827 and 1837, two of them being medical works by Dr. McLennan on *Materia Medica* and *Nosology*, six were school books on *Geometry* and *Geography* by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, one *Grammar* by Dadoba Pandurang, two reading books by Major Candy, and one on *Natural Science* by Hari Keshavaji. The most notable works of this period were the Marathi Dictionary prepared under English superintendence by Jagannath Shastri and others in the employment of Government, and later on, Molesworth's Marathi-into-English Dictionary.

The catalogue shows that thirty works were published during the third period from 1837 to 1847. Of these, a *History of India* by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, a book on *Astronomy*, and another on *Chemistry* by Hari Keshavaji, a book on *Mensuration* by Colonel Jervis, and several small books of moral lessons were, as in the preceding decade, composed for use in schools. A translation of *Æsop's Fables* and of *Bala Mitra* (*Children's Friend*), by Sadashiva Kashinath Chhatre, were also published during this decade. A more hopeful feature of the publications of this period appears to be that for the first time private publishers began to bring out editions of the old Marathi poets. *Dnyaneshvari*, as also the original *Gita* with a translation, *Hari-Vijaya* and *Rukmini Svayamvara* (the marriage of Rukmini), and a translation of *Hindu Law* books were for the first time published during this period. Besides these publications and translations, the *Native Almanac* was also first printed during this period, and translations of *Natural Theology* and *Pilgrim's Progress* were brought out by private authors unconnected with any Missionary Society. Finally, in 1847, Major Candy's Dictionary, with a smaller Dictionary by Shrikrishna Shastri Talekar, were published. There was thus decided progress over the two preceding decades in this third period.

The next ten years contributed 102 works in the catalogue. As might be expected, the activity of the previous decade in the publication of the works of the old Marathi poets, as also in translations from Sanskrit and English, was kept up, and considerably enlarged. School books were brought out as before, but they bore a smaller

proportion to works intended for adult readers. The three *Shatahas* of *Bhartra Hari* were published with translations, the *Hitopadesha* was similarly published, and *Vidura Niti* was translated. As regards translations from English, we have a life of Captain Cook by Ganesha Shastri Lele, a life of Columbus by Mahadeva Shastri Kolhatkar, a life of Socrates by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, a translation of Berthold by Bhavani Vishvanath Kanavinde, of Elphinstone's History of India by Rao Saheb Mandalik, a translation of Grant Duff's History, and of Captain Macdonald's life of Nana Fadnavis by unknown authors, and of Natural Philosophy by Kero Laxman Chhatre. There were also original works on Railways by Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar, on Political Economy by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, an Essay on the Immortality of the Soul by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake, and on Domestic Reform by Rev. Baba Padmanji, a translation of a Persian work of *Sadi* by an unknown author, and a work on Mechanics by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake.

The fourth period extends from 1857 to 1864, and was distinguished by a very great development of literary activity among Marathi authors and translators. The works of this period for the eight years from 1857 to 1864 which find place in the catalogue number nearly five hundred and fifty. In respect of the publication of old Marathi poetry, this 5th decade carries the palm, not only over the periods which preceded it, but possibly also over what has been done in this line during the last 30 years. All the 18 Parvas of the *Maha Bharat* adopted into Marathi Arya metre by the poet Moropant were published by Mahdava Chandroba during this period in the *Sarvasangraha*. Moropant's *Kekavali*, *Madalasa*, *Saptashati*, *Krishna-Vijaya*, and other works were also published. The same publisher brought out Mukteshvar's adaptation into Ovi metre of the *Sabha Parva* and *Adi Parva*, and of his *Ramayana*. Other publishers brought out editions of Vamana Pandit's works, *Yathartha Dipika*, *Gajendra Moksha*, *Gopi Gita*, *Sita Svayamvara* (marriage of Sita). *Dasa Bodha*, by Ramadas, was published during this period, and Shridhar's popular works, *Rama-Vijaya*, *Nalakhya*, *Pandava-Pratapa*, *Rukmini-Svayamvara*, *Shiva-Lilamrit*, as also Mahipati's lives of the Saints and Prophets, and Uddhava Chitgan's and Prabhakar's and Amritrao's smaller works, were all published about the same time. Parashurampant Godbole also rendered great service to Marathi literature by bringing out an enlarged edition of his selections from old Marathi poetry, accompanied with short biogra-

phies of the poets, in his famous collection called *Navanita*, which serves the same purpose as the Golden Treasury, as an introduction to the best specimens of old Marathi poetry.

With regard to the enrichment of Marathi literature by translations from Sanskrit and English authors, this period made considerable progress. *Aparokshanubhuti* was translated by Mahadeva Shastri. A new commentary on the *Gita* was written by Raghunatha Shastri Parvate, for the instruction of his Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur. *Malati Madhava* was translated by Krishna Shastri Rajavade, and *Presanna Ragava* and *Ratnavali* were translated by other Shastris. Parashurampant Godbole adapted into Marathi the Sanskrit dramas *Shakuntala*, *Mritchha-Katika*, *Veni-sanhar*, and *Uttara Rama-charitra*; *Meghaduta* was adapted into beautiful Marathi verse by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar; Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar translated ancient medical works, such as *Madhava Nidan*, *Trim-baki* and *Vaidya Jivana*. The great work on Hindu law, *Mitakshara*, was also translated by Raghunath Shastri Date. As regards translation of English works,—Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar translated the *Beauties of Heaven*, and Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar the *Arabian Nights*. Chambers' *Astronomy* was translated by Krishna Shastri Godbole, and Murray's *History of India* was similarly translated by Narsinha Shastri Oka and Vishnu Shastri Pandit. Apart from the additions represented by the three classes of works named above, this period was also distinguished by the production of original works.

Under travels we have an account of the travels of Shrimant Dajisaheb Kibe, the famous banker of Indore, written by himself, describing his journey into the Deccan. In general prose, we have Mr. Vinayaka Kondadeva Oka's "First Book of Moral Lessons" for the use of children, and Govinda Narayan's *Essays on Intemperance, Truth, Cleanliness*; his description of trees, railways; and an account of Bombay. Rev. Baba Padmanji also published his *Nibandhamala* and *Yamuna Paryatan*. In this period we also find controversial publications on social and religious topics, such as a small work on widow-marriage by Vishnu Parashuram Ranade, a tract, expounding the *Parama-hansa-mata*, or theism, a similar tract on the origin of Bramhanism, and finally the *Vedokta-Dharma-Prakasha*, published by Vishnu Bawa Bramhachari. Under science we may notice Doctor Narayan Daji's work on Chemistry and Medicine, Professor Daji Nilkantha Nagarkar's *Conic Sections*, Dr. Bhikaji Amrit's work on

Anatomy, and the new Astronomical tables prepared by Professor Keropant Chhatre. Small works were also published on Electricity by Krishna Shastri Bhatavedekar, on Photography by Harichand Chintaman, on Physical Geography by Mahadeva Shastri Puranika, on Mechanics by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake, and a bigger work called the "Elements of many Sciences" by Krishna Shastri Chip-lunkar.

Under novels, three works deserve mention *Gashiram Kotwal* by the late Rao Bahadur Moroba Kanhoba, *Muktamala* by Laxman Shastri Halave, and *Raja Madan* by Baba Gokhale. To these might be added the publications of the old stories of *Vikrama Battisi*, *Vetal Panchavisi*, *Shuka Bahattari*, and *Bakasura Bahhar*.

Under History we have an account of the Sepoy Mutiny, and a History of England by Khanderao Fadake, and Hari Keshavaji's English History, a small History of Kolhapur, a History of Egypt, and a History of the Reign of Catherine of Russia.

Under Biography we have the lives of Indian poets by Janardan Ramachandra, a life of Cyrus by Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide, a life of Nana Fadnavis by Vishnu Shastri and of Raja Ram Mohan Rai by Bhaskar Hari Bhagvat.

A few general remarks on the state of Marathi literature for the whole of this period (1818-64) covered by the catalogue may fitly conclude this introduction to the review we propose to undertake of the further growth of this literature during the next thirty years. The total number of purely Marathi books published down to the end of 1864 was 661. Of these 431 were prose, and 230 were verse. The prose school books numbered about 98, and comprise reading books, and works on Mathematics, History, Geography and Grammar. As all these books were either translations or compilations prepared to order, they indicate nothing beyond them, and may be passed by without any remark except that Colonel Jervis, Major Candy, Sadashiva Kashinatha Chhatre, Bal Shastri Jambhekar, Dadoba Pandurang, and Bhaskar Damodar made themselves specially useful in this service of elementary school books.

Excluding school books, the prose publications were about 325. Taking the different heads of prose literature separately, although there were twenty-three books of History, large and small published in the first period, and fourteen of them related to India and six to England, the only works with any pretensions to literary merit were, as stated above, translations. There was no movement made to

publish the large collections of the Marathi Bakhars, which constitute one of the most distinguishing features of our literature, and no attempt was made to introduce the Marathi reader to the Histories of Greece or Rome, or of Modern Europe or America.

As regards Fiction, the old stock of stories was supplemented by the Arabian Nights. Of Fiction in the modern sense, only a small beginning was made in this first period. The poverty of this class of prose literature is easily accounted for by the fact that the ancient Puranas and Itihasas furnished a large stock of this kind of stories, which satisfied the cravings of the national mind, and left no room therein for modern fiction. As in the case of History and Fiction, Biographies also occupied a much smaller place in the published prose literature than might have been expected. Only a few works of any value were published during this first period. Under Travels there was if possible a still greater paucity of books. The spirit of adventure has never been characteristic of the people of this country, and this department of prose literature will always occupy a very secondary place in our publications. Under Philosophy we have a large number of works, fifty-five in all, published during this period. The prevailing philosophy is that of the Vedanta with the Bhagvata Gitā as its foundation. Of religion proper there is no end of books, but they are chiefly devoted to superstitious observances and beliefs. The only work indicative of any healthy departure in this connection is Vishnu Bava Bramhachari's *Vedokta-Dharma-Prakasha*, which attracted considerable notice at the time.

Of Politics there is an entire absence, unless we include in the number tract exposing the Inam Commission, and certain reports of the Bombay Association. As regards works on Science, the number of books under this head was about 73; but they were mostly school books on Astronomy, elementary and higher Mathematics, Geography both Political and Physical, Mensuration, and popular descriptions of animals and plants. Small works on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Railways, Electricity and Photography complete the list. Under Science proper, medicine appears to have attracted the chief attention. About the Dictionaries mention has already been made of the great service rendered by Major Candy, Captain Molesworth, and the Shastries working under them. Among native scholars, the Rev. Baba Padmanji, Shrikrishna Shastri Talekar and Raghunatha Shastri Godbole may be specially mentioned in this connection. Under Law, though the works are 41 in number, the only productions worth

noticing are the translation of *Mayukha* and *Mitakshara* under orders of Government. The others are reports of decided cases, and translations of Acts.

As regards verse literature, it is not necessary to notice it in detail. The new contributions under this head made during this period are of no special importance except the translations and adaptations of Sanskrit works. The rest of the poetical works are all publications of ancient Marathi poetry. Except in the case of Moropant, entire collections of the writings of the poets were not attempted, and no biographical notices of the poets or criticisms of their works were published in this first period. This review of the labours of the first 50 years (1818-64) is not very satisfactory in respect of actual results achieved; but it should be remembered that 50 years is but a short span in the life of a nation, which started its first literary activity in the printing of books in 1829, when the Native Education Society was first established. The most hopeful feature of the review is the fact that number of works in each decade rose from three to ten, and from ten to thirty, from thirty to one hundred, and from one hundred to five hundred and fifty, almost in geometrical progression. All the different channels by which the further growth of Marathi literature was to be effected, had been opened up. Great progress was made in the publication of old poetry, and a good beginning made in the matter of translations from Sanskrit and English works, and the first steps taken to add original works to the existing stock. The stage of advance made was more full of promise for the future, than of success accomplished, and we shall trace in the next part of this Note how far this promise was realised by the labours of the authors and translators during the next thirty years.

PART II.

ANCIENT VERSE AND PROSE LITERATURE.

In tracing the further growth of Marathi literature, we have the advantage of the detailed information supplied by the annual reports furnished to Government by the Registrar of Native Publications, which office was created about the year 1867. The last thirty years' period happens to coincide with the full development of the University system of examinations, with the encouragement they held out to the study of the ancient Classics of India by the displacement of the Vernaculars as second languages in the curriculum of studies for the examinations in Arts. This substitution of the Classics for the Ver-

vernaculars was sanctioned by the University in December, 1863, and came into force about the year 1867.

The change was advocated by Sir Alexander Grant, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and by Mr. Howard, Director of Public Instruction, on the express ground that the Indian Vernaculars of the Presidency possessed no prose literature at the time, and that their verse literature was only a reflex of the classical Sanskrit, and that the study of the latter would best promote the growth of vernacular literature in all its branches. On the other hand, the late Dr. Wilson, Dr. Murray Mitchell, Rao Saheb Mandalik, and Sir Raymond West opposed the change on diverse ground. The advocates of the vernaculars claimed that both Marathi and Guzerati had a literature and linguistic peculiarities which deserved special study, that without such study their further progress would be neglected, and the students would find little time to study the sciences and other useful subjects by reason of the burden imposed on them of mastering two classics. The experience of the past thirty years will help us to decide how far the hopes and fears to which utterance was given by the advocates of the classics and the vernaculars have been justified by subsequent events.

There are no reports available prior to the report for 1868. There is, however, a list of publications for the previous three years which has been separately printed. These reports and catalogues show the following figures of Marathi publications for the past thirty-two years (1865 to 1897). The figures are suggestive enough, though of course much stress need not be placed upon mere figures such as these :—

Years.	No. of Marathi Books published.	Average per year.
1865 to 1874.....	1,530	153
1875 to 1884.....	3,143	314
1885 to 1896.....	3,824	320
Total...	8,497	

This gives a total of 8,497 books published during the last thirty-two years. Adding 661 books published in the previous fifty years, we have a total of 9,158, or in round figures 9,000 works in all published in Marathi from 1818 to 1896.

The figures given above are exclusive of periodicals, pamphlets, and miscellaneous publications, but they include second editions of 1,200 works, thus leaving a balance of 7,800 works. A closer study of the

works published shows the following proportions for (1) original works, (2) reproductions of old Marathi works, and (3) translations.

	Originals.	Repro.	Trans.	Total.
	4,768	2,109	921	7,798
Percentage...	62	27	11	...

Speaking roughly about 5,000 works in all, excluding pamphlets and periodicals, &c., were original works; while reproductions and translations together make up the remaining 3,000. It may be noted that the reports of recent years show that the proportion of original works is increasing year by year, and that of translations and reproductions diminishing. The activity of our writers and translators, which was represented by an average of 60 works per year between 1857 and 1864, more than doubled itself between 1865 and 1875, and has multiplied more than five times during the next twenty years.

The official reports for the past thirty-two years divide these works into fifteen heads, fourteen of them being divisions of prose literature, and one represents verse literature. The works published under this last head were about 1,500 during the past thirty-two years, while prose publications under all heads would appear to have been more than four times that number during the same period. In the first fifty years, the proportion of prose to verse publications was as 4 to 2, and this proportion rose during the last thirty years as 4 to 1. This is evidently a very satisfactory and healthy development. There is one other peculiarity about verse literature which distinguishes it from prose publications. Not only was its relative proportion to prose literature much smaller during the last thirty years than it was in the first fifty years, but the percentage of original works and translations under the head of verse literature is greatly exceeded by the publications of the works of the old Marathi poets. It appears from the figures for 22 years (1865 to 73 and 1884 to 96) for which detailed information is available, that out of 950 poetical works published, 560, that is, more than nearly 60 per cent., were reproductions, and original works and translations were 40 per cent. only. The general proportion of reproductions to the total publications is, as shown above, only one-fourth, and the great debt we owe to ancient poetry is strikingly illustrated by the fact that it constitutes nearly three-fourths of the whole stock of poetical works. This fact also shows that during the last thirty-two years great progress has been made in the publication of old Marathi poetry, and that modern

authors have not shown the same devotion to this department of literature as they have done in the matter of prose literature generally.

Looking to the work done, we notice that the entire works of Tukarama, Moropanta, Dnyaneshvara, Ramadas, Vaman, Mukteshvara, Ekanatha, Shridhara, and Mahipati have been brought out by different publishers, thus completing the work which had been commenced between 1857 and 1864. Great progress has been made in a critical republication with notes of many of the larger and smaller works of Moropanta, Vamana Pandita, Dnyaneshvara, and Ramadas, and in the publication of the works of Mukundaraja, Amritraya, Rama Joshi, Raghunatha Pandita, Ananda Tanaya, Niranjana, Krishnakavi, Narahari, Ranganatha Swami, Niloba, Shivadina Kesari, Chintamani, Madhva Muni, Soyaroba, Keshava Swami, Prabhakara, Ananta Fandi, and other poets who composed the Powadas and Lavanis. In all, the list of old Marathi writers of note comes to about forty, commencing with Mukundaraja and Dnyaneshvara, and coming down to the birth of the present century. As a list of the more prominent of these names may prove of some use, we give below the names of the more reputed among them—Mukundaraja, Dnyanadeva, Namadeva, Ekanatha, Amritaraya, Ramadasa, Tukarama, Mahipati, Vamana Pandita, Moropanta, Mukteshvara, Raghunatha Pandita, Shridhara, Rama Joshi, Ananda Tanaya, Bhairava Natha, Shivadas, Ranganatha Swami, Prabhakara, Ananta Fandi, Honaji, Sagana Bhau, Parasharama, Janabai, Mirabai, and Venubai. A more brilliant galaxy of names it would be difficult to find in the literature of any other language of India. To seek to minimise the value of this treasure by saying that it is only a reflex of Sanskrit poetry is to confess ignorance of the most characteristic feature of this department of Marathi literature. Only six poets out of the list given above busied themselves with drawing their inspiration from the ancient Puranika or Itihasa literature in Sanskrit. The writings of the other poets were in one sense a continued protest against the old spirit. Many of the poets and saints were ignorant of the Sanskrit language, and did not care to conceal their utter disregard of the old ideals. They did not write for the Pandits, but for the mass of people, and there is more true poetry in many of their compositions than will be found in some of the more reputed and scholarly Brahmin poets. We need only refer to Namadeva, Tukarama, Ekanatha, Ramadasa, Mahipati, Mukundaraja, Mirabai,

Janabai, Rama Joshi, Niloba, Prabhakara, Ranganatha Swami, and others. They were essentially modern poets, representative of the modern spirit as it was developed in the three reformation centuries, commencing with the dawn of modern India, and the rise of the Maratha power. The writers of the Powadas and of the Lavanis had certainly nothing of the Sanskrit element in their compositions.

By the side of the works of these ancient poets, we can hardly name any of those who have distinguished themselves in this department of Marathi literature since the British conquest of the Deccan. Somehow, the poetic fire has become extinct with the loss of political power. The lights that have been lit are few and far between, and their lustre has been for the most part borrowed, and not spontaneous. In the first generation of our scholars, we can only name Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar; but even he seldom attempted original poetry. Both he and Parashurampant Godbole were good translators, and adapted the Sanskrit original into modern Marathi with great ease and some success. Krishna Shastri Rajavade and Ganesha Shastri Lele belong to the same class, though the *Raghuvansha*, translated by the latter author, is a work of superior merit. In the works of the present generation of our writers, we have some very good specimens of poetry. We may cite, for instance, Dr. K. R. Kirtikar's *Indira*, an adaptation of Princess; Mr. Kunte's *Raja Shivaji*, and his sketch of "Mind;" Mr. Sangle's Christian Hymns; Bhaskar Damodar's *Ratna Mala*; *Krishna Kumari*, by Juvekar; *Kavya Madhurya*, by Vaman Daji Oka; *Daiva Seni*, by Bajaba Pradhan, *Ganga Varnana*, by Chintamanipethakar; V. M. Mahajan's *Kusumanjali*; Mr. P. B. Joshi's *Padyasudha*; Vasudeva Shastri Khare's *Yashavanta Mahakavya*. The smaller pieces of Shankar Moro Ranade, V. K. Oka, G. V. Kanitakar, Risbud, Mogare, Londhe, and Nisture, Lembhe, Bhandare, Damle, and others display considerable power, but none of them have attempted any great work. This remark indeed holds good of all the other modern poets also. The fire, spontaniety, and the keen moral introspection, which is the charm of Tukarama's writings, the didactic sense and wisdom which distinguishes Ramadasa, the thrilling descriptions which move the readers of Shridhara and Mukteshvara, the quaint though very suggestive illustrations of Dnyaneshvara, the sweet flow of Amritaraya, the appeal to the tender feelings so characteristic of Vamana Pandit, the purity of diction, the command over words, and the high purpose of Moropanta, the devotion of Namadeva and Mirabai, the inspiring

thought of Ekanatha, the abrupt truthfulness of Rama Joshi, the ornate metaphorical surprises of Raghunatha Pandita, all these seem to find but faint echoes in our modern poets, some of whom have indeed taken for their models the best English specimens, both in the choice of subjects and in their treatment of the same.

This concludes our review of the poetical literature, both ancient and modern, existing in the Marathi language. Taken together, that literature is extensive and varied, and well deserves careful study. The apparent decay of poetical talent may be due to various causes, among others to the diversion of the best minds from a natural development of their powers to an enforced study of two classics, which takes up the whole of the spring-tide of their life, and leaves them innocent of all knowledge of their own national treasures. Anyhow it is clear that unless our young men study not only classical and English models, but also the works of their own ancient poets, further growth and development in this department of our literature is impossible. No mere foreign graftings can ever thrive and flourish, unless the tender plant on which the grafting is to be made first germinates and sends its roots deep in its own indigenous soil. When the living tree is thus nourished and watered, the foreign manure may add flavour and beauty to it. Poets are born, and not made to order: they are growths, and not manipulations; and there is but little hope of a brighter future in the development of modern Marathi poetry unless the poetical fire is rekindled in the highest places by early contact with the inspiring study of the best minds of their own race.

What has been observed above about ancient poetry and its superiority to most of the modern attempts, holds good for the most part in respect of the reproduction of the old prose literature represented by the Bakhars, Kaifiyats, letters and correspondence which chronicle the great events of Maratha History. During the first fifty years nothing was done to publish any portion of this rich collection. The first fruits of the growth of a healthier pride in the past history of their nation were gathered by Rao Saheb K. N. Sane and the late Mr. J. B. Modak, who started a magazine with the noble object of publishing these chronicles along with the unpublished verse literature. The magazine was called *Kavyatikasa-Sangraha* (i.e., collection of ancient Poetry and History), and it was continued with great success for a period of nearly twelve years. The Bakhars so published in parts were printed in separate volumes, and we have now some forty works giving a full and vivid account of the most stirring periods of

Maratha History. Some of these Bakhars compare very favourably with the chronicles of Modern European History published in the sixteenth century, and a few of them, such as Bhan Saheb's Bakhar, and that of the Battle of Panipat, possess very great literary merits. The example set by some of our graduates inspired the publication of separate histories of particular families, such as the lives of the great Prabhu leaders by Mr. Gupte, and the accounts of the Vinchurkars, Dabhades, Angrias, and of the reigning houses of the Nagpurkar Bhonsles, the Gaekawars, Sindias, and Holkars. In fact, all the best modern histories and biographies, which we shall notice later on, bear witness to this good influence. Mr. Acworth and Mr. Tookaram Shaligram have distinguished themselves by the publication of the Powadas, some of which, such as the capture of Sinhgur, display real poetical talent of a very high order. At present this work of publishing old Bakhars and correspondence has been taken up by other writers, who are not graduates, among whom Vasudeva Shastir Khare of Miraj, Mr. Parasnis of Satara, and Messrs. Apte and Rajavade of Poona may be mentioned. Two magazines are exclusively devoted to this work. What has been observed above of ancient poetry applies with equal effect to this department of ancient prose literature. Unless the minds of our young men are disabused of the prejudice they imbibe in early life that the historical sense is wholly absent in India, and until they are trained to appreciate the value of these contemporary narratives and records at their true worth, it is hopeless to expect any real and permanent growth of the true historical and critical spirit which alone can ensure success in the future cultivation of this department of our literature.

PART III.

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS.

Next to the publication of ancient poetry and prose Bakhars, the most interesting feature of Modern Marathi literature is represented by the translations of Sanskrit and English works, which together present a total of about 1,000 works published during the past thirty years. The full details about translated works are available for 22 years (1865-73 and 1884 to 1896), and they show that out of a total of 700 works translated during this period, there were 17 biographies, 48 dramas, 113 fiction, 26 history, 15 works under language, 120 law books, 30 works on medicine, 8 on politics, 40 on philosophy, 52 on religion, 62 on science, 2 travels, 36 poetry, and 210 miscellaneous.

The chief interest in this connection centres in the enquiry whether and how far the English or the Sanskrit element is most predominant in the additions made to Marathi literature by means of translations. Taking only those books, which have been favourably noticed in the reports, it appears that the actual number of such translations from Sanskrit was about 100, while the translations from English were about 120. As might have been anticipated, the Sanskrit translations contain no works of biography, history, or politics. In these departments all the best additions were contributed by translations of English works. On the other hand, the departments of poetry and religion received no help from English translations, and they are exclusively monopolized by Sanskrit works. The department of medicine, it might have been anticipated, would show greater activity in the shape of translation from English works, but Sanskrit and English works have contributed equally to enrich Marathi literature under this head. As a matter of fact, the English translations would themselves never have seen the light but for the establishment of the vernacular medical classes, and the translations made for the use of the students were very useful generally to all classes of readers. Unfortunately, these so-called vernacular classes ceased after a few years to employ vernaculars as the media of instruction, with the result that this important channel of developing scientific works in Marathi was closed, and there has been little encouragement since. The strength of the hold of ancient medicine upon the people is represented by the fact that the ancient Hindu works translated represent twice the number of the English works.

In the department of Law, this position is again repeated, and for the same reason we have a very few books translated into Marathi from English works. Of course, in making this statement, we do not include translations of acts and decisions, which make by far the largest number of Marathi law books. As long as the pleaders' examinations were held in the vernaculars, there was a strong incentive to the publication of works on law in Marathi. With the substitution of the English language for the vernaculars, this motive ceased to operate, and the paucity of English translations of law books is thus easily accounted for.

The most successful department under this class of works appears to be that of the Drama, to which both English and Sanskrit have contributed largely, and almost in equal numbers. Shakespeare appears to have been the most favourite author. In all 18, if not 20, of his dramas

have been translated or adapted into Marathi. In some cases two or three authors have brought out separate translations. The names of these works will interest the reader, and therefore we give them below:—

1, Hamlet. 2, Cymbeline. 3, King Lear. 4, All's well that ends well. 5, A Winter's Tale. 6, A Comedy of Errors. 7, The Taming of the Shrew. 8, Two Gentlemen of Verona. 9, The Merchant of Venice. 10, As you like it. 11, Much ado about nothing. 12, Julius Caesar. 13, Antony and Cleopatra. 14, Othello. 15, Richard III. 16, The Tempest. 17, Romeo and Juliet. 18, Twelfth Night.

The only other English dramas translated are Goldsmith's "She stoops to conquer" and "The good-natured man." As regards the Sanskrit dramas, all the best known among them have been translated, some of them, such as the *Shakuntala* by four or five different authors. These works are *Shakuntala*, *Mritchhakatika*, *Uttara Rama Charitra*, *Vikramorvasi*, *Mudra Rakshasa*, *Prabodha Chandrodaya*, *Venisahar*, *Malati Madhava*, *Malavikagnimitra*, *Ratnavali*, and *Prasanna Raghava*.

The same service has been done by both Sanskrit and English translations in the department of Fiction. The novels of Sir Walter Scott, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Reynolds, and the works of Johnson, Defoe, Swift, and Bunyan, and among foreign authors, Boccacio, Renan, and Dumas, have been largely drawn upon by translators, and as regards Sanskrit, the *Kadambari*, *Brihat-kathā-sāra*, *Vishva-guṇādarsha*, and many other works have contributed largely to the growth of works of fiction in Marathi literature.

Under Philosophy we have not much variety. The *Bhagavat Gītā*, with its numerous commentaries, has furnished the chief supply. A number of the Upanishadas have also been translated, the chief being *छांदोग्य*, *नारायण*, *ऐतरेय*, *तैत्तिरीय* and the *इशावास्योपनिषद्*. The prevailing philosophy belongs to the school of the Vedānta, though Patanjali's *Yoga Sūtras* with commentary have been translated, as also the *Sarva Darashana Sangraha*. Mr. Kunte's *षड्दर्शनचिंतनिका* may also be mentioned in this connection as a work of great labour. Like the *वेदार्थयत्न*, or translation of the Rigveda, of Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, the *चिंतनिका* was not completed by its author, but they both represent very valuable additions to the stock of higher literature in Marathi. Among the Purans, the Ramayana, the Bhagwat, the Matsya and the Ganesh Puran have been translated. The credit of the last work belongs to Shrimant Bapu Saheb Patwardhan, Chief of Kurundwad, who is well known as a Marathi author and poet.

As regards English translations in this department of philosophy, Spencer occupies the chief place. Professor Max Müller, John Stuart Mill, and Lord Bacon come next in order, and Marcus Aurelius' meditations, and Cicero's treatise on the gods and his other works, have also been translated.

In History, over and above the translations of Elphinstone's "India," and Grant Duff's and Murray's History, which belong to the first period, we have had during the past 30 years, thanks chiefly to the munificent support of H. H. the Maharajah Sayajirao, Gaekwar of Baroda, a series of works, being epitomes of the histories of Greece, Rome, Carthage, Persia, Assyria, Turkey, Russia, the Moors in Spain, Egypt, and China, as also a history of Ceylon.

In Politics Maine's "Village Communities," Machiavelli's "Prince," and Seeley's "Expansion of England" represent some of the best additions to the stock of our literature.

We have thus briefly noticed the more important additions made to Marathi literature by means of translations during the past 30 years. On the whole, a very sensible contribution to the stock of our best works has been made, and the fact that Spencer, Max Müller, Mill, Seeley, Maine, Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Johnson, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Bacon, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Buckle, Defoe, Swift, Bunyan, Smiles, and Lubbock, have furnished the models for these additions, justifies the hope that the national mind is showing signs of a great awakening, which, if it could only meet with encouragement from those who are entrusted with the work of higher education, cannot fail before long to enrich the language with the choicest treasures of modern European thought in all departments of learning. In the absence of this encouragement and guidance, there is a want of system and co-ordination, and an absence of variety in the choice of authors, and in the selection of their works. As none of these additions have been school-books, the industry and enterprise represented by these publications have had to depend for their reward solely upon the unaided patronage of the reading public. With proper guidance and encouragement by such a body as the University, the circle of this reading public will be enlarged, and we may soon expect to have all the departments of prose literature properly represented in their due proportions, and the work of development, now indifferently attempted by stray authors, will be pushed on and completed in a systematic manner, so as to enable the national mind to digest the best thought of Western Europe with the same intimate

appreciation that it has shown in the assimilation of the old Sanskrit learning.

Having thus noticed at some length the principal contributories to the growth of Marathi literature represented by the publication of ancient Marathi works and translations of Sanskrit and English works, we shall next proceed to the consideration of original works properly so-called. Whatever value might be attached to the publication of ancient prose and verse works, or to translations from other languages, it is quite clear that the only true test of the existence and growth of a genuine literary spirit is furnished by the abundance and variety of new and original works published in the language. These constitute, so to speak, the life and soul of every living language, and this portion of our inquiry has thus the highest claims upon our attention. In all, the number of true original works published during the last 30 years, exclusive of reproductions and translations, would appear to be about 5,000. Detailed information is available for the classification of these works under several heads for 22 years (1865-1873 and 1884-1896), and these details show that original works published in these years were 96 under the head of biography, 336 dramas, 278 fiction, 120 history, 365 language, 43 law, 71 medicine, 26 politics, 37 philosophy, 67 religion, 320 science, 12 travels, 359 poetry, and 1,100 miscellaneous, and about 800 school books. The relative proportions obtained for this term of 22 years presumably hold good for the whole period, and they show that our literary activity has been chiefly devoting itself to those departments in which Marathi was most deficient, while it has been comparatively indifferent to the departments in which our ancient collections are most prolific. Excluding miscellaneous and school publications, which number one-fourth of our total number of works, we find that Biography, Science, Drama, and Fiction occupy a very prominent position under the head of original works, while Philosophy, Religion, Politics, Law, Medicine, and Travels represent much smaller figures than might have been expected.

Taking Biographical works first. As has been shown above, we had only five biographies published in the first 50 years. During the last 30 years this department has shown a very large addition. There was no particular system in the choice of the five works published before 1864. In the collection of biographies as they now stand, we find that there is more system and variety; the attention of writers seems to have been bestowed in equal proportions upon the

worthies of their own country, as also on the great men of Europe and America. Of the better class of works under this head, there are about 30 biographies of European worthies, commencing with Her Majesty the Queen, and including Shakespeare, William Pitt, Lord Bacon, Jonathan Swift, Sir Isaac Newton, Goldsmith, Cobden, Captain Cook, Dr. Livingstone, Bradlaugh, Annie Besant, and other English celebrities; Lord Clive, and Sir Thomas Munro among Anglo-Indian officers of a past generation; George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Presidents Lincoln and Garfield among the American leaders; Alexander the Great, Socrates, and Demosthenes, among the Greeks; and Napoleon Bonaparte, Peter the Great, Catherine of Russia, and Columbus among the European celebrities. Among Indian celebrities the saints, poets, and religious leaders occupy the first place. Ramadasa, Ekanatha, Dnyaneshvara, Tukarama, Vamana Pandita, Jairama Swami, Namadeva, Buddha, Shankaracharya, and Raja Ram Mohanroy, have all been honoured with separate biographies. Next come the great men of Maratha History, Shivaji and his three successors, and the first two Peshwas, as also Malharrao Holkar, Mahadaji Sinde, Nana Fadnavis, Ahilyabai, Haripanta Fadake, Parashurambhau Patvardhana, and Bapu Gokhale, appear to have found most favour with our writers. Among modern Indian celebrities we have Dadabhai Nowroji, Gowarishankara Udeshankara, Bala Shastri Jambhekar, and the late Rani of Jhansi; and among the Mahomedan sovereigns of India, Akbar and Aurangzeb have each found separate biographers. The lives of some of these celebrities, such as Mahadaji Sinde, Parashurambhau Patvardhana, Nana Fadnavis, and Ekanatha have been written by two or more biographers, and some of these works have been so popular as to have gone through several editions. On the whole, a very useful addition to the literature of the language has been made by the writers of these biographies.

One remark which is suggested by a study of the names of these writers may be made here with advantage. Out of some 70 writers of these biographies, hardly seven names appear to be those of graduates of the University (Messrs. Bhanu, Pavagi, Natu, Kanitkar, Madgaonkar, Laxman Krishna Chiplunkar, and Gunjekar). The remaining 63 are either pre-University or non-University men. The graduates show to better advantage in matters of translations. Out of some 76 authors who have translated English and Sanskrit works into Marathi, we find 25 names of our most distinguished graduates.

We need only allude to Mr. Pandit, the two Kunte brothers, Mr. K. T. Telang, Mr. Mahajani, Mr. Agarkar, Mr. J. S. Gadgil, the two Aptes, Mr. Agashe, Mr. Bhann, Mr. Payagi, Mr. Ranade, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. Kolhatkar, Mr. Bodas, Mr. Fadke, Mr. Kanitkar, Drs. Garde, Sakharan Arjun, Pandurang Gopal, Shirvalkar, Bhikaji Amrit, and Bhatavadekar. While the proportion of graduates to non-graduates in this department of translations is one-third (25 out of 75), they appear to have taken very little interest in the composition of biographies, their proportion being one to ten as shown above. These varying proportions suggest their own moral, and no further remark seems to be necessary.

From Biography to History is an easy transition, for history is the biography of nations. The only histories published in the first 50 years were Balu Shastri Jambhekar's "History of India," a translation of Murray's History, and of Elphinstone's "India," and a short account of the History of England by Hari Keshavaji. During the last 30 years most of the ancient prose Bakhars, as has been shown above, have been published, and they constitute a very rich collection. In addition to these publications, we have a History of Central India, translated from Malcolm's original work by Mr. Kirtane, late Divan at Indore; a History of the Turko-Russian War; short Histories of the French Revolution and of the Franco-German War, Histories of Greece, Rome, France, Germany, Persia, Egypt, Carthage, Assyria, Turkey, Russia, and Spain, chiefly based upon the "Story of the Nations" series. We have besides separate histories of Goa, Ceylon, Coorg, Bhopal, Bundelkhand, Kolhapore, and the States of the Southern Maratha Country, and a History of the Sepoy War, a History of the Christian Church, and detailed histories of the houses of Vinchurkar, Dabhade, Angre, and Sinde. These represent the most prominent works under this department. The others are chiefly intended for schools. Out of some 25 authors whose names can be traced as the writers of these histories, five are graduates, which again confirms the remark we have made above in respect of biographical works.

From History to Politics is the next stage. There was no work published on politics before 1864. Since then a perceptible activity has been displayed, both in translations and original compositions. Excluding mere Congress reports, about 20 works under this head may be mentioned as showing considerable merits. They include a translation of an English work called the "India and the Colonies"

by Mr. Natekar, the "Elements of Politics" by Professor Karve and Mr. Patvardhan, "Local Self-Government" by Mr. K. T. Telang, Machiavelli's "Prince," the translation of Maine's "Village Communities," De Lolme's "Constitution of England" translated by Mr. Wagle, "The Principles of Taxation," "The Land Tenure of Bengal," by Mr. Mahajani, "The Statistics of British Indian Administration," by Mr. Soman, "The Poverty of India," Pandita Rambabai's work on "America and her People," a translation of Mr. Morley's work on "Compromise," pamphlets on "Corn Law" and "Free Trade," "A History of the Native States in their relation to the Government," Mill's "Liberty," and Mr. Seeley's "Expansion of England." These constitute some of the best works which have been recently published for the promotion of the political education of the people.

As regards Law Books, we need not add much to our remarks made on the subject of translated law works. There has been no really original work on the subject, and the translations of the Law of Torts and Contracts, of Hindoo and Mahomedan Law, as also the translations of Sanskrit works, cannot claim the merit either of originality or great labour. The demand for such works is decreasing with the growing spread of the English language, and its use in our courts and offices.

Medical works show a much larger proportion of useful translations and original books than the corresponding department of law. They also display a greater activity among the graduate authors of that faculty than can be observed among the lawyers. Out of 71 works specially noticed by the Registrar of Native Publications, there were about 20 works brought out by our medical graduates, among whom we may mention the names of the late Drs. Kunte, Gopal Shivaram, Gokhale, Narayan Daji, Shirvalkar, Sakharam Arjun, and Bulel, and Drs. Bhikaji Amrit and Bhalechandra K. Bhatavadekar and Dr. Garde. The subjects treated of in these medical works are "Practice of Medicine," "Anatomy," "Midwifery," "Medical Jurisprudence," "Surgery," "Materia Medica," "Physiology," "Diseases of Women," and they practically cover the whole course of medical teaching. There are, besides, works on Homœopathy, Cholera, Smallpox, and "The Virtues of Indian Drugs." Drs. Kunte and Garde have done a great service, the first by publishing *Vag-bhata*, and the second by translating this most exhaustive work on old Hindoo medicine.

The remaining 50 books, included under medical works, were all

written by native Vaidyas, and their numbers, if not their contents, show what firm hold the ancient system still has on the minds of our people.

The works on Philosophy and Science are mostly translations or adaptations. Thanks to the labours of Messrs. Marathe, Gole, Sahasrabuddhe, Sardesai, Dharapa, Kane, Apte, and Kelkar, and Dr. Chhatre, we have manuals, chiefly based on the Science Primer series, on "Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Physiology, and Logic," by Mr. Marathe, on "Air" by Mr. Gole, on "Water" by Mr. Sardesai, on "Natural Philosophy and Chemistry" by Professor Modak, on the "Solar System" by Mr. Dharap, on "Light and Sound" by Professor Modak, on "Geology" by Mr. Kane, on "Agriculture and Chemistry" by Mr. B. A. Gupte, on "Physical Geography" by Mr. Sahasrabuddhe. There are also works on Electricity, Magnetism, Heat, and Coal. Of these works, those on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy by Professor Modak are more than simple primers, being standard works on the subjects. In respect of Astronomy, besides the primer texts, we have special works by Messrs. Dikshit, Kelkar, and Chitnis. Mr. Dikshit's (दिक्षित) is a very readable and interesting work. He is also the author of a very elaborate treatise on the history of "Hindu Astronomy." The late Mr. J. B. Modak translated the astronomical portion of Bhaskaracharya's work, and also the *Vedanga Jotisha* (वेदंग ज्योतिष). Messrs. Dikshit and Modak spent the whole of their lives in the advocacy of a reform of the native calendar, by the adoption of the Sayana, in place of the Nirayana method in astronomical calculation. In the Mental and Moral Sciences, we have translations from Spencer's works on the Data of Ethics, and on Justice by Professor Bhanu; Mr. Sahasrabuddhe has translated Spencer's Education and Mr. Fadke has translated the "Aphorisms on Evolution" and "the Elements of Morals." Mr. Bodas' (बोडस) and Mr. Kanitkar's translation of Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures deserve mention in this place. The best work on Political Economy is by Mr. G. J. Agashe. Mr. Mule and Mr. Gupte have made themselves useful by publishing works respectively on the industrial wealth and the arts of India. In this department of literature, as remarked above, the graduates of the University have shown more interest than in any others. All the best works have been written by them, and both in point of merit and numbers, they represent a very large proportion. There are some useful works on the arts, among which

we may notice a treatise on Agriculture by Messrs. Gupte and Raje, on "Instrumental and Vocal Music" by Mr. Gharpure, on "Cookery" by Parvatibai, and on the "Art of Sewing" by Rukminibai. There are also special works on Drawing, Gymnastics, Telegraphy, Locomotives, Glass Manufacturing, Fireworks, and Dyeing.

This concludes our review of the present condition of the stock of works on biography, history, politics, law, medicine, philosophy, science and art. In the next chapter we shall notice the three remaining heads—dramas, novels, and prose essays, &c.

PART.—IV.

DRAMAS, NOVELS, AND PROSE ESSAYS.

In all the departments of Marathi literature which we have noticed above, namely, Biography, History, Politics, Law, Medicine, Philosophy and Science and Arts, the inspiration to originality chiefly comes from a study of English Literature or Science; and though the works are not formal translations, many of them are still imbued with the spirit of this new culture, and, therefore, bear the traces of their foreign models or originals of which they have been the adaptations. This is to some extent unavoidable. These departments represent the points of contact between the ancient and the modern, the East and the West; and, naturally, the modern and the Western spirit dominates over the ancient and the national elements. True original work, which represents the genius of the nation, must, under these circumstances, be looked for in the branches of Drama, Fiction, and general Prose Literature. Here the national elements have more freedom to display their own characteristic features, and the translated inspiration is less predominant than in other departments.

As regards the Drama, it has been already seen that there were not any original ancient dramatic works in the language, for the simple reason that the stage, as a means of popular education and amusement, had no place in the past history of Mahārāshtra. In the first fifty years, the only progress made was in the form of some ten works translated into Marathi by Mr. Parashurampant Godbole, and a few other Shastrees, from Sanskrit. During the last thirty years the number of translated dramas has been not very numerous, being in fact less than thirty. These, however, include translations of the plays of Shakespeare and Goldsmith, and of a few select Sanskrit dramas. The original works vastly outnumber the trans-

lations, being over three hundred ; and this affords distinct proof that, in this department, the literary spirit has found a very favourable soil ; and the seed sown has multiplied in a most prolific manner. People still living well remember the sensation created about the year 1853, when the first dramatic company, formed at Sângli, visited Poona and Bombay, and presumed to cater to public amusement by stage representation. The enterprise of the promoters was handsomely rewarded by the public who found in it greater intellectual pleasure than they had experienced in witnessing the performances of the old (दशवतार) Dashâvatâr players, who used to come from the South Karnatic at great public festivals and *jatras*. The encouragement given to the company formed at Sângli, produced many imitators, and regular theatres began to be built in all large towns ; till now there is not a single large city which has not one or more theatres of its own. The promoter of the Sângli Company was one Mr. Vishnupant Bhawe, and his success has induced many others to follow his example, among whom we may mention Messrs. Kirloskar, Dongre, Pâtankar, Sâthe, and others. Naturally this new-born taste encouraged the growth of dramatic literature. At first there was no division of labour between the writers of dramas and the stage-managers of theatrical companies ; but, of late, these functions are not combined in one and the same person. The subjects of the earlier dramas were chiefly suggested by the stories of the Mahâbhârat and the Râmâyan, and the Puranic myths ; and, even now, these form the chief bulk of the dramatic works in the language.

There has, however, been distinct improvement effected in three directions during the last thirty years. The addition of high class music and singing was made a speciality by some of the companies. The credit of this Sangit movement is solely due to Mr. Anna Kirloskar ; and the success which attended his efforts has encouraged a host of imitators. Out of a total number of two hundred and fifty works specially noticed by the Registrar of native publications, some fifty-three are Sangit-dramas ; and the best of them represent what may be styled as substitutes for the opera-performances on the native stage. A vast number of the so called Sangit-works are of no literary value. Mr. Kirloskar's three plays, Shakuntala, Soubhadra, and Ramrajyaviyoga, however, still retain their pre-eminence in the esteem of the theatre-going public.

The second feature is the introduction of comic farces at the end of

the old tiresome performances. These farces are called प्रहसन (Prahassans); and there are some thirty works named in the list, composed by persons who earn their living by writing such comedies. The third feature is closely allied to the last. Just as the farces superseded the interest in the old Puranic dramas which refer to social and political subjects. Out of the two hundred and fifty books specially noted in the list, nearly a hundred are devoted to non-mythic subjects. Many of them are translations from Shakespeare, some of which have been acted on the stage with success. Others represent the stirring events of Maratha History, such as the deaths of Afzulkhan, Narayen Rao Peshwa, and the self-immolation of the wife of the first Madhav Rao Peshwa, who died a *sati*. The greater part, however, refer to the present times with the struggle between the reformers and the orthodox people, on questions of infant, unequal and widow marriages and female education. As might be expected, the majority of them cry down the reforms and the reformers.

It will thus be seen from this that in this department during the past thirty years great progress has been made. The improvement of the stage has been effected by the addition of high-class singing, by the gradual introduction of social, political, and moral topics, and the addition of farces. The entire movement is one full of promise for the future. It has certainly done much to elevate and refine the public taste, and to provide room for the cultivation of the higher sentiments. The only disappointing feature in what is, on the whole, a very satisfactory growth, is the fact that out of some hundred and fifty authors, whose names can be traced from the published lists, there are only eleven names of graduates of the University. Some of them are, no doubt, distinguished names, such as those of Messrs. Kanitkar, Agarkar, Ranade, Mahajani, Kolhatkar, Rajadhyaksh, Wagle, Kelkar, Chitale, Samant, and Kale; but these have, with the exception of Mr. S. M. Ranade, mostly devoted themselves to translation. The translations of Mr. Parahurampant Godbole, of Mr. V. J. Kirtane, Deval, Khare, Kanitkar, Kelkar, and Ranade are highly appreciated by the public. Among the writers of original dramas, the first rank is deservedly given to the elder Kirtane, who was late Diwan at Indore and Naib-Diwan at Baroda. Messrs. Ranade, Deval, Kirloskar, and Kanitkar may be mentioned as also occupying a very high level. Of course, judging by English standards, our best performances must occupy a subordinate place; but it is not fair to judge by this high standard the development of

a branch of literature which has had as many decades to grow here as it has taken centuries to grow in England. At the same time, it is quite clear that the divorce between University education and the growth of original dramatic work is a matter which must cause serious anxiety to every one interested in the promotion of our national literature.

Novels.—What has been observed above about dramatic works holds equally good of fiction, with this difference that fiction was not altogether unrepresented in our ancient literature. Fiction, of the sorts represented by fairy tales, was known in the stories of the Vetāl-panchavishi, Vikrambattishi, Shukabhattari, and others. In the first instance, the additions made were of a kindred character. The Arabian Nights' Tales, Hatim Tai, and the Persian tales are instances of these additions. In the first fifty years, modern Marathi fiction had made just a commencement with four or five works. During the last thirty years a very large addition has been made representing over three hundred works, and of these, some hundred and eighty-two have been specially noticed in the catalogues and reports of the Registrar of native publications. In the department of fiction, translations have played a more important part than in the case of the drama. The Sanskrit as well as the Urdu and the Persian languages have contributed several interesting models, but the works of English authors, such as Sir Walter Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Reynolds, Johnson, Swift, Defoe, and even some Italian and French authors, Boccaccio, and Dumas, have inspired many of our writers; but, after all, the Marathi works of fiction have a character of their own. Like the dramatic works, they may be divided into two classes: one being pure fiction, untrammelled by time, place, or circumstances, and appealing to our common human nature through the passion of love; and the other class is of the nature of the historical novels, limited by time and circumstances, and being intended to represent the modern conditions of life in all their variety and confusion. Of the first kind the best specimens are Prāmabandhan, Vichitrāpuri, Munjughoshā, Muktamālā, Mochangad, Veshdhari Pānjabi, Anath Pandurang, Narayen Rao and Godavari; the best specimens of the second class are furnished by the writings of Nagesh Rao Bapat, Hariānda Narayen Apte. We may specially notice Apte's पण लक्षांत कोण घेतो and आजकालच्या गोष्टी, and Bapat's Bajirao Peshwa and पानपतची मोहिम. As in the case of dramatic works, the department of fiction has also not attracted much attention from our graduates.

The names of about hundred and twenty authors can be traced in the official list; and out of them, only about six or seven appear to be University graduates:—Messrs. Ranade, Kanitkar, Agashe, Bhide, Krishnarao Madhav, and Gunjikar. The best writers are those that are either non-University or pre-University men. Mr. Hari Narayan Apte and Nagesh Rao Bapat are our most popular and most distinguished novelists. Messrs. Halave, Risbud, Yogee, Kanitkar, and others rank high in their own places. There is no particular reason why, when so many complaints about the want of suitable employment for graduates are heard on all sides, there should be so few from among them who devote themselves to literary pursuits which, in their own way, provide occupation or substantial remuneration to so many of their presumably less educated fellow-countrymen. Speaking roughly, the number of those who have edited ancient works, or brought out translations, or composed original works in all branches of literature, cannot be short of seven hundred; and out of this number the graduates are about sixty or seventy in all, that is, one to ten. The fault does not lie with the individuals so much as with the system under which they are brought up. Their education is so exclusively foreign that all incentives to study, and to add to the stock of national literature is, for the most part, entirely wanting; and year after year this indifference and neglect are becoming more pronounced. This is the mournful conclusion taught by the figures which have been given above.

General Prose Literature.—Prose works shown in the reports under the head of Language make up a large number—about one hundred and fifty, exclusive of school-books. Out of these, about fifty books deserve a high place for their literary and other merits. Among these, we might mention in this place three works of travel: one by Pandita Ramabai, another by Mr. Pavagi, and Mr. Bhagwat's translations of Karsandas Muljee's account of England and its people. These three works are, in fact, the only books which deserve notice under the head of travels in the language.

Mr. Bapat's *Sadvartana* (सद्वर्तन), Mr. Oka's *Madhumakshika* (मधुमक्षिका) and *Shirastedar* (शिरस्तेदार), Mr. Nagesh Rao Bapat's *Dadoji Kondadev* (दादोजी कोंडदेव), Mr. Agarkar's *Essays* published by him in the *Kesari* and select essays in the *Sudharak* and in other papers, Mr. Gole's *Brahmins and their Learning*, Mr. C. V. Va'dya's series on *Social Reform and Early-marriage*. Mr. Nana Pavagee's *Bharatiya-Samrajya* (भारतीय साम्राज्य), the late Vishnu Shastri Chip-

lunkar's Nibandhamala (निबंधमाला), and the lives of Sanskrit poets, Mr. Barve's Confessions of a Thug, Paudita Ramabai's Streedharmamiti (स्त्रीधर्म नीति), Mr. Wagle's Bacon's Essays, Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat's Thoughts on Maratha History and Maharashtradharm (महाराष्ट्र धर्म), Account of Dhoom Mahabaleswar, by Mr. Udas, Mr. Gadgil's translation of the Pleasures of Life, Mr. Balasaheb Deva's translation of Cicero, and Reverend Baba Padamji's Sahitya-Shataka and Yamuna-paryatana, these and others may be mentioned as constituting a very good selection of prose-works for the general reader. The only heads that remain to be mentioned are Religion, and Travels. Besides the works on travels noticed above, there is a blank in our literature on the subject which has not been filled up during the last thirty years. The only other works which are classed under this head are accounts of pilgrimages to Benares, Rameshwar, and Gokarn Mahabaleshwar, &c., which possess no literary merits. As regards books on religion no remark seems to be necessary. Their number, no doubt, is considerable, but they are fleeting productions of no literary value and full of superstition. Miscellaneous works are one-fourth of the whole number and call for no remark. They include a large number of school books.

The periodicals and the newspapers deserve a passing notice in this place. As regards the periodicals, we have a large number, about 15 in all, at present courting public support. The most notable and the best conducted are विविधज्ञानविस्तार, ग्रन्थमाला, भाषान्तर, भारतवर्ष, ऐतिहासिक लेख संग्रह, केरळ क्रोडिक, and बालबोध ग्रन्थमाला is edited by professor Beejapurkar, भारतवर्ष edited by Messrs. Apte and Parasnis, ऐतिहासिक लेख संग्रह by Vasudeo Shastri Khare and भाषान्तर by Mr. Rajwade. These are very useful in giving encouragement to young authors, but their circulation is very limited.

As regards newspapers at present we have a large number,—about 100 ; three of them are daily, and the rest are mostly weekly. Every zilla town, and in some districts every taluka town, has one or more newspapers. Compared with the state of things as it obtained thirty years ago, no department of literary activity has made more sensible progress than the newspapers of this country. We are here concerned only with the literary character of the native Press, and it may safely be said that the progress made is very encouraging. The best newspapers, some 16 in all, count their subscribers by thousands, whereas thirty years ago it was difficult to secure as many hundreds. On the staff of some of the best newspapers literary talent of a very

high order is engaged, and in some cases the editors are well paid for their labour. Still it must be remarked that most of these mofussil newspapers are enterprises carried on for finding work for the press hands which cannot be fully engaged otherwise in their own proper work, and the so-called editors are insufficiently educated and poorly paid.

We may conclude this review with a brief mention of a few female authors. Pandita Ramabai naturally takes the lead; Mrs. Kasibai Kanitkar, who has written a life of Anandibai Joshi, ranks next; Miss Bhor, the author of पुष्पकरंडक, Mrs. Sawaskar, Godawaribai Pandit Kashibai, Parwatibai, and Rukminibai may also be mentioned. One lady writer conducted a journal called the *Aryabhagini* for many years.

ART. VII — *Note on three bricks* with impressions of figures and letters on these found at Tagoung, some 200 miles above Mandalay in Burma.* BY DR. R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., C.I.E., &c.

(Communicated July 1898.)

Nos. I and II of these bricks contain three figures, the middle one sitting in an attitude of meditation with the right hand touching the earth, and the two at the sides standing. They are enclosed in shrines, and the vacant space is filled with representations of stûpas. The sitting figure represents Buddha and the two at the sides probably represent his chief disciples Sâriputra and Maudgalâyana speaking or lecturing. The third brick contains only one figure in a shrine which represents Buddha sitting in a meditative attitude as in the others, and the vacant space at the sides and above is filled with stûpas, the two at the sides being much larger than those above or in the other two bricks. Below the figures there are letters in relief which together with the figures were impressed on the clay by means of a matrix. They form the well-known Buddhist formula in the Āryā metre. The following are transcripts :—

No. I.

ये धमा हेतुपहवा तेसाँ हेतुं तथागतो [वो] (च)

तेसाँ च यो निरोधो एववादी महा[स](म)णो

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, read respectively धं, सां, तुं, सां वो. The letters which are indistinct are enclosed within rectangular brackets. The letters which have dropped out or are obliterated are enclosed within circular brackets.

No. II.

[ये] धमा हेतुपहवा तेसाँ हेतुं तथागतो वोच

तेसाँ च यो [निरो] धो एव वादी मह(स)[म]णो

Read धं, सां, तुं, सां, धो, वं, ही, हा, णो respectively for the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c.

No. III.

[ये] धमा हेतुपहवा तेसाँ हे[तुं] त [था]

गतो [वो] च तेसाँ च यो निरोधो

[एववादी] महा [सम]णो

* Forwarded by Lieut. A. Willock.

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c., read respectively धं, हं, सां, तुं, सां
भो, वं, णो.

This formula occurs in Buddhistic sculptures discovered in India, and it was often impressed on clay by means of a seal as in the numerous specimens found in one of the Keneri caves (J. B. B. R. A. S. VI. 157, Pl. VII, a, b, c, d), at Valabhi (Ind. Ant. I, 130 ; J. B. B. R. A. S. XI, 334) and other places in Northern India. It however mostly occurs in its Sanskrit form, and is as follows :—

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।
तेषां च यो निरोध एवंपादी महाश्रमणः॥

As impressed on the bricks under notice it is in the Pāli language. Here we have तेषां before हेतु, and वोच the Pāli form of the Sanskrit अवोचत् for हि and अवदत्. The formula gives succinctly Buddha's method of Salvation. He traced the misery of worldly existence to certain causes and pointed out the way of counteracting or destroying those causes and thus attaining to bliss. The formula may be thus translated :—

“The Tathāgata explained the cause of those matters which spring from a cause and [the mode of] its destruction. This was what the Great Ascetic taught.”

The form of the letters on the bricks resembles that which prevailed in Northern India in the eighth century of the Christian Era. The bricks therefore are not older than that century.

It deserves to be noticed that one of the clay impressions found at Keneri and given by Mr. West in his article resembles the figure and the stūpa ornaments in the bricks before us and the formula also is in Pāli, except that we have प्र for प in the fourth word. There is also the verb वच for वोच instead of the ह्यवदत् of the Sanskrit form. This is almost a unique instance of the occurrence of the Pāli formula in Indian monuments. That we find it mostly in Sanskrit is to be accounted for by the fact that it was composed or came into general use about or after the time when the Pāli ceased to be the sacred language of Indian Buddhism. In the bricks under notice it occurs in the Pāli form because the language of Buddhistic Literature in Burma has always been Pāli.



Facsimile of the Bhamodra Mohota Plate of Droṇa Simha (described
in Art. I., No. 54 of the Journal).

ART. VIII.—*A Preliminary Study of the Shivarâi, or Chhatrapati Copper Coins.* By the REV. J. E. ABBOTT, B.A.

[Read 17th November, 1898.]

My interest in these coins, known as the Shivarâi or Chhatrapati coins, began with my discovery of their neglect. I found the literature on these coins to be practically *nil*, and the few references made to them not in every particular correct. I could find no numismatists who had studied them, or who were even aware that these coins were dated or had names on them of the Maratha kings other than that of Shivaji. I can hardly believe that the fact of dates and names has escaped the attention of every one, but it happens that I have found no one aware of these dates and names, not even the money-changers, who have been handling these coins all their lives. Finding, therefore, what seemed an open field for original work, I have taken up their study with interest and with some degree of success.

I have given to this paper the title of a "Preliminary Study of the Shivarâi, or Chhatrapati, Coins" for the reason that though I have carefully examined at least 25,000 of these coins, I have not extracted from them all the information they are, I am convinced, capable of yielding. And, moreover, the information I have gained has suggested problems I have not yet found sufficient data to solve. And still further, every time I examine a heap of new coins, I find some new fact of date, or name, or other marks that modify my previous theories. My purpose, therefore, in presenting the subject at this incomplete stage of my study, is to arouse the interest of numismatists in these coins, and take them out of the region of absolute neglect. To those whose interest is excited, it will, moreover, be helpful to take up the subject at a point where considerable information has been gained. Over a large part of the Deccan, and to some extent in the Konkan, these coins are still current in the bazars, and hence are easily accessible for study.

As my object is two-fold, namely, to give, *first*, the results of my study, and, *secondly*, to be helpful to those who may follow me in the investigation of these coins, I have added to this paper references of many kinds, with full quotations from books that might not be easily accessible, and other material such as chronological tables, eras, and a list of the Maratha kings.

At the very beginning of this paper I wish to emphasize the fact that further discoveries may modify what I have with more or less certainty advanced. Theories which rest on single coins, for example, and those not always perfect, need more confirmation from further discoveries.

The Literature on the Gold, Silver, and Copper Chhatrapati Coins.

The few references in scientific Journals to the coins of the Maratha kings, which I have been able to find, are as follows :—

1. Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, edition of 1823. Plate XLVII., No. 1068, gives a facsimile of one of these coins. On page 734 a description of the coin is given. After speaking of some other coins Marsden adds :—

"These were given to me by Lord Valentia (Mountnorris), and at the same time a third, of copper, said to have been discovered in the ruins of the city of Kanauj, and supposed to have been struck by the Raja who founded Delhi. Its inscription, occupying both sides, expresses the name of श्रीराजाशिव *Sri Raja Siva छत्रपति Chhatrapati*, which I am unable to identify in any list."

Though Marsden was thus entirely mistaken as to the author of the coin, his reference is incidentally valuable, in that the fact of its being dug up in the ruins of Kanauj before 1823 is corroborating evidence regarding the age of that particular mintage.

2. Prof. H. H. Wilson, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVI., old series, page 181, in speaking of the silver Larins of Sultan Ali Adil Shah, says :—

"The date of 'Chardin's Travels in Persia' corresponds nearly with that of the Ali Adil Shahi coin, of 1667-1674; at which period the coinage of Larins had ceased in Lar, but had been taken up by the Bijapur princes. He mentions the Larin being in use in his day in the Gulf of Cambay as money of account; but he might have gone further, and stated that it was still the chief currency of the Malabar coast. In fact, it continued to be so for a much longer period, as Mr. Coles mentions a document amongst the records of the collectorate, in which notice is given by the Government of Satara to the authorities of a place termed Kharapatam of a grant of land of the value of 200 Dhobol Larins, which is dated A. D. 1711. The fabrication of the money, extensively adopted by the last Bijapur Kings, was therefore continued by Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta principality, and his successors."

3. O. Codrington, M. D., in describing the coins in the Museum of this Society (see B. B. R. A. S. Journal, page 37, Vol. XVIII.), remarks in connection with the Adil Shahi silver Larines:—

“I would also note that no silver coins of Sivaji are known though we are told that he did strike silver coins (see Grant Duff and *Bombay Gazetteer*), and Prof. Wilson, in his article above referred to (*Numismatic Chronicle*, XVI., page 179) shows that in all probability the Larin was adopted by him also. I have, therefore, long looked for some Larins with Nagri letters, or Sivaji's name, on them, for it seems unlikely that a ruler of his character would have been content to issue coins bearing merely a part of a Persian inscription, or one having the name of the Bijapur King, without his own name also, or, at any rate some sign of his Maratha raj. It would be interesting to have this in view in examining Larins found in the Konkan or Deccan. The Satara Chhatrapati pice is well known.”

4. *Indian Antiquary*, 1896, Vol. XXV., page 319 and Plate I., No. 14.—“Miscellaneous coins of Southern India,” by Dr. E. Hultzsch, with facsimiles. In describing this coin Dr. Hultzsch says:—

“This very common coin was already published by Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, Plate XLVII., No. 1068. It is here figured again in order to show its connection with the fanam No. 13.¹ The title Chhatrapati, ‘lord of the parasol,’ was borne by the Mahratta, Kings of Satara, see Dr. Codrington's paper on the seals of the late Satara Kingdom, B. B. R. A. S., Journal, Vol. XVI., page 126 ff. Hence the coins No. 13 and No. 14 may be ascribed to the first Mahratta King Sivaji (A. D. 1674-1680).”

¹ This gold fanam in Plate I, No. 17, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV., p. 319, Dr. Hultzsch, describes as 5½ grains in weight, with the inscription.

Obv.	श्री	Sri.	Rev.	छत्रा	Chhetrá.
	राजा	Rājā.		पति	Pati.

and adds that “this coin was first noticed in Captain Tufnell's “Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India,” p. 79, from information supplied by myself.”

In a note Dr. Hultzsch says in regard to the spelling of *pati* “another specimen reads *puti* instead of *pati*.” It appears therefore that the gold fanams shew the same peculiarity of spelling as the copper coins.

Dr. Hultzsch reads *Chhetrapati* in the text, and corrects it to *Chhatrapati* in his note, but comparison with copper coins show that what Dr. Hultzsch mistook for a *mātrā* over the छ is merely a symbol or conventional mark, and so should be read in the text Chhatrapati not Chhetrapati. I have specimens in which that mark is placed anywhere from well to the left of the point where the *mātrā* would naturally touch the छ, to a point over the व.

Historical References to the Chhatrapati Coins.

1. In Grant Duff's History of the Marathas, page 200, the following reference mentions the first attempt at coining by Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Dynasty, when on a visit to his hill fort of Raigad in A. D. 1664 :—

"He spent some months revising and arranging the departments and affairs of his government, assisted by his principal officers, and on this occasion first assumed the title of Râjâ, and struck coins in his own name."

Grant Duff in writing of the year 1674, ten years later (page 263), says : "Shivaji, who had long struck coins, and styled himself Raja, and Maharaja, was at this time consulting many learned Brahmins on the propriety of declaring his independence, assuming ensigns of royalty, and establishing an era from the day of his ascending the throne."

Accordingly, on the 6th of June A. D. 1674, Shivaji was again in more formal manner placed on the throne, assuming the title Kshatriya Kulavatamsa Shri Râjâ Siva Chhatrapati. The latter part of this title, *Chhatrapati*, appears on all the coins without exception.

2. In Thomas McCudden's "Oriental Eras," 1846, page xvi., some doubt is thrown on whether Shivaji did coin in 1664. He assumes some typographical error to account for Grant Duff's assertion that Shivaji assumed the title of Raja in 1664 and coined in his own name.

As, however, Grant Duff's statement is doubtless correct, one of the problems will be to determine what coins were issued by Shivaji between 1664 and 1674.

3. If the original documents of the Maratha kings and Peshwas were published much light would undoubtedly be thrown on these coins, for amongst the orders issued by them are those regulating the coinage.

Through the courtesy of the Hon. Justice Ranade I have been shown translations of several orders given by Bâjirao Peshwa, which throw light on the right of coining. There was no central mint, and the right of coining was given to coppersmiths and others in various parts of the kingdom, such as Nâsik, Nâgotua and Revadandâ, under certain rules as to weight and quality of the metal. These orders say nothing as to the inscription to be stamped on the coin, but it may be assumed that this was not left to the choice of the coiner, and orders on this point may yet be found. A careful search into extant historical material is likely to yield information most valuable in settling many questions that arise as to time and place of the coinage.

The fact that the practice of the Maratha kings in regard to coinage was not that of having a central mint, and reserving the right of coining, but that of giving a licence to those who chose to coin according to prescribed rules, explains many eccentricities to be observed in the Chhatrapati coins, as for example the great difference in workmanship, from the clear cut, neat looking inscription to the most slovenly and scrawly.

It seems to me clear from the study of the coins, that there must have been some Government order as to the inscription to be used, for notwithstanding diversity in details, there is evidence of unity of design. Old letters, *daftars*, *bakhars* and the like will, I am sure, throw much light on the subject, so as to make the chronological arrangement of these coins certain within well defined limits.

The question as to what States coined needs also to be settled by original documents. Did States tributary to Satara and Kolhapur issue coins of the Chhatrapati type. If they did, it is fairly evident that all followed a common type. Dates, names, ornamentation, form and size of the letters differ, but the type is one.

The Eras used by the Marathas.

In Grant Duff's History of the Marathas, page 55, 1st Edition, the following note occurs regarding the eras current among the Marathas:—

"There are at present four eras used in the Maratha country, besides the Christian, viz., 1. The Shalivahan; 2. The Soorsun or Arabic year; 3. The Fasli year; and, 4. The Raj Abhishek, or from the date of Shivaji's ascending the throne."

"The Soorsun and Fasli eras are merely solar years, setting out with the date of the year of the Hijri when they commenced, but without making allowance in future reckoning for the difference between the solar and lunar years, by which means they differ rather more than three years every century. Both the Soorsun and Fasli are called Mirg, or the husbandman's year, from their commencing at the season when the fields begin to be sown."

"The Soorsun was introduced on the Mirg in Hijri 745, which corresponds with A. D. 1344-45, and hence it would appear that it must have originated with Mahommed Tugluk Shah."

2. Cunningham's book of Indian Eras, page 82, says:—

"There is also a Fasli era in the Deccan, which was established by Shah Jahan in A. D. 1636, or H. 1046. The beginning of the year has been fixed by the Madras Government to the 12th of July."

3. Thomas McCudden, *Oriental Eras*, page xiv, says:—

"Fasli is taken from the season of harvest. It commences from the month of June, and it is otherwise called Mrigsāl. It is supposed to date its origin from the Emperor Akbar's accession to the throne. The era is supposed to commence from the year 1591 A. D., but nothing decided can be ascertained as to the circumstances connected with its origin, as it is enveloped in some obscurity; but Grant Duff, in his *History of the Marathas*, states that the era of the Deccan owes its origin to the Emperor Shah Jehan, who after bringing his wars to a close in 1636, made a settlement of the country, and introduced the revenue system of Tudor Mul, the able and celebrated minister of the Emperor Akbar."

4. To the above list of four eras there should, I think, be added a fifth which I shall call the Kolhápúr era. The existence of this era is a discovery I have just made, (which I advance with some diffidence, however), through the fortunate finding of a coin on which there seem to be dates in two eras—one in Marathi numerals, the other in Arabic. The coin is not quite perfect, hence there is an element of doubt. No mention of this Kolhápúr era is to be found in any historical reference known to me, nor in any book on eras. Assuming, however, that my supposition is correct, the era dates from the independence of the Kolhápúr branch from the Satara State in A. D. 1709, and is measured in Hijri years. Coins with this era that I have thus far found all fall in the reign of Shivaji III., of Kolhapur, hence I cannot yet say whether other princes of Kolhápúr used this era.

Eras of the Chhatrapati Coins.

I have thus far found coins which seems to be dated in three eras, and in possibly a fourth.

1. The Abhishek, era, in Marathi numerals.

2. The possible Kolhápúr era in Arabic numerals, which I have conjecturally advanced as a discovery due to these coins. If my conjecture is correct it begins with 1709, and is measured in Hijri years.

3. The Sursan era. I am not yet satisfied with the independent evidence of the coins as between the Fasli and Sursan, but the weight of evidence is, I think, in favor of the Sursan.

4. I have a coin with a date 18, but it is uncertain whether the numerals consists of these two figures only. This might be Abhishek, 18, or as an alternative Samvat, 18 ** i. e., this might

indicate a date anywhere between S. 1800 and S. 1896, A. D. 1743-1839, at which latter date the Kolhâpur mints were closed.

Table of Eras.

I give below a table of the different eras that may be helpful in determining the eras of such dated coins as may be found. The Christian, Fasli, Sursan, Hijri, Shalivâhan, Samvat, Abhishek and the conjectural Kolbâpur era, from A. D. 1664, the date of Shivaji's supposed first date of coining until 1857.

Christian A. D.	Fasli.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era of Shivaji.	Conjectural Kolhâpur era.
1664	1074	1065	1075	1586	1721		
1665	1075	1066	1076	1587	1722		
1666	1076	1067	1077	1588	1723		
1667	1077	1068	1078	1589	1724		
1668	1078	1069	1079	1590	1725		
1669	1079	1070	1080	1591	1726		
1670	1080	1071	1081	1592	1727		
1671	1081	1072	1082	1593	1728		
1672	1082	1073	1083	1594	1729		
1673	1083	1074	1084	1595	1730		
1674	1084	1075	1085	1596	1731	1	
1675	1085	1076	1086	1597	1732	2	
1676	1086	1077	1087	1598	1733	3	
1677	1087	1078	1088	1599	1734	4	
1678	1088	1079	1089	1600	1735	5	
1679	1089	1080	1090	1601	1736	6	
1680	1090	1081	1091	1602	1737	7	
1681	1091	1082	1092	1603	1738	8	
1682	1092	1083	1093 1094	1604	1739	9	
1683	1093	1084	1095	1605	1740	10	
1684	1094	1085	1096	1606	1741	11	
1685	1095	1086	1097	1607	1742	12	
1686	1096	1087	1098	1608	1743	13	
1687	1097	1088	1099	1609	1744	14	
1688	1098	1089	1100	1610	1745	15	
1689	1099	1090	1101	1611	1746	16	
1690	1100	1091	1102	1612	1747	17	
1691	1101	1092	1103	1613	1748	18	
1692	1102	1093	1104	1614	1749	19	
1693	1103	1094	1105	1615	1750	20	
1694	1104	1095	1106	1616	1751	21	
1695	1105	1096	1107	1617	1752	22	

Christian A. D.	Fasli.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Salivâ- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era of Shi- vaji.	Conjec- tural Kolhâpur era.
1696	1106	1097	1108	1618	1753	23	
1697	1107	1098	1109	1619	1754	24	
1698	1108	1099	1110	1620	1755	25	
1699	1109	1100	1111	1621	1756	26	
1700	1110	1101	1112	1622	1757	27	
1701	1111	1102	1113	1623	1758	28	
1702	1112	1103	1114	1624	1759	29	
1703	1113	1104	1115	1625	1760	30	
1704	1114	1105	1116	1626	1761	31	
1705	1115	1106	1117	1627	1762	32	
1706	1116	1107	1118	1628	1763	33	
1707	1117	1108	1119	1629	1764	34	
1708	1118	1109	1120	1630	1765	35	
1709	1119	1110	1121	1631	1766	36	1
1710	1120	1111	1122	1632	1767	37	2
1711	1121	1112	1123	1633	1768	38	3
1712	1122	1113	1124	1634	1769	39	4
1713	1123	1114	1125	1635	1770	40	5
1714	1124	1115	1126 1127	1636	1771	41	6 7
1715	1125	1116	1128	1637	1772	42	8
1716	1126	1117	1129	1638	1773	43	9
1717	1127	1118	1130	1639	1774	44	10
1718	1128	1119	1131	1640	1775	45	11
1719	1129	1120	1132	1641	1776	46	12
1720	1130	1121	1133	1642	1777	47	13
1721	1131	1122	1134	1643	1778	48	14
1722	1132	1123	1135	1644	1779	49	15
1723	1133	1124	1136	1645	1780	50	16
1724	1134	1125	1137	1646	1781	51	17
1725	1135	1126	1138	1647	1782	52	18
1726	1136	1127	1139	1648	1783	53	19
1727	1137	1128	1140	1649	1784	54	20
1728	1138	1129	1141	1650	1785	55	21
1729	1139	1130	1142	1651	1786	56	22
1730	1140	1131	1143	1652	1787	57	23
1731	1141	1132	1144	1653	1788	58	24
1732	1142	1133	1145	1654	1789	59	25
1733	1143	1134	1146	1655	1790	60	26
1734	1144	1135	1147	1656	1791	61	27
1735	1145	1136	1148	1657	1792	62	28
1736	1146	1137	1149	1658	1793	63	29
1737	1147	1138	1150	1659	1794	64	30
1738	1148	1139	1151	1660	1795	65	31

Christian A. D.	Fasli.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era. Shi- vaji.	Conjectural Kolhapur era.
1739	1149	1140	1152	1661	1796	66	32
1740	1150	1141	1153	1662	1797	67	33
1741	1151	1142	1154	1663	1798	68	34
1742	1152	1143	1155	1664	1799	69	35
1743	1153	1144	1156	1665	1800	70	36
1744	1154	1145	1157	1666	1801	71	37
1745	1155	1146	1158	1667	1802	72	38
1746	1156	1147	1159	1668	1803	73	39
1747	1157	1148	1160	1669	1804	74	40
1748	1158	1149	1161	1670	1805	75	41
1749	1159	1150	1162	1671	1806	76	42
1750	1160	1151	1163	1672	1807	77	43
1751	1161	1152	1164	1673	1808	78	44
1752	1162	1153	1165	1674	1809	79	45
1753	1163	1154	1166	1675	1810	80	46
1754	1164	1155	1167	1676	1811	81	47
1755	1165	1156	1168	1677	1812	82	48
1756	1166	1157	1169	1678	1813	83	49
1757	1167	1158	1170	1679	1814	84	50
1758	1168	1159	1171	1680	1815	85	51
1759	1169	1160	1172	1681	1816	86	52
1760	1170	1161	1173	1682	1817	87	53
1761	1171	1162	1174	1683	1818	88	54
1762	1172	1163	1175	1684	1819	89	55
1763	1173	1164	1176	1685	1820	90	56
1764	1174	1165	1177	1686	1821	91	57
1765	1175	1166	1178	1687	1822	92	58
1766	1176	1167	1179	1688	1823	93	59
1767	1177	1168	1180	1689	1824	94	60
1768	1178	1169	1181	1690	1825	95	61
1769	1179	1170	1182	1691	1826	96	62
1770	1180	1171	1183	1692	1827	97	63
1771	1181	1172	1184	1693	1828	98	64
1772	1182	1173	1185	1694	1829	99	65
1773	1183	1174	1186	1695	1830	100	66
1774	1184	1175	1187	1696	1831	101	67
1775	1185	1176	1188	1697	1832	102	68
1776	1186	1177	1189	1698	1833	103	69
1777	1187	1178	1190	1699	1834	104	70
1778	1188	1179	1191	1700	1835	105	71
1779	1189	1180	1192	1701	1836	106	72
1780	1190	1181	1193	1702	1837	107	73
1781	1191	1182	1194	1703	1838	108	74
1782	1192	1183	1195	1704	1839	109	75
			1196				76
			1197				77

Christian A. D.	Fasli.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhi-ek era of Shivaji.	Conjectural Kolhapur era.
1783	1193	1184	1198	1705	1840	110	78
1784	1194	1185	1199	1706	1841	111	79
1785	1195	1186	1200	1707	1842	112	80
1786	1196	1187	1201	1708	1843	113	81
1787	1197	1188	1202	1709	1844	114	82
1788	1198	1189	1203	1710	1845	115	83
1789	1199	1190	1204	1711	1846	116	84
1790	1200	1191	1205	1712	1847	117	85
1791	1201	1192	1206	1713	1848	118	86
1792	1202	1193	1207	1714	1849	119	87
1793	1203	1194	1208	1715	1850	120	88
1794	1204	1195	1209	1716	1851	121	89
1795	1205	1196	1210	1717	1852	122	90
1796	1206	1197	1211	1718	1853	123	91
1797	1207	1198	1212	1719	1854	124	92
1798	1208	1199	1213	1720	1855	125	93
1799	1209	1200	1214	1721	1856	126	94
1800	1210	1201	1215	1722	1857	127	95
1801	1211	1202	1216	1723	1858	128	96
1802	1212	1203	1217	1724	1859	129	97
1803	1213	1204	1218	1725	1860	130	98
1804	1214	1205	1219	1726	1861	131	99
1805	1215	1206	1220	1727	1862	132	100
1806	1216	1207	1221	1728	1863	133	101
1807	1217	1208	1222	1729	1864	134	102
1808	1218	1209	1223	1730	1865	135	103
1809	1219	1210	1224	1731	1866	136	104
1810	1220	1211	1225	1732	1867	137	105
1811	1221	1212	1226	1733	1868	138	106
1812	1222	1213	1227 1228	1734	1869	139	107 108
1813	1223	1214	1229	1735	1870	140	109
1814	1224	1215	1230	1736	1871	141	110
1815	1225	1216	1231	1737	1872	142	111
1816	1226	1217	1232	1738	1873	143	112
1817	1227	1218	1233	1739	1874	144	113
1818	1228	1219	1234	1740	1875	145	114
1819	1229	1220	1235	1741	1876	146	115
1820	1230	1221	1236	1742	1877	147	116
1821	1231	1222	1237	1743	1878	148	117
1822	1232	1223	1238	1744	1879	149	118
1823	1233	1224	1239	1745	1880	150	119
1824	1234	1225	1240	1746	1881	151	120
1825	1235	1226	1241	1747	1882	152	121
1826	1236	1227	1242	1748	1883	153	122
1827	1237	1228	1243	1749	1884	154	123
1828	1238	1229	1244	1750	1885	155	124

Christian A. D.	Faslî.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era of Shivaji.	Conjectural Kolhapur era.
1829	1239	1230	1245	1751	1886	156	125
1830	1240	1231	1246	1752	1887	157	126
1831	1241	1232	1247	1753	1888	158	127
1832	1242	1233	1248	1754	1889	159	128
1833	1243	1234	1249	1755	1890	160	129
1834	1244	1235	1250	1756	1891	161	130
1835	1245	1236	1251	1757	1892	162	131
1836	1246	1237	1252	1758	1893	163	132
1837	1247	1238	1253	1759	1894	164	133
1838	1248	1239	1254	1760	1895	165	134
1839	1249	1240	1255	1761	1896	166	135
1840	1250	1241	1256	1762	1897	167	136
1841	1251	1242	1257	1763	1898	168	137
1842	1252	1243	1258	1764	1899	169	138
1843	1253	1244	1259	1765	1900	170	139
1844	1254	1245	1260	1766	1901	171	140
1845	1255	1246	1261	1767	1902	172	141
1846	1256	1247	1262	1768	1903	173	142
1847	1257	1248	1263	1769	1904	174	143
1848	1258	1249	1264	1770	1905	175	144
1849	1259	1250	1265	1771	1906	176	145
1850	1260	1251	1266	1772	1907	177	146
1851	1261	1252	1267	1773	1908	178	147
1852	1262	1253	1268	1774	1909	179	148
1853	1263	1254	1269	1775	1910	180	149
1854	1264	1255	1270	1776	1911	181	150
1855	1265	1256	1271	1777	1912	182	151
1856	1266	1257	1272	1778	1913	183	152
1857	1267	1258	1273	1779	1914	184	153
			1274				154

Maratha Kings.

Shivaji began to coin A. D. 1664

Shivaji ... 1674—1680

Sambhaji ... 1680—1689

Râjârâm ... 1689—1700

*Satara branch.**Kolhapur branch.*

Shivaji II. ...	1700—1709	Shivaji II. ...	1709—1712
Shâhu ...	1708—1749	Sambhaji II. ...	1712—1760
Râmrâjâ ...	1749—1777	Shivaji III. ...	1760—1812
Shâhu II. ...	1777—1808	Shambhu ...	1812—1821
Prââpsimha ...	1808—1839	Shâhaji ...	1821—1837
Shâhaji ...	1839—1840	Shivaji IV. ...	1837—1866
		Râjârâm II. ...	1866—1870
		Shivaji V. ...	1870—1883
		Shâhu ...	1883—

The Currency of the Coin.

The coin of the Maratha kings is popularly known as the Chhatrapati or Shivarâi, and is to be met with as current coin in the large cities and towns of this Presidency, as Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur, Satara, Nasik, and in the Konkan.

The following interesting note occurs in the *Bombay Gazetteer* for Poona, Part II., page 107 :—

“Old copper coins called Chhatrapatis also called Shivrâis, as the coin of Raja Shiraji, worth about a quarter of an anna, are also current. The Chhatrapati contains 136 grains troy ($\frac{3}{4}$ tola) of pure copper, or 45 grains troy ($\frac{1}{4}$ tola) more than the current quarter anna piece. Still it sells for less, as one or two pieces have to be added in every rupee. The coinage of the Chhatrapati or Shivarâi was stopped immediately after the beginning of British rule. But about thirty years ago³ large quantities of a counterfeit coin with an alloy of zinc were secretly coined and circulated in the markets near Junnar and Ahmednagar. Though gradually disappearing these false Shivarâis are still in use, and are so close a copy of the real Shivarâi that only an expert can tell them from each other.”

Data for General Analysis.

The problem before the Numismatist is of course to arrange these coins in the chronological order of their issue, and according to the States that issued them. The difficulties in the way of doing so consist in the following reasons :—

1. Comparatively few are dated.
2. Comparatively few have a name stamped upon them, owing to the die having been much larger than the coin. The name was farthest from the centre of the die, hence usually failed to appear on the coin.
3. The same name was common to many of the Maratha kings ; hence of the two Shivajis of Satara, and two of Kolhapur, the two Shâhus of Satara, &c., it is difficult to determine which king was intended, even though the name may be plain.
4. Considering the loose way in which coins were issued, it can hardly be assumed, without additional proof, that the dies were changed with each reign. The same die or its copies may have descended without radical change in the hands of those who bought the right to coin.

³ About 1855.

5. The system of the Marathas made counterfeiting easy, and without more knowledge it is difficult to distinguish the true from the counterfeit.

On the other hand we are helped in analysing them—

1. By the dates.—I am constantly finding new dates, and if the search is kept up, there will be no difficulty regarding the dated series.

2. By the names.—I have found three names on these coins, namely, Shivaji, Rām Rājā and Shāhu, and perhaps a fourth, चाव. And as I have found a coin with Shāhu's name, with also the date 1234, and सीव with the date 97 of the conjectural Kolhapur era, there is a good basis to start from in the comparing of the dateless named coins, with the nameless dated coins.

3. Although the coins present a very great variety in the minute details, they all follow a certain type. It remains to trace the development from the original coin of Shivaji, the Founder, in A. D. 1664 to the closing of the mints by the British, by means of those variations in the form of letters and symbols which clearly show a development from an older copy.

In my study of these coins, I have examined about 25,000. Every coin with any peculiarity I have preserved, so that by comparison of the number of any particular kind of coin with the number examined, I have a fairly accurate measure of the rarity of any particular coin. I have drawn up a table (page 21) which will shew at a glance the rarity of each coin.

The Die.

I am not aware of the present existence of any of the dies formerly used. It would be interesting if such could be found.

From the coins the following particulars regarding the dies may be obtained:—

1. Some were cut with great neatness, making coins with clear, sharp cut inscriptions.

2. Others were cut in a very slovenly way, indicating lack of skill and carefulness.

3. Some dies were so cut as to reverse all the letters on the coins, or in other cases one or two letters. Whether this was through carelessness, or purposely done through some superstitious idea, I have no evidence to determine. Major Codrington in his paper on the "Seals of the late Satara Kingdom" (B. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XVI., page

135) describes the seal of Narayanrâo Ballal, Chief Minister to Râjâ Râm, in which the final न of the inscription is reversed, and adds:—
 “There is a story about this, viz. :—The seal was brought by the maker of it into the Râjâ’s presence, and an impression made of it on paper, when this error was discovered. But as the letter न represents adversity, it was allowed to remain reverted, and thus express prosperity.”

As some of these reversed coins are well made, I think it is not an unlikely presumption that the dies were purposely so made, with some superstitious idea.

Method of Coining.

The *Bombay Gazetteer* on Nasik, page 429, gives a description of how coins were made at the Chattrador mint, which was closed in 1830.

“A certain quantity of silver of the required test was handed over to each man who divided it into small pieces, rounded and weighed them, greater care being taken that the weights should be accurate than that the size should be uniform. For this purpose scales and weights were given to each of the 400 workmen, and the manager examined them every week. When the workmen were satisfied with the weight of the piece, they were forwarded to the manager who sent them to be stamped. In stamping the rupee an instrument like an anvil was used. It had a hole in the middle with letters inscribed on it. Piece after piece was thrown into the hole, the seal was held on it by a workman called batekari, and a third man gave a blow with a six pound hammer. Three men were able to strike 2,000 pieces an hour, or 20,000 in a working day of ten hours. As the seal was a little larger than the piece, all the letters were seldom inscribed. Gold and copper coins were also made in the mint, but the copper coins had a different seal.”

Inscription and Symbols.

The usual inscription occupies three lines on the obverse, and two on the reverse.

For example,

श्री
 Ob. राजा
 शिव

Rev. छत्र
 पति

The variations of these inscriptions are—

1. In the place of श्री.—
 - a. श्री with a date following.
 - b. श्री after the date.
 - c. श्री dividing the date.
 - d. The word उद्यु in Modi letters, with a date.
2. In the case of Rām Rāja's coins, his name appears after and on the same line as the word Shri. श्रीराम. Otherwise in these coins the राजा name invariably underlies the word राजा.
3. Some coins omit the name. The place for the name being taken by the conventional mark ∴ ∥ ∴. Plate II, 22.
4. The form of the letter र is the older one. On a single coin only have I found the modern form of र.
5. The reverse is always the same, viz. छत्र पति. but with variations as to the spelling of pati.
6. The spelling of the words शिव and पति gives the following 8 variations, instance of all of which I possess—

1.	Ob. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति	Plate I. No. 1
2.	„ श्री राजा शिव	„ छत्र पती	„ 2
3.	„ श्री राजा शीव	„ छत्र पति	„ ...
4.	„ श्री राजा शीव	„ छत्र पती	„ 4
5.	„ श्री राजा सिव	„ छत्र पति	„ 5
6.	„ श्री राजा सिवा	„ छत्र पती	„ 6
7.	„ श्री राजा सीव	„ छत्र पति	„ 7
8.	„ श्री राजा सीव	„ छत्र पती	„ 8

Also—

श्री राम राजा छत्र पति Plate I No. 13.

श्री राम राजा छत्र पती

The date appears variously—

1. In Marathi numerals, in conjunction with either श्री उद्यु or
2. In Arabic numerals following the word उद्यु or श्री

Symbols.

There are many symbols on these coins, the meaning of many of which can be easily recognized, others are of doubtful significance.

1. ☉ the sun, ☾ the moon, indicating long duration. These are sometimes on either side of the श्री, or on the Reverse above the word छत्र. Plate II, No. 19.

2. A mark (mistaken by Dr. Hultzsch for a *मात्रा* see Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 319) is usually found over the छ, but is found on one coin over the त्र. I do not know its meaning. See my Note page III.

3. छ, a cluster of seven dots. Plate II, No. 30.

4. Following the छत्र there is usually found the representation of a leaf, or tree. Perhaps this may be the Shami leaf, offered to Ganpati, to which it bears a resemblance. Plate I, 13 and II, 28.

5. After the राजा there is a triple leaf, which I conjecture to be the *bel* leaf, sacred to Shiva. Its shape slightly varies in different coins. Plate II., 37.

6. Other symbols are to be occasionally noticed, such as a sword, and many conventional marks, and variously arranged dots.

7. The coins commonly have two parallel horizontal lines between the words श्री and राजा. A smaller number have a single horizontal line, and are I think the older. Plate I., 1 coins with the name साव have two horizontal lines between राजा and साव Plate I., 9.

All these variations therefore in the wording and spelling of the inscriptions, differences in dates and names, symbols, and variations in the form of letters, provide material for that analysis which should result in determining the approximate date of every coin.

Analysis in Detail.

In the following description of these coins, I have analyzed them according to their distinguishing characteristics. I have not attempted the task of chronological arrangement, except where it is evident from dates and names. This cannot be satisfactorily done until more facts have been discovered.

Inscription with name but without date—

1. Ob. श्री राजा शिव. R. छत्रपति. See Plate I. No. 1.

This particular coin I conjecture to be the coin of Shivaji, the Founder. The line of my argument is as follows :—

1. Its resemblance to the gold fanam described by Dr. Hultzsch. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 319.

2. It is the only coin I have found where the die and coin agreed in size, and it is to be presumed that when Shivaji first issued coin he would arrange to have the whole inscription appear.

3. All the dated coins I have found, which range from Sursan? 1231 to 1240, have two horizontal lines between the words श्री and राजा while No. 1 has but one line. I think the double line indicates a later fashion.

4. Marsden in his *Numismata Orientalia*, printed in 1823, describes an almost identical coin, and says it had been dug up in the ruins of Kanauj. This corroborates the idea of its greater age.

5. There is a little mark over the छ like a *mātrā*, which appears as a long mark in the undoubted later coins, through a probably gradual development.

2. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पती.	Plate I. No. 2
3. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति.	,, ...
4. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पती.	,, 4
5. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति.	,, 5
6. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पती.	,, 6
7. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति.	,, 7
8. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पती.	,, 8

To what Shivaji these latter belong I cannot say.

2. Coins with the inscription.

श्री राजा साव छत्रपति. ,, 9

I have three coins on which the name appears to be साव. This coin may perhaps belong to Shâhu I. This was the name given to Shivaji, the grandson of Shivaji the Founder, by Aurangzeb, who called the great Shivaji शिवाजी लुटारु, (robber) and his grandson शिवाजी साव (Shivaji the Honest). This name Shivaji chose to retain, and with difference of pronunciation साव, साउ, or शाहु he is known in the list of the kings as Shahu I.—Grant Duff, H. M. page 413.

A few more specimens of this special coin are necessary to prove the name. Should I be correct in my surmise, it would belong to Shâhu I., of Satara, A. D. 1708—1749.

There is a coin of which I have found 20 specimens, which looks as though it were intended to be read both सीव and साव. That is to say, it is exceptional in having a double headline over the name. At first reading it would be taken for साव, but for a small velanti above the upper headline. I suggest it as a possibility that his true name being Shivaji, and his assumed name साव, he so inscribed some of his coins as to make both readings possible. Of course this is a mere conjecture. Plate I. 10.

3. Coins with the name of Rām Rājā. These coins are rare. I have found only 43 out of 25,000 coins examined. They are all well worn, and it requires several specimens to become sure of the name. The letters of the reverse are more distinct than the obverse, and show that all his coins are close copies of his original one. Coins

with र perfectly clear are very rare, 6 out of 25,000. With म clear 6 out of 25,000. With both र and with म clear 1 out of 25,000.

The inscriptions are—

1. श्री राम राजा छत्रपति See Plate I, 11, 12, 13.

2. श्री राम राजा छत्र पती

This series shews the common variation in the spelling of the word पति.

In these coins the name राम is on the same line as the श्री, श्रीराम, which is exceptional. In all the other coins the name appears below the word राजा.

I have not a sufficient number of this series of such distinctness as to determine the full impression of the die. One coin shows a ring of dots along the outer edge of the obverse, and on the reverse the Samri? symbol.

I presume there can be no doubt that this series belongs to Rām Rājā A. D. 1749—1777 of the Satara branch, still it might belong to Rājā Rām (1689—1700).

4. Coins with Name and Date in Arabic Numerals.

Name Shivaji, and Arabic numerals.

श्री १५. राजा शिव छत्रपति.

Plate I, Nos. 14, 15 and 16.

This coin is rare. Out of 25,000 Chhatrapati coins I have examined I have found only 28. The date looks at first sight like a three figured numeral, but the complete specimens resolve the last figure into a mere symbol, leaving 97 as the date.

Where the first line is not stamped the coin is still recognizable by the peculiar arrangement of the dots in the छ. Plate I. 16. I have 8 specimens with the date 61 in Arabic numerals with name as yet unknown.

These coins with date in Arabic numerals, proved a problem difficult for solution until the discovery already referred to, of a coin with both 123 in Marathi numerals, and what I think, is 91 in Arabic numerals, furnished a key. Plate I, 17. It occurred to me that the 123 might be in the Abhisheka era, giving the number of years from the foundation of the Marathi Kingdom, and the 91 the number of years from the independence of the Kolhapur Branch from the Satara State in 1709. The Arabic numerals suggested Hijri years, and when put to the test I found that the agreement was perfect, and that 123 Abhishek era, and 91 an assumed Kolhapur era, measured in Hijri years, gave the same result, A. D. 1796. It is possible, of course, that this is a mere coincidence, but it is so unlikely,

that it should be so, that it will not be thought unreasonable to assume the existence of such an era until further discoveries confirm or disapprove it.

If my conclusions are correct, it would seem that the kings of Kolhapur were no less ambitious than their ancestors to have an era of their own. According to Grant Duff it was at the close of A. D. 1709 that this independence was established, and the coin in having dates of two eras, would illustrate the loyalty of this branch to their great founder, as well as pride in their own independence.

The date 97, if assumed to be of this same era, would give us A. D. 1802. This coin has the name of Shiva on it. This falls in the reign of Shivaji III., A. D. 1760—1812, and helps to corroborate the above conclusions.

Other coins have a date that seems to be 61, but there are some doubtful points about these coins that need further discoveries for the understanding of them. Plate II, 35.

5. Coins with the name Shâu and dated.

Coins of the name Shâu are of frequent occurrence, but coins where the उ of the Shâu has been completely impressed are exceedingly rare. Out of 25,000 I have found 2 only. Plate II, 21. With date and name both, only 3. Plate II, 18, 20.

The inscriptions are—

1. श्री १२३१ राजा शाउ छत्रपति.
2. श्री १२३४ राजा शाउ छत्रपति—Plate II, 18, 20.
3. श्री राजा शाउ छत्रपति.

Whether the Shâu coins have other dates on them than 1231 and 1234 I am not yet able to say.

The date most commonly found is 1234. Whether Sursan (A. D. 1833), or Fasli (A. D. 1824) is assumed, both fall in the reign of Shâhaji of Kolhapur, A. D. 1821—1837.

That this Shahaji was also called Shâhu is evident from the records of agreement between the Kolhapur State and the British Government published in Graham's "Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapur," page 570. The heading of the agreement is as follows:—

"Articles of Agreement concluded on the 24th January 1826 between Shahajee Chutrupatee Maharaj Kurwur, the Raja of Kolhapur and the British Government." Page 570.

"Articles of Agreement concluded on the 15th March 1829, between the Raja Shahoo Chutrupatee Kurwurkur, Raja of Kolhapoor and the British Government." Page 572.

That this Shâu of the coins is Shâhaji of the list of Kolhapur kings is thus, I think, put beyond doubt.

6. *Coins with undecipherable names, and without dates.*

I have found a large number of Chhatrapati coins where only the upper portion of the king's name was stamped upon them, and this not sufficient to make the deciphering certain.

The different names that occur in the list of the two sister States, Satara and Kolhapur, are Shivaji, Rājārām, Shahu, Shambhu, Rāmrajā, Shâhaji, and Pratapsingha.

The name Shiva can generally be easily made out from the *velanti*, *i. e.*, the *i* vowel which is above the head line. But I have specimens where the whole of the *velanti* is below the head line, so that its absence above the head line does not necessarily imply a name other than Shiva.

Rāmrajā's name appearing after the Shri is easily recognizable, but the bare tops of the letters of the other names are not sufficient to make their deciphering certain. Whether, therefore, all the names of the above list appear on the Chhatrapati coins, or not, remains to be settled after further search. There is no doubt, however, regarding the first three, Shiva, Rāmrajā, and Shâu. To this I tentatively add साव.

A caution is needed in regard to the names on these coins, on account of differences in the spelling of the same names. Shivaji appears as शिव, शीव, सिव, सिवा and सीव and in one case सीड? The name adopted by Shivaji, the grandson of Shivaji the Founder, साव, might be साव, सावु, सावु, साड, or साहू. The fact that only a part of the name was usually impressed on the coin, renders great care necessary to prevent the misreading of names. In a worn coin साव might be read for सीव by the disappearance of the *velanti*. शिव on some coins might be misread for राम.

7. *Coins with no name and no date.*

I have found a few coins where the place of the name is taken by two perpendicular lines with three dots on either side. On these therefore the inscription simply reads:—

Ob. श्री राजा :||:

Rev. छत्र पति. Plate II. 22.

This coin is very rare. Of the 25,000 coins examined I have found but 13. The shapes of the letters are peculiar and the coins are easily recognizable as belonging to this series, though the two upright lines may not appear stamped on the coin.

8. *Dated coins, in Marathi numerals.*

The dates that I have thus far found on the Chhatrapati coins in Marathi numerals are,

1231, Plate II. 23. 1233, Plate II. 26, 27. 1237, Plate II. 30.
1232, „ „ 24, 25. 1234, „ „ 28, 29.

Of the eras in use among the Marathas (see page 113), the only ones to which these dates could belong are the Fasli and Sursan, which differ 9 years from one another. I am not yet able to prove which of these two eras were used, though the weight of evidence is, I think, in favor of the Sursan, for the State papers of Kolhapur were dated in this era. See Graham's Report, page 570.

9. *Dates in Abhishek era.*

I have 12 marked '123. Plate II. 32. The dots on either side of the date are peculiar and prevent mistaking it for a date of four numerals. This date I conjecture to be in the Abhisheka era. If so, it would correspond with A. D. 1796 in the reign of Shahu II. of Satara, or Shivaji III. of Kolhapur. As coins with '123' have a name other than Shivaji, I conjecture they belong to Shahu II. of Satara.

One coin has the date 124 (?) Plate II. 33. Another 12. Plate II. 31.

The coin with both 123 in Marathi, and 91 in Arabic numerals I have already referred to as possibly indicating both Abhisheka and a Kolhapur era, and would belong to Shivaji III. of Kolhapur. A. D. 1760—1812. Plate I. 17.

I have 2 specimens of a coin with the mark ॥ after the श्री. I do not know its meaning. Plate II. 34.

I have two coins out of 25,000 marked श्री: १. This is perhaps the first figure of a date. Plate II. 36.

The dates are so often imperfectly stamped that a caution is needed in reading them.

Comparative rarity of different coins.

श्री राजा शिव छत्रपति with variety of spelling ...						... Out of 25,000	Very common.
राम राजा	43
„ with distinct रा	6
„ „ म	6
„ „ both रा and म clearly stamped	1

श्री १५ राजा शिव छत्रपति	...	...	...	...	Out of 25 000	28
श्री राजा साव	...	...	...	...	"	3
Some name other than Shivaji, partially stamped but identification certain	...	...	...	...	"	250
श्री राजा शाह identification certain	...	...	...	...	"	37
" " " with the ५ complete	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " " with date 1231	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " " " " 1234	...	...	...	...	"	25
श्री राजा ०:॥: छत्रपति	...	...	...	...	"	13
Coins with complete date 1231...	...	...	...	...	"	35
" " " " 1232...	...	...	...	...	"	24
" " " " 1233...	...	...	...	...	"	39
" " " " 1234...	...	...	...	...	"	76
" " " " 1235...	...	...	...	...	"	none
" " " " 1236...	...	...	...	...	"	none
" " " " 1237...	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " " " 1238...	...	...	...	...	"	none
" " " " 1239..	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " 123	...	...	...	...	"	12
" " 123-91	...	...	...	...	"	1
" " 12** 123* (last figures missing)	...	...	...	...	"	252
" " 18** (?)	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " श्री ११	...	...	...	...	"	8
" " श्री १	...	...	...	...	"	3
" " श्री १॥	...	...	...	...	"	2

[Since reading the above paper, my attention has been called to a note by O. Codrington, M. D., in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April 1898, on Dr. Hoernle's paper on Rare Hindu and Mahomedan coins in Vol. LXVI, Part I, 1897, of the Bengal Br. R. A. S. Journal. In this Note he describes some Chhatrapati coins, and one in particular that has on the obverse श्री राजा राम. If this is not a misreading due to the imperfect inscriptions on these coins, it gives the additional name of राज (राम (1689—1700). राम राजा's coins (1749—1777) have been described on page 125. J. E. A.]

ART. IX.—*The Nausāri Copper-plate Charter of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Prince Karkka I., dated Śaka 738.* By DEVADATTA R. BHANDARKAR, B.A., under the general supervision of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., C.I.E.

[Read 15th December 1895.]

This set of copper-plates was originally in the possession of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī. But they were found by me in the museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and were obtained for publication through the kindness of the Secretary. The plates were originally found at Nausāri.

The plates are three in number, each about 10" long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " broad at the ends, and somewhat more in the middle. The edges of these are slightly fashioned thicker for the protection of the writing. The inscription commences on the outside of the first plate and covers also a portion of the outside of the third plate. When the grant came under my inspection, it had no ring. But since there are holes on the left sides of the plates, they must have been held together by a ring passing through them. Small pieces have been broken off near the holes of the ring, of the first two plates and at a few places letters have been indistinctly incised. Still the inscription is on the whole well preserved and legible throughout. The engraving is clean and well-executed. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The grant commences with the symbol for "Om" without, however, the word "Svasti" following it. The first fifty-four lines, together with the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end are in verse and the rest in prose. The verses of the grant occur in one or other of the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions hitherto published, but some are found only in the Kāvī plates of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Prince Govinda. As regards orthography, we may notice (i) the use of the guttural nasal instead of Anusvāra before 'ś' once in "triṇśat," l. 68; (ii) the use of "Siṅgha" for "Siṃha"; (iii) the almost invariable change of the visarga to 'sh' when followed by 'p,' e.g., ll. 21, 35, 50, 62 &c.; (iv) the doubling of 'dh,' (with 'd' in the usual manner) in conjunction with a following 'y' or 'v,' e.g., ll. 56, 59 and 42; (v) the substitution of Jihvāmūlīya, in all cases, for visarga when followed by 'k,' e.g., ll. 7, 12, 23, 64, 70, 76 and 78. The characters belong to the same type as that of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, especially

of later date. In particular, as need scarcely be said, they are identical with the characters of the Baroda grant of the same king that issued this charter, the only minute points of difference being that the top-ends of the letters 'p,' 'm' and 'sh' are in our plates joined by horizontal strokes. This is likely to lead the reader to read 'b' when it is 'p.'

The subjoined grant is one of Karkka styled "Suvarṇavarsha," son of Indra, of the Gujarât Branch of the Râshtrakûṭa family. And the charter was issued by him while staying at "Khetaka," which is in all likelihood identical with Kaira, the chief town of the district of the same name. It is dated, in words, in the seven hundred and thirty-eighth year expired of the Saka era on the fifteenth of the bright half of Mâgha, without, however, any specification of the cyclic year. The occasion of its issue was the lunar eclipse that occurred on the aforesaid date. And the object thereof was the performance of the five rites of 'bali,' 'charu,' 'vaiśvadeva,' 'agnihotra' and 'atithi.' The donee is a Brâhmaṇa of the name of Gobbaḍḍi, son of Bâdaḍḍi, of the Bhâradvāja Gotra and student of the "Taittiriya" school. There is almost no trace of the Taittiriya Sâkhâ in Gujarât but most of the Tailangi Brâhmaṇas are of that school. Besides, the name of the grantee sounds Telugu. He was therefore a southerner, and Bâdâvî, where he is mentioned to have originally resided, is in all likelihood the present Bâdâmi, the chief town of the tâlukâ of that name, in the Bijâpur District. For, Bâdâvî as an older form of the name occurs in some stone-inscriptions existing at or near Bâdâmi.¹ This intermediate form, which is in strict accordance with the rules of Prâkṛita corruptions of Sanskrit words, renders almost certain the identification of the modern Bâdâmi with Vâtâpî, which was the capital of the early Châlukyās. Next, Gobbaḍḍi appears to be a man of deep erudition, for he is expressly stated to have received the appellation of "Paṇḍita Vallabharâja" on account of his proficiency in the fourteen lores.

The present is the second grant, in chronological order, of Karkka I., of the Gujarât Branch. The first is generally known as the Baroda grant and is dated in 734 Saka year expired, *i. e.*, four years earlier. The Baroda grant contains verses which are not found in any one of the hitherto published Râshtrakûṭa inscriptions and gives much valuable information. But the verses of our plates occur in many other Râshtrakûṭa records and consequently we learn absolutely

¹ Ind. Ant. V, 20; X, 63.

nothing new. One point, however, of some importance may be deduced from the date and the mention in it of Amoghavarsha I. of the main Rāshtrakūṭa line. The Baroda grant which was made in 734 Saka year expired takes the genealogy of the main line as far as Govinda III., from which it is obvious that that king had not then ceased to reign. But the present grant, which is dated in 738 Saka year expired, mentions Amoghavarsha after this Govinda III., which shows that Amoghavarsha was then on the throne. The conclusion, I think, may therefore be safely drawn that Amoghavarsha must have ascended the throne some year between 734 and 738 Saka years expired. This is quite in harmony with the Sirur inscription,¹ from which it follows that 736 Saka year (expired) was the first year of Amoghavarsha's reign.

I shall now proceed to another point of greater importance. The author of a well-known Jaina work entitled *Harivaṃśa* tells us in a verse in the colophon that he completed the work in the Saka year 705 when Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛishṇa, was ruling in the south and Indrāyudha in the north.² The Paṭhan as well as the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa grants mention Govinda II. by the name of Vallabha and Govinda II. was of course a son of Kṛishṇa. So that it is all but certain that he is the Śrīvallabha alluded to. One scholar³ at any rate is of opinion that Govinda II. did not reign at all, since the Wanī and Rādhanpur inscriptions speak of Dhruva Nirupama as "having leaped over his elder brother in succession" and since his name is not mentioned in some of the subsequent records. He consequently connects the expression "Kṛishṇatanaye" occurring in the verse, with Indrāyudha and holds that Śrīvallabha refers to Govinda III. Now, in the first place, the phrase "Jyeshṭhollaṅghana" (leaping over his elder brother) in the Wanī and Rādhanpur grants⁴ does not necessarily mean, as has been supposed, that there was "an act of complete supersession" in the case of Govinda II., but may simply signify the fact that Govinda II. was dethroned by Dhruva, his brother. The Deolī and Karhād plates⁵ which mention the names of the princes who died without obtaining sovereignty, state that Govinda II. by his sensual courses allowed Dhruva to usurp his throne, which implies that he did reign. Again,

¹ *Iod. Ant.* XII, 218.

² *Ibid* XV, 142.

³ See "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts," pp. 117, 118, 119.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* VI, 65; XI, 157.

⁵ *J. B. B. A. S.* XVIII, 246; *Ep. Ind.* IV, 282.

the Khārepātāṇ grant¹ of Rattarāja which scrupulously gives a list of those Râshṭrakūṭa princes only who came to the throne does not therein omit the name of Govinda II. As to the omission of his name in some of the later grants, it must not be forgotten that there are at least as many in which it is mentioned as those in which it is omitted; and this omission is to be accounted for by the fact that the writers of those grants wanted to give only the direct genealogy of the reigning sovereign, and in most of the cases if they pass over Govinda II., they pass over Dantidurga also. Lastly, it is worthy of note that the present grant contains a verse about Govinda II., which distinctly alludes to his white royal parasol.² That verse occurs in other grants also, the earliest of which is the Paṭhaṇ charter of Govinda III., nephew of Govinda II. The reference to the regal umbrella in this last, since it was issued only a few years after the death of Govinda II., is of great value and leaves, in my opinion, not even the shadow of a doubt as to his having reigned.

The dūtaka of this charter was Bhaṭṭa Śrī-Droṇamma, apparently a southerner. And the grant was written by Nemāditya, minister for war and peace—probably the same personage that wrote the Baroda grant of the present royal grantor. It is worth noticing that the king's sign-manual is engraved in South Indian characters, as is obvious from the peculiarly southern fashion in which 't,' 'n' and 'r' are engraved. This is not the first instance of this kind. The Baroda grants of this prince and of his son Dhruva, both bear the sign-manuals in southern characters, showing that the Gujarât Râshṭrakūṭa princes used the mode of writing that prevailed in the native country of the race to which they belonged.

✓ This inscription records the grant of two villages, one of which is Samīpadraka and the other Sambandhī. The former is mentioned as situated in the region intervening between the Mahī and the Narmadā, and the latter in the Maṅgaṇikā District. The latter, moreover, is stated by way of a footnote below the last line of the first side of the third plate, to have been caused to be given by one "Rāṇahari." Now, Samīpadraka must have ordinarily been first corrupted into "Sa-im-udra" and then into "Sa-un-dar." There is a village of the name of "Sondarn" which answers to the position

¹ Ep. Ind. III, 298.

² This point was first noticed by Dr. Hultzsch; see Ind. Ant. XIV., 201, note 23.

of Samīpadraka as determined by the surrounding villages. Though the last 'n' in Sondarn cannot be properly accounted for, there can hardly be a doubt that it is identical with Samīpadraka. Of the surrounding villages, Chorundaka is the modern Choranda, Bhārthāṇaka has become Bhārthān, and Dhāhadva is perhaps represented by the present village of Dhāwat. Of the other places mentioned in this grant, Sajjodaka is now called Sajod and the name Māṇḍwā of a modern village may be the present contracted form of Kāsthāmaṇḍapa. The first four villages are situated in the Gaikwar's territory continuous with the Broach Collectorate and the last two in the Ankeśwara tālukā of the same district.

TRANSCRIPT.

[The marks of punctuation that are superfluous are placed within circular brackets; while those that are necessary and letters, &c., that are indistinctly or unintelligibly engraved are enclosed within-rectangular brackets.]

First plate; first side.

- 1 ओं [॥] ¹स वोव्याद्वेयसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [१] हरश्च यस्य कान्तेष्मु^२ल-
(१) या कमलङ्कृतं ॥ [१] ^३आसीद्विषन्ति-
- 2 निरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वास्तन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणेशर्वरीषु [१] भूपः शुचिर्विशुद्धि-
वास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्ति-
- 3 गौर्विन्दराज इति राजसु[रा]जसिद्धः^४ ॥ [२] वृद्धा चमूपाभिमुखी^(१) सुभटाहा-
सामुन्नामितं
- 4 सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं [१] दृष्टाधरेण दधता भुक्नुटी^५ ललाटे (१) खड्गं कुलंच
हृदयं च निजं
- 5 च सत्त्वं^६ ॥ [३] ^७खड्गं करामान्मुखतश्च शोभा मानो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य ।
महाहवे नाम निशम्भ
- 6 [स]द्यत्त्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४] ^(१)स्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुत-
दीर्घकीर्त्तिरात्तोत्तिहा-
- 7 [रि] हरिविक्रमधामधा[री] । भूपालविष्टपनृपालुकृति^x कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्करीज
इति गोत्रमणिर्दर्वभू-
- 8 व ॥ [५] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरदच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः [१]
इमापःक्षितौ क्षपि-

¹ Metre : Anusṭubh.

² Read ^०कलया.

³ Metre : Vasantatilakā ; and in the following verse.

⁴ Read सिंहः

⁵ Read भुक्नुटी.

⁶ Read सत्त्वं.

⁷ Metre : Upajāti.

⁸ Metre : Vasantatilakā ; and in the following verse.

- 9 तशशु^१रभूत्तनूजःसद्वाष्टकूटकनकाद्रिविन्दराजः॥ [6]¹⁰तस्योपाडिजतमहस-
 10 स्तनयश्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्या¹¹भोक्ता भुवःशतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गरा-
 जोभूत् [11] [7]
 11 ¹²क्रांचीशकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्य(1)श्रीहर्षवज्रवि[भे]दविधानदक्ष । का-
 ण्णटिकं बलमन्वि-
 12 न्त्यमजेयमन्यैर्भूतै × क्रियाद्विरपि यः सहसा जिगाय¹³ ॥ [8]¹⁴अभूविभं-
 गमगृहीतनि[शा]तशस्त्रम-
 13 श्रान्तमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतयत्नं । यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डबलेन जित्वा[रा]जाधिरा-
 जपरमे[श्व]-
 14 रतामवाप¹⁵ ॥ [9] ¹⁶आसेतोर्विपुलोपलावलिसल्लोलोम्भि¹⁷मालाजलादा-
 मालेयकलंकिता-
 15 मलशिलाजालाक्षुषाराचलादा¹⁸पूर्वापरवारिराशिगुलिनप्रान्त[प्र]सिद्धा¹⁹वधे-
 द्येनेयं
 16 जगती स्वविक्रमबलेनैकातपत्रीकृता²⁰ ॥ [10]²¹तस्मिन्निदं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे
 क्षतप्रजाबाधः [।]

First plate ; second side.

- 17 श्रीकर्क [रा] जसूनुर्महपतिः श्रीकृष्णरा [जो] भूत् ॥ [11] यस्य स्वभुज-
 पराक्रमनिःशेषात्सादितारिदिवचकं [।]
 18 [कृ]ष्णस्येवाकृष्णं(1)चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ॥ [12]शुभतुङ्गनुङ्ग-तुरगप्रवृ-
 द्धरेणूर्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं । श्री-
 19 णेपि नभो निखिलं प्रावृद्धालायते स्पष्टं ॥ [13] रीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं
 (1)सर्वाहितमज-

^१ Read °शशु°

¹⁰ Metre ; Giti.

¹¹ Read मालिन्याः and understand a mark of punctuation thereafter.

¹² Metre : Vasantatilakā ; and in the following verse.

¹³ All these verses are with slight verbal differences found in the Rāshṭra-kūṭa Kāvī, Bagumrā, Sāmāṅgaḍ and Paithan grants.

¹⁴ In the Kāvī and Sāmāṅgaḍ inscriptions, Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet both read the first letter of this verse as स. Dr. Kielhorn in his transcript of the Paithan grant adopts the same reading but suspects that it might be अ. In our plates, अ is distinctly engraved, and this reading is preferable inasmuch as there is no violation of uniformity and yields a better sense.

¹⁵ This verse does not occur in the Bagumrā grant only.

¹⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikṛīṭa,

¹⁷ Read °स्मि°

¹⁸ Read °चलात्° and °आपूर्वा° &c., and understand a mark of punctuation between them.

¹⁹ Read °प्रसिद्धा°

²⁰ This verse is not found in the Sāmāṅgaḍ inscription only.

²¹ Metre : Āryā ; and in the following three verses.

- 20 सं [1] तत्क्षणमकालवर्षो वर्षति सर्व्वान्तिनिर्व्वपणं²² ॥ [14]²³ राहपमात्मभु-
जजातबलावलेपमा [जो]
- 21 विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारै²⁴ पालिध्वजावलि (1) शुभामाचिरेण यो हि
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 22 तान²⁵ तान ॥ [15] ²⁶ क्रोधादुत्थातखड्गप्रसूतरुचिचयैर्भासमानं समन्ताश-
जावुहूत्तवैरिप्रक-
- 23 दगजघटाटोपसंक्षोभदक्षं । शौच्यं (1) त्यक्ता²⁷ रिवर्गो भयचकितवपुः का
पि दृष्ट्वैव स-
- 24 द्यो र्प्पाध्मातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दोर्हण्डरूपं²⁸ ॥ [16] ²⁹ पाता यश्च-
नुरम्बुराशिर-
- 25 शनालङ्कारभाजो भुव [छ] व्याश्वापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राड्याड्यपूजादरो³⁰ दाता
- 26 मानभृदग्रणी [गुं] णवतां (1) योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं³¹ स्वर्गफलानि
भूरितपसा स्थानं
- 27 जगामामरं ॥ [17] ³² येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं जग्मे ना-
सीरधूलीधवलितशि-
- 28 सा ³³ वल्लभाख्यः सदाजौ । श्रीमद्भोविन्दराजो जितजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्ष-
स्तस्यासीत्सू-
- 29 नुरेकः क्षणरणदलितारातिमत्तेभ [कु] म्भः ॥ [18] ³⁴ तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुव-
राजनामा महानुभावो-
- 30 प्रहत्प्रतापः [1] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालार्कवपुर्बभूव [॥]
[19] ³⁵ जति यत्र
- 31 च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सद्रूपचूडामणौ [गु] र्वी लुष्टिरथाखिलप्य³⁶ जगतः सुस्वामिनि
- 32 प्रत्यहं [1] सत्यं सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्षमाभासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्धर्म-
परे गुणा-

²² This verse does not occur in the Bagumrâ grant.

²³ Metre : Vasantatilakâ.

²⁴ Read °प्रहारैः° and °पालि &c., and understand a mark of punctuation between them.

²⁵ Read °त°

²⁶ Metre : Sragdharâ.

²⁷ Read °क्त्वा°

²⁸ This verse is not found in the Bagumrâ grant.

²⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³⁰ Read पूजादरः and understand a mark of punctuation thereafter.

³¹ Read भोक्तुं.

³² Metre : Sragdharâ.

³³ Read शिरसा ; the piece of the plate on which र was engraved has been broken off.

³⁴ Metre : Upajāti.

³⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³⁶ Read °स्य.

Second plate ; first side.

- 33 मृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते³⁷ ॥ [20] ³⁸हृष्टोनहं³⁹(1) योर्द्विजनाय सर्वं स-
र्वस्वमानन्दितबन्धुवर्गं⁴⁰ प्रादात्प्ररुष्टो हरति
34 स्म वेगात्प्राणान्यमस्यापि नितान्तवीर्यः⁴¹ ॥ [21] ⁴²रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुर-
म्भोधिसंयुतं । राज्यं धर्ममेण⁴³लो-
35 कानां कृताहृष्टिपरा हृदि ॥ [22] ⁴⁴तस्यात्मजो जगति (1) सन्प्रथितोरुकी-
र्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूत्-⁴⁵
36 स्त्यागी पराक्रमधन⁴⁶प्रकटप्रतापसन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [23]
⁴⁷पृथ्वीवल्लभ इति च
37 प्रथितं यस्यापरं जगति नाम[] यश्च चतुरुदधिर्सीमामेको वसुधां वशे चक्रे ।
[24] एकोऽप्यनेकरूपो यो व-
38 दृशे भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा । परबलजलधिमपारन्तरन्स्वदोऽभ्यां रणे रिपुभिः ⁴⁸
[25] एको निर्हेतिरहं गृहीत-
39 शस्त्रा इमे परे बहवो⁴⁹ यो नैवंविधमकरोच्चित्तं स्वमेपि किमुताजौ ॥ [26] ⁵⁰रा-
ज्याभिषेककलशैरभिषिच्य
40 दत्तां राला⁵¹ धिराजपरमेश्वरतां (1) स्वपित्रा । अन्यैर्महानृपतिभिर्बहुभिः स-
मेत्य स्तम्भादिभि-
41 र्भुजबला [व] वलुप्यमानां ॥ [27] ⁵²एकोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्स-
मस्तानपि प्रोत्खातासिल-
42 ताप्रहारविधुरान्बद्धा महासंयुगे । लक्ष्मीमप्यचलां चकार विलसत्सन्ध्यामरमा-
हिणी⁵³ (।) संसीद-

³⁷ This verse does not occur in the Paṭhan grant.

³⁸ Metre : Indravajrā.

³⁹ Read °न्वहं

⁴⁰ Read वर्गः and प्रादात्प्ररुष्टो &c., and understand a mark of punctuation between them.

⁴¹ This verse is found only in the Kāvī grant.

⁴² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴³ Read धर्ममेण.

⁴⁴ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

⁴⁵ Read °भूतः and त्यागी &c., and understand a mark of punctuation between them.

⁴⁶ Read °धनः

⁴⁷ Metre : Āryā ; and in the two following verses.

⁴⁸ This and the next two verses occur in the Kāvī grant only.

⁴⁹ Read बहवः and understand a mark of punctuation thereafter.

⁵⁰ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

⁵¹ Read °जा°

⁵² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵³ Read °र्णी

- 43 ह्रस्विप्रसज्जनसुहृद्भू⁵⁴पभोग्यां भुवि ॥ [28] ⁵⁵तत्पुत्रोच गते नाकमाक-
म्पितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीम-
44 हाराजशार्वाख्यः खयातो राजाभवद्गुणैः ॥ [29] ⁵⁶अस्थिषु यथार्थतां यः सम-
र्थाष्टफलादित⁵⁷लब्धतो-
45 षेषु । वृद्धिं निनाय परमामोघवर्षाभिधानस्य⁵⁸ ॥ [30] ⁵⁹राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो
रिपुभ[व]विभ-
46 वोद्भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीवानिन्द्रराजो गुणितृपानिकरान्तश्चमत्कारकारी । रागा-
दन्यान्भू-
47 दस्य प्रकटितविनया (1) यं नृपान्सेवमाना (1) राजश्रीरेव चक्रे (1) सक-
लकाविजनो-
48 द्नीततथ्यस्वभावं⁶⁰ ॥ [31] निर्वर्णावाप्तिवानासहितहितजनोपास्यमानाः सुवृत्तं
वृत्तं जित्वान्य-
49 राज्ञां चरितमुद्यवान्सर्व्वतो हिसक्रेभ्यः [1] एकाकी दृष्टवैरिस्खलनकृतिसह-
प्रातिराज्ये-

Second plate ; second side.

- 50 प्राशंकुर्लाटीयं मण्डलं यस्तपन इव निजस्वानिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥ [32] ⁶¹यस्याङ्गमात्र-
जयिनध्रियसाहसस्य क्षमा-
51 पालवेषफलमेव बभूव सैन्यं [1] मुक्त्वा च सर्व्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवज्ञावन्द-
तान्यममरेष्वापि
52 यो मनस्वी⁶² ॥ [33] श्रीकर्कुराज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारः कुलस्य तनया
नयशालिशौट्यैः । तस्याभवद्वि-
53 भवनन्दितबन्धुसार्थः पार्थः सदैव धनुर्षि⁶³ प्रथमः शुचीनां ॥ [34] दानेन माने-
न सदाज्ञया वा
54 वीट्येण शौट्येण च कोपि भूपः । एतेन तुल्योस्ति नवेति कीर्त्तिः सकौतुका
भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके⁶⁴ [1] [35]
55 स च समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिः सुवर्णवर्षश्रीकर्कुराजदेवः
सर्व्वानेव य-

⁵⁴ Read ° सुहृद्भू°

⁵⁵ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁵⁶ Metre : Āryā.

⁵⁷ Read °नि°

⁵⁸ These two verses about Amoghavarsha and the two following verses are not found in the Kāvī inscription.

⁵⁹ Metre : Sragdharā ; and in the following verse.

⁶⁰ This and the following verse are not found in the Kāvī inscription.

⁶¹ Metre : Vasantatilakā and in the following two verses.

⁶² This verse occurs in the Kāvī grant only.

⁶³ Read धनुषि.

⁶⁴ These verses are not found in the Kāvī inscription.

- 56 थासम्बद्धयमानकान्द्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकृदायुक्तनिशुक्तकाधिकारिकमह-
त्तरादीन्सम-
- 57 नुदृश्येत्यस्तु वस्संविरितं (I) यथा मया खेटकावस्थितेन (I) मातापित्रोरात्मन-
श्चैहिकामुष्मिकपु-
- 58 ण्ययशोभिवृद्धये (I) बादावीवास्तव्य (I) भारद्वाजसगोत्र (I) तैत्तिरीयसत्र-
ह्यचारि (I) बादाङ्गि⁶⁵
- 59 उपाद्धायपुत्रगोन्वङ्गि⁶⁵ना[म्ने]। चतुर्दशविद्यास्थानपरिज्ञानात्पण्डितवल्गभ-
राज इति
- 60 लोके नाम प्रथितमपरं । तस्मै (I) सकलवेदशास्त्रार्थवेदिने महीनर्मदान्तरा-
लदेशव-
- 61 त्ति(I)शमीपद्मकनामा ग्रामो यस्याघादनानि पूर्वतो (I) गोलिकाभिधानग्रामो
क्षिणत-
- 62 श्रीरुन्दकग्रामोपश्चितो भर्त्याणकं (I) उत्तरतो धाहद्वग्राम(I)स्तथा मंकणिका
भुक्तौ (I) सं-
- 63 बन्धीनामा ग्रामो यस्याघादनानि (I) पूर्वतः सज्जोडकनामा ग्रामो क्षिणतो
ब्रा[ह्म]णपल्लिका (I) प-
- 64 श्चित * करंजवसाहिका (I) उत्तरत * काष्टामण्डपं । एवमेतद्ग्रामद्वयं (I) अ-
ष्टाघाटनोपलक्षितं सोढ्रं स-
- 65 परिकरं सदण्डवशापराधं (I) सभूतपातप्रत्यर्थं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं (I) सधा-
न्यहिरण्यादेयं (I) अचाट-
- 66 भटप्रावेदयं सर्वराजक्रीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं (I) आचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसरि-
त्पर्वतसमकालीनं

Third plate ; first side.

- 67 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मदायरहितं (I) अभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या
शकनुपकाला-
- 68 तीतसंवत्सरशतेषु समस्वष्टचिद्दशधिकेषु माघशुद्धपौर्णमास्यां (I) चन्द्रग्र-
हणपर्वणि स्नात्वाद्ये-
- 69 तकातिसर्गेण⁶⁶ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपंचमहायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं
प्रतिपादितं य-
- 70 तोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायास्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयत * कृषत * कर्षयतप्रतिदि-
शतो वा न केनाचित्परिप-
- 71 न्यना कर्त्तव्या । तथागामिनृपतिभिस्मद्वैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूमिदानफलम-
वेत्य विद्युहो-

⁶⁵ The manner in which this conjunct consonant is engraved on the plate is worthy of note.

⁶⁶ Read °योदका°

- 72 लान्यनित्येभ्यर्थाणि⁶⁷ तृणाश्लक्ष्णजलविन्दुचंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्व-
दायनिर्विशेषोद्यम-
73 समदायोनुमन्तव्यपरिपालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाशानतिनिरपदलावृतमतिराच्छि-
न्त्यादाच्छिद्यमान-
74 कं वानुमोदेत (।) स पंचभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकिश्च⁶⁸ संशुक्तः स्यादित्यु-
क्तं च भगवता वेदव्या-
75 सेन व्यासेन । षट् वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव
76 नरके वसेत् ॥ विन्ध्यादवीश्वतोयासु शु⁶⁹क्र⁶⁹कोटरवासिनं * कृष्णाहयो हि
जायन्ते (।) भूमिदा-
77 यं हरन्ति ये ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्ध्वःस्वर्गौ सूर्यसुताश्च गावो [।] लो-
78 कत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं य^{*} काचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् । [।] बहुभिर्बुधैर्धा-
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभि
79 र्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह इत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्वा-
नानि धर्म्मार्थ-
80 यशस्कराणि [।] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि (।) को नाम साधुष्पुनरा-
दहीत ॥ स्वदत्तां परद-
81 त्तां वा यत्नाद्वा नराधिप [।] महीं महीपतौ (।) भ्रष्ट⁷⁰ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं । [।]
सर्वानेतान्भाविनं * पार्थि⁷¹
82 वेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो वाचते रामभद्रः [।] सामान्थीयं धर्म्मसंतुर्नृपाणां काले काले
पालनीयो भव-
83 झिः । [।] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।
अतिविमल-

[राणहरिणा वापितः संबन्धीग्रामोय [मुप] रिलिखित⁷² ।]

Third plate ; second side.

- 84 मनोभिरात्मनानिर्वाहं पुरुषै[ष्व]रकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः । [।] दत्तकोत्र भद्रश्रीवो-
85 गम्भो । लिखितं च तान्धिविग्रहिकनेमादित्येनति⁷³ ॥ स्वहस्तायं मम श्रीमवि-
86 न्द्रराजसुतस्य श्रीकक्षराजस्य ॥

⁶⁷ Read °नित्यै°

⁶⁸ Read °पातकैश्च

⁶⁹ Read शुष्क ; here 'Jihvāmālīya' is not permissible.

⁷⁰ Read महीपतिभ्रष्ट.

⁷¹ Here the occurrence of Jihvāmālīya is clearly a mistake inasmuch as it is allowed only in the case of the visarga followed by any one of the hard letters of the guttural class ; so read भाविनः पार्थि°.

⁷² Read °लिखितः ; this has no connection whatever with the preceding line.

⁷³ Read °वेति.

TRANSLATION.

1. May he (Vishnu), the water-lily springing from whose navel was made his abode by Brahman protect you and Hara whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon.

2. There was a righteous king named Gorindarāja, a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached the ends of the quarters, and who raising his scimitar and facing (them) destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the shining moon whose lustre spreads to the ends of the quarters, raising the tip of her disc (above the horizon), (and transmitting her rays) straightforward dispels darkness at night.¹

3. On seeing the forces (of his enemies), glorying in their brave warriors,² confronting him, instantly he always in battles, biting his lip and twisting his eyebrows raised his sword and ennobled his family, his own heart and valour.

4. On hearing his name in the great battle, instantly three things suddenly disappear from his enemies simultaneously—the sword from the hand, lustre from the face, and pride from the mind.

5. His son known as the illustrious Karkkarāja, a king whose extensive fame was heard of throughout the world, who relieved the sufferings of the distressed, who possessed the spirit and valour of Hari³ and who rivalled (Indra) the king of heaven and was grateful (for services rendered) became a jewel of his race.

6. His son king Indrarāja whose expansive shoulders were full of graceful scratches consequent upon the concussion of the tusks of (hostile) elephants from whose cleft temples ichor trickled down⁴ and who destroyed (all) his enemies on earth became as it were the golden mount (Meru) of the excellent Râshṭrakûṭas.

¹ Dr. Fleet gives a satisfactory translation of this verse, see *Ind. Ant.* XI, 113; for Dr. Bühler's renderings of the same verse, see *Ibid* V, 148, and XII, 186.

² Literally, "brave warriors are whose horse-laughter."

³ The second line of this śloka is one big compound which should be split up into two parts, each one of which should be taken as an attributive of Karkkarāja. Dr. Fleet understands the whole compound to be only one attributive. Dr. Bühler's rendering of the second part of the line is based on the etymological sense of the words 'vikrama' and 'dhâma' and is therefore not likely to be the correct one.

⁴ Both Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet connect 'prabhinnakaraṭachyutadâna' with 'ruchira' and 'dantikantaprahâra' with 'ullikhita'; but this course is objectionable because the word 'danti' occurring after 'dâna' shows the preceding expression to be a Bahuvrîhi compound and an attribute of 'danti.'

7. The son of him (*i. e.*, of Indrarāja) who had attained to greatness, the prosperous Dantidurgga who was like Indra enjoyed the earth encircled by the four oceans.

8. With a handful of followers he suddenly vanquished the incalculable forces of Karpātaka invincible to others, and which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lords of Kāñchi, the king of Kerala, the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas, Śrī-Harsha and Vajraṭa.

9. Without knitting his brow, without using any sharp weapon, without any effort, unwearied he whose orders were never transgressed conquered Vallabha by the (mere) force of his royal sceptre (*i. e.* majesty) and attained to the state of the king of kings and supreme lord.⁵

10. By means of his prowess he brought under one regal umbrella this world, from the Setu (*i. e.*, the bridge of Rāma) where the waters of the series of surging waves gleamed on the lines of huge rocks to the snowy mountain, the network of whose stainless rocks is tinted with snow and from the well-known boundaries of the sandy regions of the eastern to those of the western sea.

11. When that Vallabharāja had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇarāja, the son of the illustrious Karkkarāja, who brought to an end the sufferings of the subjects became king.

12. The career of that prosperous Kṛishṇarāja during which the whole multitude of enemies was completely exterminated by the prowess of his arms was spotless like that of Kṛishṇa (Hari.)

13. The whole sky wherein the rays of the sun above were obstructed by the dust raised by the lofty steeds of 'Subhatuṅga'⁶

⁵ Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet adopt 'Sabhrūvibhaṅgam' for their Kāvi and Sāmāṅgaḍ inscriptions respectively. Further these plates read 'daṇḍalakena' instead of 'daṇḍabalena'—the reading of our grant, which is identical with that of the Paithāṇ plates. This is a very knotty verse. In the first place it is very difficult to understand whether 'abhrūvibhaṅgam,' &c., are to be taken as adjectives or adverbs. Dr. Bühler supposes all of them to be adjectives excepting 'sabhrūvibhaṅgam.' Dr. Fleet takes them all to be adverbs. This mode of interpretation is, I think, the correct one. Secondly, the meaning of the word 'daṇḍabalena' is not clear.

⁶ Dr. Fleet understands by 'Śubhatuṅga' "prominent or conspicuous in good fortune." But its correct translation would be "the righteous Tuṅga"; Ep. Ind. IV, 279,

(Kṛishṇarāja) looked clearly like the sky in the rainy season, though it was summer.

14. Akālavarsha (the untimely rainer) *i. e.* Kṛishṇarāja instantly rains, *i. e.* fulfills unceasingly the desired objects of the miserable and the helpless, and of his favourites, in any way he liked, so as to remove all (their) distress.

15. After vanquishing in a fight by the strokes of the keen blade of his sword Rāhappa who prided himself on the strength of his arm, he soon assumed the position of the king of kings and supreme lord, rendered glorious by the series of Pālidhvajas.⁷

16. Having but seen in battle the form of his staff-like arm, shining all around by the collections of rays (issuing forth) from (his) sword uplifted in anger, efficient in causing confusion in the imposing arrays of elephants of (his) turbulent enemies and dealing destruction to the multitude of (his) enemies puffed up with pride, his foes giving up (all idea of) valorous deeds, fled somewhere with their bodies trembling through fear.

17. He was the protector of the earth bearing the ornament of girdle in the form of the four oceans and also of the triad of the Vedas. He gave ghee profusely to the Brāhmanas, adored the gods and revered his preceptors. He was generous, high-minded, the first among the meritorious, the lord of the goddess of prosperity. And he went to the habitation of the gods (lit., where there is no death) to enjoy the fruits (accessible) in heaven, of (his) profound religious austerities.⁸

18. He had a son, the illustrious Govindarāja styled Vallabha who with his head made white by dust in the van (of the army) always moved sportively in battle, the heat of the rays of the sun being ward off by a white umbrella; who conquered the world⁹ (and) was clever in (causing) widowhood to the wives of (his) enemies,

⁷ For the explanation of the term pālidhvaja, *vide* Ind. Ant. XIV, 104.

⁸ The published grants in which this verse occurs read 'bhūritapasā.' I am in possession of an unpublished grant of Dhruva II., a Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince which gives the reading bhūritapasām—which is a better reading since it fully brings out the propriety of the word 'phala' in 'Svarggaphalāni.'

⁹ To take the whole expression 'Jitajagadāhitastraivaidhavyadakhshah' as one compound and connect 'ahita' with 'jagat' does not yield any good sense, inasmuch as it is opposed to the ways of thinking of the Indian poets who would rather speak of Govinda's enemies than the world's enemies.

(and) who in a moment burst asunder in battle the temples of the intoxicated elephants of his enemies.

19. His younger brother called the prosperous Dhruvarāja, possessed of great innate power, of irresistible valour having subdued the whole multitude of kings, gradually acquired a (resplendent) form like that of the newly risen sun.

20. And truly, ¹⁰ great was the joy of the whole world when he, the ornament of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, became the crest-jewel among excellent kings and when that righteous good lord, the reservoir of nectar-like excellences and devoted to the vow of truth was ruling over the earth up to the sea-coast.

21. When pleased, he delighting the host of his relatives, gave his all to mendicants; (and) when angry, valiant as he was, he instantly snatched away the life of even Yama.

22. Protecting with justice the whole kingdom together with the four oceans, he produced great joy in the hearts of the people.

23. His son was Govindarāja whose fair and extensive fame was spread throughout the world, who was the ornament of his race, who was bountiful, whose valour was (his) wealth (and) who harassed the crowd of his enemies by performing exploits and was the beloved of his people.

24. And his other appellation known in the world was Prithvīvalabha (lord of the earth) and he single-handed subjugated the earth bounded by the four oceans.

25. He while crossing the boundless ocean of the hostile army by means of his own arms was though one seen in battle to be multi-form by his enemies, just as the soul though (in reality) one is believed to be manifold by the advocates of the plurality (of souls).

26. "I am alone and unarmed; these foes are many and armed"—such a thought he did not entertain even in a dream, how then in battle?

27. (On finding that)¹¹ numerous other powerful kings such as Stambha, having entered into a league were by the force of their arms usurping the dignity of the king of kings and supreme lord conferred

¹⁰ For a different version of the expression 'Satyam Satyamiti,' see Ind. Ant. V, 150, and XII, 187.

¹¹ This verse by itself does not form a complete sentence. It had rather be read in conjunction with the verse that follows and some such word as 'avalokya' must be understood to connect them both.

upon him by his father, by sprinkling water over him with the coronation pitchers.

28. He alone in a great battle made captives even of them all together with the crowds of many (other) kings, by harassing them with the strokes of the blade of his uplifted sword and made the goddess of sovereignty steady, bearing a shining and valuable chauri and enjoyable on this earth by his preceptors, Brâhmaṇas, the virtuous and his friends and relatives who had become dejected.

29. When he, who made the multitude of his foes tremble had gone to heaven his son, known as the illustrious great king Śarva, became king renowned for his virtues.

30. As regards supplicants who had attained satisfaction by the fulfilment of their desires, he carried the appropriateness of his appellation Amoghavarsha to the highest degree.

31. His paternal uncle, Indrarâja, who was the cause of the extinction of the earthly glory and prosperity of his enemies, was prosperous and excited admiration in the minds of the meritorious princes became king. Royal Power herself resorting to him in humility after having set aside other princes out of love for him made his true nature be sung aloud by all poets.¹²

33. To him who single-handed gained victories and was fond of adventurous deeds his army was the mere paraphernalia of sovereignty. Being high-minded he did not make a bow even to the gods, excepting (however) the Supreme God, the lord of the whole universe.

34. He had a son named the glorious Karkkarâja who sustained the burden of sovereignty, was the pith of his race, possessed valour combined with polity (and) who delighted the numbers of his relatives by his prosperity, was an unfailing Pârtha in the wielding of the bow and was the first among the pure-hearted.

35. His fame wanders through the world with curiosity to know whether there is any king equal to him in point of generosity, self-respect, righteous rule, heroism and bravery.

¹² The following verse baffles all attempt at rendering it intelligibly. Its readings vary materially from those of the Bagumrâ grant of Dhruva II. of the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭa lineage, but are almost identical with those of an unpublished grant of the present grantor, which is in my possession. It being therefore next to impossible to get at the true version of the verse, to deduce the historical fact about the Mânas being the allies of Indrarâja is extremely hazardous.

Ll. 55—69. And he, the lord of the feudal chiefs, Suvarṇavarsha Śrī-Karkkarājadeva who has obtained all the great sounds commands the lords of the divisions and districts, village headmen, officials, functionaries, magistrates, elders of villages and others according as they are concerned : Be it known to you that—for the enhancement of religious merit and fame, both in this world and the next, of my parents and myself—by me living at Khetaka—has been given with a willing mind by pouring water after having bathed to-day for the performance of the rites of the five great sacrifices of Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and Atithi—to Gobbaḍḍi residing at Bādāvi, belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra, student of the Taittirīya school, the son of the priest Bādaḍḍi, conversant with the meaning of all the Vedas and Śāstras and whose other appellation “Paṇḍitavalabharāja” was well known in the world from his proficiency in the fourteen branches of science—the village of the name “Śamīpadraka” situated in the region between the Mahī and the Narmadā, the boundaries of which are to the E. the village of the name of Golikā, to the S. the village of Chorundaka, to the W. Bharthāṇaka and to the N. the village of Dhāhadva; and the village of the name of “Sambandhī” situated in the Maṅkanikā district the boundaries of which are to the E. the village of the name of Sajjodaka, to the S. Brāhmaṇapallikā, to the W. Karañjavasahikā and to the N. Kāsthāmaṇḍapa—these two villages thus defined by their eight boundaries, together with appurtenances, the flaws in measurement and inflictions of fate,¹³ together with the results of the workings of creatures,¹⁴ with whatever might be raised on the land with labour, with the assessment in grain and gold, not to be entered on by regular or irregular soldiery, not to be interfered with by the hand even of the king's officers, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, the mountains endure, to be enjoyed in lineal succession by sons and sons' sons, to the exclusion of grants previously made to Gods and Brāhmaṇas—when seven hundred and thirty-eight years have elapsed since the time of the Śaka king on the full-moon day of the bright half of Māgha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.

¹³ J. B. B. R. A. S. XVIII., 253, note 1 ; Ep. Ind. IV., 279.

¹⁴ This I think to be the proper translation of ‘Sabhūtapātapratyāya.’ ‘Bhūta’ means ‘beings’ and ‘pāta’ seems here to be used in the sense of ‘attack.’ For ‘pratyāya,’ which is the same as pratyaya, see Amarakośa.

Ll. 69—75. Wherefore no one should cause hindrance to him while enjoying it as a Brâhmana gift or allowing others to enjoy it, while cultivating it or getting others to cultivate it or alienating it. Similarly future kings, whether our descendants or others, knowing that the fruit of a grant of land is common (to all kings) and perceiving that fleeting prosperity is as ephemeral as lightning and that life is as unsteady as the drop of water pendent on the tip of a blade of grass should respect and preserve our gift as they would their own. He who with his mind enveloped in the thick darkness of ignorance will confiscate it or approve of its being confiscated shall incur the five great sins together with the minor ones. To this effect it has been said by the divine Vyâsa, compiler of the Vedas:

Ll. 75—85. The grantor of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years; and the confiscator and abettor dwell for the same number of years in hell. Those who confiscate grants of land are born black serpents living in dried-up hollows (of trees) in the forests of the Vindhyas destitute of water. Gold is the first child of fire, the earth belongs to Vishnu and cows are the daughters of the sun; the three worlds will have been given by him who makes a gift of gold, a cow and land. The earth has been enjoyed by many princes such as Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth enjoys the fruits thereof. All these gifts productive of religious merit riches and fame that have been made before by kings are like the remains of an offering to a deity or food vomitted; what good person would take them back again? O prince, assiduously preserve the land granted by yourself or others; O the best of kings preservation (of a grant) is preferable to making a gift. Again and again does Râmahadra entreat the future kings in this manner: this bridge of merit common to all princes should be preserved by you from time to time. Reflecting that royal power and human life are as unsteady as the drops of water on the petal of a lotus, others' fame should not be destroyed by men of very pure minds and possessed of self-restraint.

Ll. 85—87. The Dûtaka for this (charter) is Śrî-Droṇamma. And this has been written by Śrî-Nemâditya, minister of peace and war. This is my own sign manual (*viz.* that) of Śrî-Karkkarâja, the son of the prosperous Indrarâja.

[This same village of Sambandhî written about above was caused to be given by Râṇaharî].

NOTE.

Since the preceding pages were written, I have had occasion to read the "History of Gujarat" composed from the materials prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji which forms the first part of the first volume of the Bombay Gazetteer. The Pandit seems to have therein utilised the date of these plates and the mention of Amoghavarsha in it to draw, like me, the conclusion that Amoghavarsha came to the throne some year between the expired Śaka years 734 and 738. And this conclusion must naturally suggest itself to the mind of any person who sees that while the Baroda grant is dated 734 Śaka Sāṃvat and takes the main line as far as Govinda III., the Nausâri charter of the same prince is dated 738 Śaka Sāṃvat and mentions Amoghavarsha, son of this Govinda III.

Again, the Nausâri copper-plate charter of the Gurjara prince Jayabhata, edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 80) records the grant of a certain field in the village of Śamīpadraka, two of the villages surrounding which are Golikâ and Dhâhadda— unquestionably the villages of Golikâ and Dhâhadva which our plates mention in defining the boundaries of Śamīpadraka. The Śamīpadraka of both these copper-plates must therefore be one and the same village. But the Pandit owns that he cannot identify these places except Dhâhadda which, he thinks, is the modern Dohâd near Godhra in the Pañch-Mahâls. I myself should not have been able to identify Śamīpadraka, if the other two surrounding villages, viz., Chorundaka and Bhārthâṇaka had not been mentioned in our plates. For it is only the certainty of the identification of these villages with Choranda and Bhārthân respectively, that has led me to identify Śamīpadraka with Sondarn and also supplied me with a clue to the probable identification of Dhâhadva with a modern village of the name of Dhâwat. The Pandit's identification of Dhâhadda with Dohâd must therefore be given up.

ART. X.—THE ERA OF YUDHI-ŚHĪHIRA. By RAJARAM
RAMKRISHNA BHAGWAT, Esq.

[Read 26th January 1899.]

Yudhi-śhīhira is the hero of the great epic Mahā-Bhārata. His era was counted from his coronation. When was Yudhi-śhīhira crowned? Of course there is a conflict of views. There are three views—the astronomical, the popular and the solstitial.

1.—*The Astronomical View.*

For the astronomical view we are indebted in the first place to Kalhāṇa,¹ who wrote his Rāja-Taranginī in the year 1070 of the Cāshmirian era. Kalhāṇa citing the distich बृहद्विक्रमं च द्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ('and the era of that king lasted for 2526 years') from the Brihat-Saṃhita of Varāha-mihira adds 2526 to 1070. Kalhāṇa thus places the coronation year of Yudhi-śhīhira 3596 years anterior to the date of his Rāja-Taranginī. The Cāshmirian era coinciding with the Śālivāhana era of the Marāṭhās, 78 will have to be deducted from 2526 to determine the coronation year of Yudhi-śhīhira. The era of Yudhi-śhīhira will thus be found to have commenced 2448 years before Christ.

The line बृहद्विक्र, though found in the great work of Varāha-mihira, is not his own, but he² acknowledges to have borrowed it from Vṛiddha-Garga, who thus appears to be the earliest authority for the era. Dr. Kern in his excellent preface³ to Brihat-Saṃhita, puts down 505 A. C. as the date of Varāha-mihira. The line बृहद्विक्र can thus be traced up from the middle of the 12th to the beginning of the 6th Christian century. When did Vṛiddha-Garga, from whose work Varāha-mihira borrows the line, live? It is evident from the wording of the line, that Vṛiddha-Garga must have written his work at a time when the era of Yudhi-śhīhira was no longer in use. The era of Yudhi-śhīhira having ceased in or about 78 A. C., Vṛiddha-Garga may safely be placed at the close of the first Christian century or there-

¹ "शककालस्य सांप्रतम् । समस्त्याऽभ्यधिकं यातं सहस्रं परिवत्सराः (२५०० ५२ तरंग १) and संहिताकारैरेवं दत्तोऽत्र निर्णयः" (२५०० ५५, तरंग १).

² "कथयिष्ये बृहद्गर्गमतात्" (आर्या २, अ० १३)

³ P. 25, Kern's Edition बृहत्संहिता.

about. He cannot certainly be supposed to have written his work before 78 A.C., the year when the era of Yudhi-śhīhira is said to have ceased.

Though the close of the era of Yudhi-śhīhira will thus be found to be a thing not to be relegated to the domain of fiction, the same cannot be said of its commencement. The basis of the era is apparently astronomical आसन् मवासु मुनयः शासति पृथिवी युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ is the distich preceding षड्विंशक; while the distich following is एकैकास्मिन्वर्षे शते शनं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्. The preceding distich declares that while king Yudhi-śhīhira was ruling the earth, the (*seven*) *sages*, (the constellation of Ursa Major) were in Māghā (the 10th lunar mansion corresponding to the first part Leonis); while the distich, which follows, discloses the belief, which the astronomers of those days entertained that the *seven sages* remained for full 100 years in conjunction with each lunar mansion. This belief of the seven sages remaining in conjunction with each lunar mansion, after the fashion of the planets, for one hundred years, the modern astronomer will pronounce to be a fiction pure and simple. Nevertheless the belief was general in those times that the seven sages also moved in the vast space just like Jupiter, Saturn, and other planets, and that their one revolution was completed in 27 centuries or 2700 years. Beyond this belief in the revolution of the seven sages, there are no data for ascertaining the exact commencement of the era of Yudhi-śhīhira. "The seven sages were in conjunction with the first *Leonis* during the rule of Yudhi-śhīhira, and the conjunction of the *seven sages* with each lunar mansion lasts for one hundred years"—is the only ray of light, howsoever feeble or dim, the surrounding darkness being otherwise deep and impenetrable. Curiously enough Vṛiddha-Garga does not disclose the position of the *seven sages* in the year, when the era of Yudhi-śhīhira, according to him, ceased. Even as regards the commencement of the era, the information is not quite satisfactory, Vṛiddha-Garga having failed to put down the precise year. The only satisfactory and valuable information one gets from Vṛiddha-Garga is the time of the duration of the era. This information supplied by Vṛiddha-Garga taken in conjunction with the fact that the Cāśhmīrian era of Kalhaṇa coincided with the Shālīvāhana era of the Marāṭhās, enables us to fix conclusively the date of the history, or rather the story, of the civil war between the Kauravās and the Pāṇḍavas. The astronomical view of the era of Yudhi-śhīhira will carry up the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas to the 25th century before Christ, but not higher. Among the Brahminical data

for fixing the date of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, these seem to be the oldest and the most authentic. No other data older or more authentic are to be found in the whole range of Sanskrit literature.

Relying on these data, Kalhaṇa holds that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas lived after 653 years⁴ of the age of Kali had passed.

2—The Popular View.

According to the popular view, the commencement of the era of Yudhi-śhīhira coincides with the commencement of the age of Kali ; in fact, the age of Kali commenced with the coronation of Yudhi-śhīhira. The era of Yudhi-śhīhira is thus carried up higher by 653 years. The duration of the era, according to the popular view, ought thus to be $653 + 2526 = 3179$ years. But of these 3179 years, 135 years are assigned to the era of Vikrama and the duration of the era of Yudhi-śhīhira is thus reduced to 3044 years.

The popular view is based on the native annual almanacks.

The Vaiṣṇavas seem to have been responsible for this carrying up of the era of Yudhi-śhīhira by 643 years, thereby making it coincide with the commencement of the age of Kali. The view of the Vaiṣṇavas as set forth in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, is that "as long⁵ as Kṛiṣṇa lived, Kali dared not touch this sub-lunary world, but the moment he departed, Kali assumed his impious rule." Kṛiṣṇa having come to be regarded as Viṣṇu, the beneficent divinity of the Hindu Trinity incarnate in entirety, some of the Vaiṣṇavas were naturally shocked to acknowledge that he lived and breathed his last, or rather ascended to his heaven, in this age of impiety ; and piously carrying up the era of Yudhi-śhīhira by 653 years, they made it coincide with the age of Kali. Though Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is now-a-days very seldom read, Bhāgavata Purāṇa is very popular throughout the length and breadth of India ; and its chronology, though faulty from a critical standpoint, is taken to be quite unexceptional by the orthodox Brāhmaṇa of to-day. The ante-dating of the era of Yudhi-śhīhira in native almanacks thus appears to be the result of the

⁴ "शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु व्यधिकेषु च भूतले । कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभवन् कुरुपां-
डवाः" (श्लो० ५१, त० १)

⁵ "यावत् स पारंपर्या पस्पशेमां वसुंधराम् । तावत् पृथ्वीपरिवर्गे समर्थो
नाभवत् कलिः" (श्लो० ३६, अ० २४, अंश ४१) विष्णुपुराण.

"यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाऽहान् । प्रतिपक्षं कलिशुगमिति
प्राहः पुराविदः" (श्लो० ३३, अ० २, स्कं० १२.) भागवतपुराण.

popularity acquired by Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which is every inch a Purāṇa of the Vaiṣṇavas.

The era of Vikrama, which comes in the popular view, is quite distinct from the era of Vikrama current in the valley of Cāshmirā. There is a difference of 135 years between the two eras. The era in Cāshmirā was the era of a Vikrama, whose real⁶ name, according to Kalhaṇa, was Harṣha. The other, which is popularly known as Samvat, commenced 135 years earlier. There is a tradition current in Mahā-rāṣṭra that the founder of the Vikrama era and the founder of the Shālivāhana era were contemporaries. A battle was fought between the two kings or emperors, somewhere on the river Narmadā, in which the Marāthās having annihilated his forces, the Lord of Ujjayinī had to beat a retreat. This Vikrama must be the Harṣha Vikrama, who, according to Rāja-Taranginī, subjugated Cāshmirā and, among the spoils, carried to his capital even the throne⁷ of the Cāshmirian kings. The Marāthā tradition appears thus to have had a historical foundation. The only point the reader's attention ought to be specially drawn to, is that the Vikrama of the Marāṭhā tradition must be the Harṣha Vikrama of Cāshmirian fame and not the Samvat Vikrama, whose conquests could not be so extensive.

Let us now proceed to the solstitial view.

3.—*The Solstitial View.*

There are two solstices, two equinoxes. The two equinoxes, the vernal and the autumnal, were hardly known in India in the earliest times. The same cannot be said of the two solstices, the winter and the summer. The six months following the shortest day and ending with the longest are even now known as the six months of Udagayana, popularly Uṭtarāyana, meaning "going towards the north" (of the sun). The old Hindu called the six months "the months of light," being the "months of growing days." The other half of the year was called Dakṣhinā-yana, meaning "going towards the south" (of the sun). These six months to the old Hindu were "the months of darkness," being "months of growing nights." In the astronomical appendix of the Vedas, the months in which the two solstices fell are held to be

6 " श्रीमान् हर्षपराभिधः । एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत्-"
(भलो० १२५, तरं० ३)

7 " सिंहासनं स्वर्गद्वयानां तेनाऽहितहतं ततः । विक्रमादित्यवसतेरानीतं स्वपुरं पुनः" (भलो० ३३३ त० ३).

always the same, the winter solstice in the first⁸ year of the cycle of five years called Yuga invariably falling on the first day of the lunar Māgha (February and March), the sun being at that time in conjunction with the constellation of Shraviṣṭhā or Dhanīṣṭhā. In the second, third, fourth and fifth years of the cycle⁹ the days were respectively 13th (white fortnight), 10th (dark fortnight), 7th (white fortnight) and 4th (dark fortnight) of the same month of Māgha for the winter solstice. In the sixth year, that is, the first year of the new cycle, the winter solstice again fell on the first day of the white fortnight of Māgha. The summer solstice fell on the 7th day (white fortnight) of the lunar month of Shrāvaṇa in the first year, on the 4th day (dark fortnight) in the 2nd, on the first day (white fortnight) in the 3rd, on the 13th day (white fortnight) on the 4th, and on the 10th day (dark fortnight) in the 5th year of the cycle. In the 6th year, it again fell on the 7th (white fortnight) of the same lunar month of Shrāvaṇa. The two solstices, according to the author, thus invariably fell in the two lunar months of Māgha and Shrāvaṇa.

Modern astronomical observations having established that the equinoxes recede 1 degree in 72 years, and that, the equinoxes receding, the solstices also recede, the date of the observation of the falling of the winter solstice on the 1st of the lunar Māgha, the sun being in conjunction with Dhanīṣṭhā, can be pretty accurately determined. The winter solstice being found to have receded about 41·5 degrees, as it now falls somewhere in the lunar Mārga-shīrṣha, $41·5 \times 72$ would give the approximate number of years passed from the fixing of the date of its falling somewhere in the lunar Māgha. Rough calculations thus point out that the observation noted down in the astronomical appendix of the Vedas must have been made about B. C. 1091 (2988-1897). Armed with this astronomical datum, one can easily proceed to fix the date of the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

Bhīṣhma, the renowned Mahābhārata warrior, is reputed to have breathed his last on the 8th day of the white¹⁰ fortnight of the lunar Māgha, the sun having commenced its career towards the north some

⁸ “प्रपद्येते श्रविष्ठासौ सूर्याचंद्रमसा उदक् । सार्पार्थे दक्षिणांस्तु माघश्रावणयोः सरा” (ऋ० ६)

⁹ “प्रथमं समं चाद्वयमाद्यं त्रयोदशम् । चतुर्थं दशमं च द्विष्टुग्मांत्यं चद्वलेऽप्युतौ” (ऋ० ८).

¹⁰ “माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्नो मासः सौम्यो शुधिष्ठिर । त्रिभागशेषः शुक्लोऽयं पक्षो भवितुमर्हति” (ऋ० २८, अ० १६८, आनुशासनिकपर्व.)

hours earlier. This year, then, must have been the fourth of the cycle of five years, since it is in the fourth year that the winter solstice is said to fall on the seventh day of the white fortnight of the lunar Māgha. The story of the death of Bhīṣhma on the 8th day of the lunar Māgha, after the winter solstice had set in on the 7th, is either a fact or a fiction. If it be taken as a fact, the testimony of Vṛiddha-Garga, in regard to the era of Yudhi-śhīthira having lasted for 2526 years, loses its value. A better alternative perhaps is that the episode be taken as a fiction interpolated by the Brāhmaṇas to uphold the Vedic tradition as told in the Chhândogya-Upaniṣhad and also in Bhagavad-Gītā. "Those who die after the winter solstice has set in directly go to the heaven of Brahman and are not born again"—is the view¹¹ of the Chhândogya-Upaniṣhad. The original Mahābhārata containing¹² only 24,000 verses was hardly one-fifth of the voluminous epic of to-day which, according to popular belief, has 125,000 stanzas. The Pândavas do not seem to have come within the pale of the Brahminical civilization. A critical student cannot help bearing in mind that the five brothers married one wife, and that Bhīma had taken the vow of drinking the blood of the enemy most obnoxious to him. The original story was evidently a non-Brāhminical one, but being once recited before Shaunaka and his Vedic associates, it spread among the Brāhmaṇas. In the Book of Genealogy and in the Book of the Forest, the hand of the Brāhmaṇa-priest is distinctly visible. In the Book of Peace, which is the most voluminous of the eighteen books, the influence of Buddhism and Jainism also can be very easily detected. In the Book of Admonitions also the antiquity of a good many chapters is exceedingly doubtful. If this general analysis of the great epic poem be correct, there is room for believing that the placing of the death of Bhīṣhma after the winter solstice had set in is a later addition made by the Brāhmaṇas in the interest of the Vedic religion or rather the tradition of the Oupanishada School.

¹¹ १० खंड, ५ अध्याय.

¹² "चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम्"। (श्लो० १०२, अ० १, आदिपर्व.)

ART. XI.—*The Cities of Irân as described in the old Palahavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân.* By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, Esq., B.A.

[Read 26th January 1899.]

"Shatrôihâ-i-Irân," or "The Cities of Irân," is the name of an old Palahavi treatise lately published for the first time, with some other Palahavi treatises by the late lamented Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji. The book purports to give the names of the founders of some of the known cities of Western and Central Asia that had, at one time or another, passed into the hands of the ancient Persians. It has not been hitherto translated in any language.¹ The object of this paper is to identify these cities and give a few points of geographical and historical importance about them as presented by this treatise.

This treatise seems to have been written a long time after the Mahomedan conquest of Persia. In the Palahavi Bundelesh,² the country of Syria is spoken of as Sûristân (سُورِسْتَان), i. e., the country of Suria or Syria, just as Cabulistân is the country of Cabul. It is spoken of as the country from which the Frât or the Euphrates runs. Shâm is the name given to Syria by Mahomedan writers. According to Maḡoudi,³ Syria was called Shâm شام because it is situated on the left (*chimal*) of Kaabah and Yemen was so called because it is situated on the right (*yemin*) of Kaabah. The king of Yemen (Arabia Felix) is spoken of in the Palahavi books as *tazikân malek*⁴ تَزِيكَانْ مَلِكْ or "*tazikân shâh* شَاه تَزِيكَانْ, i. e., the king of the Arabs. But in this treatise these countries are known not by their old names of Sûristân and "the country of the Taziks," but by their later names

¹ The late lamented Dr. Darmesteter has translated two passages in his 'Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme.'

² Justi, p. 51, l. 12. S. B. E. V., Ch. XX., 10.

³ B. de Meynard, Vol. III., p. 139.

⁴ Dinkard. Tehmuras's MS. extra leaves after p. 308. S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII. Bk. VIII. Ch. XIII. 9. Binâ-i-Farvardin Yâm-i-Khurdâd—Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 103, s. 14.

of Shâm and Yemen. This fact then shews that it was written after the time of Mahomed, when these new names came into use. In what is called the older or the grand Bundeshesh, the name Shâm does occur once (S. B. E., Vol. XLVII., p. 151), but the word seems to have been miswritten for Âmi, which is found in the later copies. That it is a mistake of the last revising editor appears from the fact that he says that the land of Surak was called Shâm. Now the land of Surak, from which the river Arak is represented as flowing, is evidently the country of Sogdiana and not Syria. Nevertheless, the fact remains that though there is a mistake in the identification, yet the name 'Shâm' was known to the revising editor of the Bundeshesh. But in that case we must remember that the revising editor seems to have done his work as late as the end of the ninth century.⁵ So it is possible that the Pahalavi writers began to use the name in the ninth century. That probably is the date of our treatise.

Again, we find in no other Pahalavi works the name of Africa, which is here called 'Farikâ.' Many Persian writers even, when they spoke of Africa, spoke of it as the country of Magreb, or the West. Just as at present, the European nations speak of Turkey and the adjoining countries as the East, and of China and Japan as the Further East, so the ancient Asiatic authors spoke of Africa—of course by Africa they understood only Egypt and the northern portion of Africa with which they had come into contact—as Magreb, or the country of the West. The country of Egypt is spoken of in some Pahalavi books as Misr, but the term Africa is not used at all. Therefore, the use of this name in our book also points to its later origin when the name Africa began to be used more commonly in Persia, after the time of the Mahomedan conquest. It is noteworthy that among the places mentioned in our books, the name of Egypt or Misr is conspicuous by its absence, though the country was at one time ruled over by the ancient Persians. So it appears that by the name Farika or Africa, which latterly became common in Persia, our author meant the country of Egypt. According to Maçoudî, the country had derived its name from one Afrike, son of Abrahah (أفريقى بن أبرهة) who had founded it.

There is one other city, an allusion to which in the book points to the fact that the book could not have been written, or at least finished, earlier than the ninth century, or the end of the eighth century. It is

⁵ S. B. E., Vol. V., West. Bundeshesh, Introduction, p. 43.

the town of Bagdâd. Its foundation is attributed to one Abou Jâfar, who was also called Abou Davânik. This personage was the Khalif Abou Jaffer Mansour, who had, according to Ebn Haukal,⁶ built the celebrated city since the introduction of Islâm. This is the only town in the list of the cities of this book, the foundation of which is attributed to a Mahomedan ruler. Our book gives Abou Davânik as the other name of this prince, and it is confirmed by Tabari, according to whom his whole name was Abou Djafar Mançur Abou'l Davâniq. Now this prince began to reign in Hijri 136 (A. D. 754), and built the town of Bagdâd in Hijri 145 (A. D. 763). This shows, then, that the book must have been written at the end of the eighth century or in the ninth century.

Altogether 111 cities are referred to in this treatise. Out of this number 52 are enumerated with the names of the founders of most of them. With few exceptions these cities are grouped in large divisions. The first three divisions are separated by the common use of the words "In the direction of" (*pavan koste*).

The first group is that of the cities of Khorâsân, which is considered to be a very large province. As Kinneir says: "The vast province of Khorassan has for its boundaries the Oxus and country of Bulkh, to the N. E. and E., Cabul and Seistan to the S., and to the W. the province of Irâk, Asterabad and Dahestan."⁷ The cities mentioned as those belonging to Khorassan are 17. They are the following:—Samarcand, a city in Balkh,⁸ Khvarzem, Maruv-rud, Meruv (Merv), Harâi (Herat), Pushen (Pusheng), Tûs (Mashad), Nio-Shâpuhar (Nishâpur), Kâin, Dahistân, Komis, and five cities bearing the name of Khasrui.

The second group is that of the cities in the direction of Khurbarân, *i. e.*, Khâvar (Pavan kost-i-Khurbarân). Khâvar is the name of a district in Khorassân. But the very first name in this group, *viz.*, Otesiphon, shows that it is not the district of that name that is mentioned here. Here the word is used as a common noun in the sense of 'the west.' In this group of the Western cites we find the following—

Otesiphon.

Sasûr (Sarsur).

Hirleh (Hilleh).

⁶ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 66.

⁷ A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, by Kinneir, p. 169.

⁸ The Pahalavi name can be taken as that of Bokhârâ also.

Bâwir (Babylon).

Hairat or Hirat (Hira).

Hamdân.

One city in Mâh in the direction of Nehâvand and in the district of Vahrâm-âvand.

Twenty cities in the country of Pâdashkvârgar (the mountain district on the south of the Caspian, including the provinces of Tabaristân, Mâzandarân and Ghelân).

Mosul.

Nine cities in Jazeeréh (Mesopotamia).

Twenty-four cities in the land of Syria, Africa, Cufa, Mecca and Medineh.

The third group of cities is that of Nimruz or Seistân. As Sir F. J. Goldsmid says, "It is somewhat embarrassing at the present day to define the limits of the province of Sistân. We may suppose two territories, one compact and concentrated, which may be termed 'Sistan Proper,' the other detached and irregular which may be termed 'Outer Sistan.'"⁹

The following are the cities of Seistân :—

Cavul (Cabul), Râvad (Rebat), Bost, Fariâv (Fariâb), Zavulastân, and Zarang (Dooshak).

The fourth group is that of the towns of Kirmân and Pârs. It contains the following towns :—

Kerman, Veh Artashir, Stâkhar (Istakhar or Persepolis), Darabgird near Shiraz, Vish-Shâpuhar, Artashir Gadman or Firouzâbâd, Tounj.

The fifth group forms the towns of Khuzistân, which are the following :—

Oharmazd-Artashir or Ahwâz, Râm Oharmazd, Shus, Shuster Vandû-i-Shâpuhar, Airân kird-Shâpuhar, Nâhar Tirak, Simlân, Kharâyast, Askar (Askar Monkarrah), Veh (Hey), Gâê (Ispahân), Khajrân (Kazeroun), Adjân, Kard.

The sixth and the last group contains towns which cannot be ascribed to any one province. They belong to different provinces in different directions. They are the following :—

Ashkar (2nd), Âtaropâtakân (Âdarbaijân), Ninav (Nineveh), Ganjêh, Amui (Amul), Bagdâd.

⁹ "Journey from Bunder Abbas to Meshed by Sistan," by Sir F. J. Goldsmid, Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXII., p. 88.

We will now speak of the cities in detail.

Samarcand. — Our Pahalavi book attributes the foundation of Samarcand to Kâus of Kobâd of the Kyânian dynasty of Persia, and its completion to his son, Siâvakhsh. Tabari says that Samarcand was founded in the reign of Kobâd, but he attributes its foundation to one Samar, a general of Tobbâ Abou Karib, a king of Yemen.¹⁰ Maçoudi also attributes its foundation to Samar.¹¹ Tabari, later on, says that Alexander the Great founded it. When Oriental writers speak of the foundation of a city, we must not always understand by that term its original foundation, but its being rebuilt or decorated or enlarged. Edrisi says this more clearly. "Samarcande doit sa fondation au Toba-el-Akbar¹² (roi de l'Arabie Heureuse), et ses progrès à Dhoul-Carneïn (Alexandre le Grand).¹³

The Shâh-nâmeh throws no further light on the question of the foundation of Samarcand. What we learn from this book is merely this, that at one time it belonged to the Persians, that latterly Afrasiâb, the Turânian, had taken it away from their hands and that, in accordance with one of the terms of peace made with Siâvakhsh, the son of Kâus, it went back into the hands of the Persians.¹⁴ It appears then that Kâus must have begun building it, when it was captured by Afrasiâb and that Siâvakhsh finished it on regaining it according to the terms of peace. Though Tabari, Maçoudi, Edrisi, and Firdousi do not directly support our Pahalavi book in its statement that Kâus founded it, other Oriental writers do. 'Samarkand remonte à la plus haute antiquité. Les annales de l'Orient musulman en rapportent la fondation sous le nom de Sogdo (d'ou Sogdiane) à l'époque heroique de l'histoire persane, en l'attribuant au Kĕianide Kĕi Kaous fils de Kĕikobad.'¹⁵

There is one statement about Samarcand in this new treatise which throws some light upon the locality of one of the two celebrated libraries of ancient Persia.

We find what Dr. West calls "The Traditional History of the

¹⁰ Tabari par Zotenberg II., pp. 31, 32, 157.

¹¹ Maçoudi par Barbier de Meynard I., p. 352.

¹² He is the same as the Tobbâ Abou Karib, of Tabari, the master of Samar.

¹³ Géographie d'Edrisi, par Jaubert, II., p. 198.

¹⁴ Mohl. II., p. 272, ll. 923-24. "The ruins of Afrasiâb are still pointed out to travellers at Samarcand. (Through the Heart of Asia, by Bonvalot, Vol. II., pp. 7, 30.)

¹⁵ Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle.

Zoroastrian Scriptures" in several Pahalavi books.¹⁶ According to that history, when Zoroaster revealed his new religion Kaî Vish-tâsp, the then ruler of Persia, asked him to write down the scriptures. The king ordered that the original be kept in the treasury of Shapigân or Shaspigân and that an authentic copy be deposited in Dazhu-i-Napisht, *i. e.*, the castle of written documents. Thus two great libraries were established, the one of Shapigân and the other of Dazhu-i-Napisht. On the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great, who, on account of the devastations that he committed, is termed "the evil destined villain" (*maré dush-gadman*) and "the cursed (*gazashité*) Alexiedar," the latter was destroyed by fire by his troops.

The books in the library attached to the treasury of Shapigân fell into the hands of the Arumans, *i. e.*, the Greeks of those provinces which latterly formed a part of the Eastern Empire of the Romans, and they were translated into Greek. Our Pahalavi book also refers to this traditional history in a few words. It says that the foundation of the city of Samarcand which is situated in the province of Khorasan (or the Eastern districts) was laid by king Kâus of Kobâd and that the city was completed by his son Siâvakhsh. Kaikhosru, the son of Siâvakhsh, was born there and he had built therein a glorious fire temple. The book then proceeds to say:

"In the end, Zoroaster brought the religion and by the order of king Vishtâsp wrote 1,200 '*pargards*' (chapters) of religious writings on golden tablets and deposited them in the treasury of that fire-temple. At last the accursed Sikandar (Alexander) burnt and threw into the river the (collection of the) religious writings (Dinkard) of seven kings."

This passage not only repeats what is already said in the above named Pahalavi works about the early part of the traditional history of the Zoroastrian scriptures but says something more. It says that the writings burnt by Alexander were not only those of Zoroaster alone but also the religious literature collected by seven kings.¹⁷

¹⁶ Dinkard Bk. III. Haug's Introduction to the Zend Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Dr. Hoshangji, pp. xxxi.-xxxviii. West's Dinkard, S. B. E. Vol. xxxvii., pp. xxx.-xxxl. pp. 412-413. Ardai Virâf Nâme, chap. I., 1-15 Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristân. Journal Asiatique, Tome III. (1894).

¹⁷ Though the number of kings mentioned here is seven we find later on that the names of eight kings are enumerated. They are Jam (Jamshed), Azidahâka (Zohâk), Faridun, Minocheher, Kâus, Kaî Khoshrû, Lohrâsp and Vishtâsp. The reason why, though eight kings are enumerated, the religious

Now where were the two libraries of Zoroastrian books situated? The one of the Dazhu-i-Napisht which was burnt by Alexander was situated, according to the Dinkard, in the country of Irân (*Airân Shatra*. The Zend Pahlavi Glossary, XXXII). It appears from the Ardâi Virâf Nameh (ch. I. 4) that the city of Irân in which it was situated was Stakhar-i-Pâpakân, *i. e.*, Istakhar or Persepolis of Ardesir Bâbegân (Artaxerxes I.) As to the second library, *viz.*, that of Shaspigân, its situation has not been as yet settled. Dr. Haug thought that Shaspigân "was, perhaps, the name of the fort at Pasargadæ where Cyrus was buried." But our book seems to settle the question and says that the other library was at Samarcand. It was attached to the great fire-temple of that city founded originally by king Kaikhosru. Samarcand, though now and then under the territories belonging to Irân, was not, strictly speaking, a city of Irân (*Irân Shatra*) as Istakhar was. It was now and then a Turanian city. Hence it is that the library of Dazhu-i-Napisht is specially spoken of as situated in the city of Irân, as distinguished from the library of Shaspigân, situated in Samarcand which was more a Turanian city than an Iranian one.

But there is one difficulty presented by our text which would prevent us from settling the question that the Shaspigân Library was situated in Samarcand. It is this that our text says of the Samarcand library also, that it was burnt by Alexander, and not only that but that its contents were thrown into the river. As a matter of fact, we know that the Shaspigân library was not immediately burnt by Alexander but that most of its books were translated by the Greeks into their own language, and that it was some of these translations that Tansar or Taôsar made use of in reviving the

writings (Dinkard) of only seven kings are said to have been collected, is that the King Azidahâk or Zohâk is not taken into consideration. The names of the prominent kings of Irân, commencing from Jamshed, are mentioned one by one, and Azidahâk's name is also mentioned as that of a prominent king, but he was an irreligious monarch and so as such could not have written or collected any religious works. The fact that Azidahâk is not considered by the author to have been a monarch who contributed anything to the collection of religious writings in the library attached to the fire-temple in Samarcand is clear from the fact that while we find in the text the words '*zak-i*' (that of, *i. e.*, the *khudâi* or sovereignty of) repeated before all the monarchs we do not find them repeated before the name of Azidahâka.

ancient literature of Irân in the reign of Ardeshir Bâbegân.¹⁸ I think that the writer of our Pahalavi treatise has committed a mistake in saying that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander, and the mistake seems to me to have arisen from the fact of mistaking one place for another, their names being identical. We have seen that the library burnt was that of Dazhu-i-Napisht situated in Istakhar. Now, it appears from Ebn Haukal's Oriental Geography¹⁹ that there is near Samarcand also a district of the name of Istakhar and that there is also a river of that name passing from the district. This identity of the names of two places seems to have led the author of the Pahalavi treatise into the mistake of saying that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander, and not only that, but that its contents were thrown into the river. The statement in the older books of Dinkard and Virâf-Nameh that the library (of Dazhu-i-Napisht) at Istakhar was burnt by Alexander, seems to have led the author to the mistake of taking one Istakhar for another, the Istakhar of Pars for the Istakhar of Samarcand. Thus then our treatise seems to settle the question of the locality of the library of Shaspigan, the second library of Irân.

Balkh or Bokharâ.—The second city of Khorasân referred to in our treatise is Bâkhar-i-Nâmîk (بَکْهَرِ نَمِیک). It is the beautiful Bâkhdhi (*Bâkhdhim Srirâm*) of the Vendidad spoken of as Bâkhar-i-Nyôk (بَکْهَرِ نِیوِک) in the Pahalavi translation. This Bâkhar or Bâkhal of the Pahalavi Vendidad is identified by some with Balkh and by others with Bohkârâ. One manuscript of the Pahalavi Vendidad in my possession identifies the Bâkhdhi of the Avesta with both Balkh and Bokhârâ (بَکْهَرِ نِیوِک و بَکْهَرِ نِیوِک). Balkh Bokhârâ nyok). Now if we take this city to be Balkh, Maçoudi speaks of it as بلخ الحسناء *i. e.*, the beautiful Balkh²⁰ which epithet corresponds to the Srirâm (سَرِیرَام) *i. e.*, beautiful) of the Avesta.

Coming to the name of its founder we find that our book attributes the foundation of a place called Novâzak in this city to Asfandiâr the

¹⁸ *Vide* my paper on "The Antiquity of the Avesta," in the Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. 52.

¹⁹ Sir Wm. Ousley's Translation, pp. 255-56.

²⁰ Maçoudi par B. de Meynard II., p. 121.

son of King Gushtâsp. No other Oriental work connects the name of Asfandiâr with Balkh. Maçoudi, Yakout²¹ and Mirkhond²² attribute the foundation of Balkh to Lohrâsp, the grandfather of Asfandiâr. Lohrâsp was therefore called Balkhi by some. According to the same historians, some attribute it to Kayomars, some to Kâus and some to Alexander the Great. According to Kinneir some oriental writers attribute it to Taimuras.²³

According to Tabari²⁴ Lohrâsp built a residence there which he called Hasnâ (حسناء). This is the Al Hasna (الحسنة) of Maçoudi above referred to. Cazvini attributes its foundation to Kaiomars.²⁵

Asfandiâr is called Nizehvar (*i. e.*, a good lancer) in the Âfrins. (نیزهوار). Our work explains why this epithet was applied to him. It says, that he pointed his lance to king Arjâsp and his accomplices (Yasht, IX. 30, 31), saying that if they would not respect the new religion of Zoroaster, he would punish them with his lance.

Khârzem.—The foundation of Khârzem is attributed to the Resh of the Yahoudgâu, *i. e.*, to the chief of the Jews. The Pahalavi word ریش²⁶ is the Hebrew ראש Arabic ريش *i. e.*, the chief. We find this word in many Hebrew words denoting the titles of Jewish chiefs, *e. g.*, Resh Metibta, *i. e.*, the chief of the Session, Resh Kalla (Professor), Resh Galutha, *i. e.*, the chief of the Exiles.²⁷ At times it was also used with the proper names of Jewish dignitaries. For example Simeon Ben Lakish, a Jewish dignitary, was known as Resh Lakish. Of all these Reshes or chiefs, the rank of Resh Galutha ראש גלותא *i. e.*, the Exilarch, or the chief of the Exiles, was considered to be the highest. According to Albiruni, "the head of the exiles who had been banished from their home in Jerusalem, is the master of every Jew in the world; the ruler whom they obey in all countries,

²¹ Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112.

²² Shea's Mirkhond, p. 58. Bombay Edition, p. 150.

فرقة از اهل تاریخ که بلغ را لهراسپ بنا کرده است

²³ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 187. The Novâzak referred to here, may be the Nuwâzi (Fire-temple) of the coins. (Numismatic Illustrations of the Sussamans, by E. Thomas, p. 17).

²⁴ Tabari, par Zotenberg I., p. 491.

²⁵ Ousley's Travels II., p. 372.

²⁶ The correct form is ریش, *vide* section 47 of the book.

²⁷ History of the Jews, by Graetz, Vol. II., p. 554.

whose order is carried out in most circumstances." . . . "He must of necessity be one of the descendants of David; an offspring of another family would not be fit for this purpose."²⁸ In another part of our book the chief (Resh Galutha) is called Yahoudgân Shâh, i. e., the King of the Jews, because in the court of some of the Sassanian kings of Persia he enjoyed royal honours. Some of these chiefs were the favourites of Persian kings and had founded separate colonies of their co-religionists in Persia. When our text speaks of the foundation of Khvârzem by the Chief of the Jews, we must understand by it, the foundation of a Jewish Colony there, because we know from the Avesta²⁹ that the town existed long before the Sassanian times.

Three other Jewish colonies are referred to in this treatise, as founded by the Jews, or more particularly by Shishin-dôkht, the daughter of one Resh Galutha, the king of the Jews, and the wife of Yezdagard of Shâpuhar, i. e., Yezdagard I., the son of Shâpur III.

According to Firdousi, Yezdagard I. was the son of Shâpur III. Tabari says that he was the son of Beharâm IV., but adds that some consider him to be the son of Shâpur and the brother of Beharâm.³⁰ Maçoudi calls him to be the son of Shâpur,³¹ but on the authority of another writer says later on, that he was the son of Beharâm.³² Mirkhond says that, according to some, he was the son of Beharâm, and according to others the brother of Beharâm.³³ Malcolm says, on the authority of several historians, that according to some Yezdagard was the brother of Beharâm, and according to others the son. Rawlinson calls him the son of Beharâm. He takes some Greek writers to be his authorities.³⁴ Our Pahalavi treatise settles this question by saying, that Yezdagard was the son of Shâpur.

Now this Yezdagard is called *dafr* دفر (Arabic دفر stinking). Most of the oriental historians call him a wicked king. Firdousi calls him Yezdagard-i-Bazêhgar (یزدگرد بزه گر), i. e., the wicked Yezdagard. As an instance of his wickedness, Firdousi gives the case of his son Beharâm Gour's imprisonment. He was sent to pri-

²⁸ The Chronology of Ancient Nations, by Albiruni. Translated by Dr. Sachau, pp. 19, 68. ²⁹ Yast IX., 14. ³⁰ Tabari, vol. II., page 103.

³¹ Maçoudi, vol. II., page 190.

³² *Ibid*, vol. II., page 235.

³³ بعضی یزدگرد را پسر بهرام و برخی برادر وی گفته اند (Mirkhond, Bombay edition, page 221. Mémoires sur la Perse S-de-Sacy, page 321.)

³⁴ The Seventh Oriental Monarchy, page 269.

son for nodding in the court while standing in his presence. At the very time of his accession to the throne he had given to his courtiers a cause to be displeased with him. Maçoudi calls him Al Athim (الاثيم), *i. e.*, the sinner. In some oriental works he is spoken of as Pêjehkîar³⁵ which is evidently the corruption of Bazehgar (بزه‌گر) of Firdousi. Mirkhond calls him Faru Bandehgar³⁶ (فروبنده‌گر) wherein the word (بنده‌گر) is evidently the corruption of (بزه‌گر). According to Tabari some called him (الاثيم) and others Al Khashan (الخشن), *i. e.*, the wicked (Arabic خشن hard, rude). According to all these Oriental writers, Yezdagard was called wicked for his personal wicked characteristics. But we learn from Greek and Roman writers that there was another reason why he was hated by his own countrymen. According to Procopius, Agathias and Theophanes, Arcadius, the Roman Emperor, had by his testament appointed Yezdagard the guardian of his young son, Theodosius the Younger.³⁷ According to Cedranus, Yezdagard was given a legacy of 1,000 pounds of gold in return of this duty entrusted to him. This circumstance, they say, made him inclined a little towards the Christians. Again, Antiochus, his great favourite, whom he had sent to the court of Rome to help and advise young Theodosius, had, by his frequent letters in favour of Christianity, turned the mind of the Persian king to the religion of Christ, so much so that according to some Roman writers he began persecuting the Zoroastrians of Persia for the sake of his Christian subjects. The influence of Antiochus had greatly led to the increase of Christian population in Persia. According to Theophanes, Yezdagard himself had shown a little inclination to turn a Christian. Bishop Marutha, of Mesopotamia, and Bishop Abdaüs, of Ctesiphon, had great influence over him. Prof. Darmesteter, while referring to these passages in our treatise in his interesting article on this subject, says, on the authority of previous writers, that it was this monarch who had allowed the first Christian synod to be held in Persia in the town of Seleusia under the leadership of the Bishop of Byzantium.³⁸ Again, he had permitted the erection of a Church at Ctesiphon. He employed Christian bishops on diplomatic service. It is said that Bishop

³⁵ S-de-Sacy. *Mémoires sur la Perse*, page 321.

³⁶ Bombay edition, page 227.

³⁷ Rawlinson's *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, page 272.

³⁸ *Textes Pehlvis Relatifs au Judaïsme*. *Revue des Études Juives*, X., vol. XVIII., page 44.

Marutha gained over the good will of the Persian monarch by once curing by his prayers, the headache from which the king was suffering, and which the Persian Mobeds and physicians could not cure. Again, they say, this very Bishop Marutha and Bishop Abdaäs once by their prayers and fasts chased a demon which had possessed the body of the son of the king.³⁹ All these statements, however exaggerated, show that Yezdagard was at first a little inclined towards Christianity. Latterly he had turned round a little. According to Theophanes and Theodaret, Bishop Abdaäs, once depending too much upon his influence with the king, set fire to the great Fire-temple of Ctesiphon. Yezdagard asked him to rebuild it at once. Abdaäs refused to do so. This exasperated the Persian king, and he ordered a general persecution of the Christians. Thus it was the favour that he had shown to a foreign religion and his inconsistent and wicked conduct that had made him unpopular with his people, and gained for him the epithet of *dafr* referred to in our treatise and the epithets of Al Athim, Al Khashan, Bazehgar, etc., referred to in other oriental works. He met with an accidental death, being kicked by a ferocious horse who appeared to be altogether quiet when he went before him to ride. Most of the oriental writers speak of this kind of death, as a punishment from God for his wicked conduct.

Now our Pahalavi treatise goes one step further, and points out that Yezdagard was not only favourably inclined towards the Christians but also towards the Jews. We learn from other sources that on great occasions he specially invited to his court the religious chiefs of the Jews. Huna, the son of Nathan, who was a Jewish prince, was a special favourite of Yezdagard. We read the following on this point in the history of the Jews:—"He (Yezdagard) was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews, and at the same time favourably disposed towards the Christians. On the days of homage there were present at his court the three representatives of the Babylonian Jews: Ashi, of Sora; Mar-Zutra, of Pumbeditha; and Amemar, of Nahardea. Huna bar Nathan, who, if he was no Prince of the Captivity, must nevertheless have been possessed of considerable influence, held frequent intercourse with Jezdijird's court. Such a mark of attention on the part of a Persian king may be regarded as a proof of high favour." (History of the Jews by Graetz, vol. II., page:617).

³⁹ *Ibid*, page 45.

Now there was one special reason why Yezdagard was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews. We learn for the first time from our Pahalavi treatise that Yezdagard was married to a Jewish princess. No other works, oriental or occidental, refer to this point. Shishin Dôkht is the name of this Jewish princess. She was the daughter of the Resh Galutha, *i. e.*, the Jewish Exilarch, who is spoken of here as the Yahoudgân Shah, *i. e.*, the King of the Jews. She seems to have played, if not the same, as Darmesteter says, at least a similar part, as that played by queen Esther of the Old Testament. It appears that not only Jewish princesses but other Jewish ladies had begun influencing the Persians in one way or another. It is for this reason that we find that the Dinkard deprecates marriages with Jewish women.⁴⁰ As to the question who this particular Rish Galutak, whose daughter, Shishin Dôkht, Yezdagard had married, was, the above passage of the history of the Jews seems to show that it was Huna, the son of Nathan, who had considerable influence with Yezdagard.

According to our treatise it was this Jewish queen of Yezdagard who had founded in Persia, Shus and Shuster, the well-known towns of Khuzistân. Not only that, but it was at her special desire that a Jewish colony was founded in Gaê (Ispahân). We will first speak of the towns of Shus and Shuster said to have been founded by her.

According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the ancient times there were two cities of the name of Susan or Susa, the more ancient the Shusan of Scripture being situated on the Kârun or Eulæus, and the other, the Susa of the Greeks, being situated near the Cherkheh or Choaspes. The Shus of our treatise seems to be the first of these two. Tradition and some oriental authors⁴¹ attribute to this town of Shus (Susa) the tomb of the Hebrew prophet Daniel. So it is likely that the Jewish queen of the Persian king took advantage of her influence over her royal husband and rebuilt or enlarged or improved the town with which the name of a prophet of her religion was connected. According to Tabari⁴² it is a very ancient town and said to have been originally founded by Shapur II.

Shuster, the other city, whose foundation or rather enlargement also is attributed to the queen Shishin-dôkht, is situated on the river

⁴⁰ Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, vol. II., page 90.

⁴¹ Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 76.

⁴² Zotenburg II., p. 95.

Karun at the distance of about 32 miles from Susa. Tabari⁴³ and other authors⁴⁴ attribute its original foundation to Shapur I., who, they say, had ordered Emperor Valerian, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner, to send Roman engineers to build this and other cities. Firdousi⁴⁵ also refers to this fact and says, especially of the waterworks of this town, that they were built by Beranous, a Roman engineer, at the orders of Shapur I.

The similarity of the names (Shus and Shuster) of these towns with that of their founder Shishin-dôkht is striking. The original name of this queen may be Shushan, which is a common Hebrew name of Jewish women and Shishin may be a corrupted form. The Hebrew name Shusan seems to be the same as Arabic *سوسن* *susan* meaning a "lily." The word *dokht* is the contracted form of *dôkhtar* *دختر* *i. e.*, daughter. It is used in the sense of "a maiden, girl or princess" and is added to the names of several Persian queens, *e. g.*, Purân-dôkht and Azermidôkht.

As to the town of Gaê wherein Shishin-dôkht had founded a colony of the Jews, the name Gaê is another form of Jaê or Djey, which was the ancient name of Ispahân.⁴⁶ A part of Ispahân, now in ruins, is still known by the name of Djey. It was also known as Yahoudeh, *i. e.*, the quarters of the Yahoudis or Jews. "Ispahan était anciennement la ville connu sous le nom de Djey. Elle se nommait, primitivement Djey, puis Yahoudieh."⁴⁷ Our text attributes its original foundation to Alexander.⁴⁸

⁴³ II., p. 79.

⁴⁴ Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 542.

⁴⁵ Mohl. V., p. 392.

⁴⁶ Dictionnaire de la Géographie, etc., par. B. de Meynard, p. 45.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁸ The late Prof. Darmesteter had a copy of the old text (MK) supplied to him, wherein, a part being eaten away by worms, two letters are wanting. The words in the old text, as given by Darmesteter in his "Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme (Revue des Études Juives, p. 41) is "Shatrostân-i-Gai gujastak Alaksandaro pilp. . . . kart." Darmesteter in his translation takes the missing letters to be *âô*, reads the word *pilpâê* and translates the sentence thus "La ville de Gai fut foulée aux pieds des éléphants, par le maudit Alexandre." But it appears from the Teheran manuscript JJ. copied from the original when it was in a good condition, that the word was *philphous* (فيلقوس).

Now Firdousi gives *philkous* *فيلقوس* as the name of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great (Mohl. v., p. 57). In Persian the word *philkous* *فيلقوس*

Some Persian writers carry the foundation of Ispahân to a period earlier than that of Alexander. According to our text the Jewish queen of Yezdagard had founded a Jewish colony at Ispahân, but according to other authors the Jews lived there long before this time. It is possible that this Jewish queen rebuilt their quarters or their part of the town. According to Yakout⁴⁹ it was Bakht-en-Nasr (Nebuchadnezzar) who, after taking Jerusalem, brought the Jews as prisoners to Ispahân, where they built quarters of their own and called them Yahoudieh.⁵⁰ Their population there, latterly increased to such an extent that, according to Mansour ben Badân, there was hardly a family in Ispahan which could not trace its descent from a Jewish ancestor. Ebn Haukal⁵¹ names a place called Jehudistân just near Ispahân. That may possibly be the same as Yahoudieh because it also means "the place of the Jews."

Meruv-rud.—It is said to be founded by Beharâm of Yezdagard. It is the Maruv-al-rud (مروال رود) of Ebn Haukal.⁵² It is the Marv-rud (مرو رود) of the Shâhnâmeh.⁵³ The Beharâm referred to here is Beharâm V., known as Beharâm Gour. From other oriental works, we know nothing of Meruvrud being founded by Beharâm Gour. But what we know from Mirkhond and Firdousi is only this, that Beharâm Gour had won a great victory over the Khâkân of Chin at a place known as Merv⁵⁴ (مرو). But this Merv seems to be quite a different place from Merv-al-rud. It is possible that Mirkhond and

can easily be read philphous **فيل فوس** by dropping a dot (nukté) from ق k. So it appears intelligible how the copyist put in philphous **فيل فوس** for philkous (**فيل فوس**). Anyhow Prof. Darmesteter's reading pilpâe cannot hold good, because here, there is no question of the destruction of the city of Ispahan (fut foulée), but on the contrary that of its construction. That Alexander had destroyed the city of Ispahan does not appear from any author but the fact that he had founded it appears from Athar el-Bilad (Dans le livre Athar el-Bilad, c'est Alexandre seul qui est nommé comme fondateur d'Ispahân. Dict. de la Geogr. &c. B. de Meynard, p. 41). Tabari also supports this statement (I., p. 517).

⁴⁹ Dict. B de Meynard, p. 45.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 169.

⁵² Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 213, 214, 220, 222, 231.

⁵³ Mohl, II., p. 253; IV., p. 189.

⁵⁴ Mirkhond Traduit par Silvestre de Sacy, pp. 324-336; Bombay edition, p. 229, l. 13; Mohl V., pp. 676-78.

Firdousi have mixed up these two places. After the victory at the above place Beharâm Gour is said to have built a large column (میل) to mark out the frontiers of Irân and Turân.

Meruv and Harâe.—Both of them are said to be founded by Alexander the Great. Meruv is the well known city of Merv, known also as the Maru Shâhjân. Ebn Haukal⁵⁵ also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. Yakout and other oriental writers also say the same thing.⁵⁶ It is called Merv Shâhjân (*i.e.*, Merv the city of the King), because it was one of the four royal cities of Khorâsân.⁵⁷ According to Yakout, it was called Shâh-jân (L'ame du roi) because it was one of the largest and greatest cities of Khorâsân.⁵⁸ Antiochus Nicatore had rebuilt the city and called it Antiochia. Tabari also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great.⁵⁹

The city of Harâe is the Haroyu هاروی of the Vendidad, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions and Aria of the Greeks. It is the modern Herat. Yakout also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. "La ville d'Herat, dit ed-Dehbi, à été fondée par Alexandre, lorsque ce conquérant, ayant envahi l'Orient, se préparait attaquer la Chine."⁶⁰ Some writers attribute its foundation to Lohrâsp and its rebuilding to Gushtâsp, Bahman and to Alexander.⁶¹

لهرا سب نهاده است پوریا بنیاد
گشتاسب ز نو بنای دیگر بنهاد

Silvestre de Sacy⁶² says on the authority of an oriental geographer that Herat was first founded by an Emir of that name, and rebuilt by Alexander.

Pushen.—This name is variously written by eastern writers, such as فوشنج or بوشنج or پوشنگ. It is at the distance of 10 farsakhs from Herat. Some attribute its foundation and its name to Pasheng the son of Afrasiâb, who was otherwise known as Shideh (شیده).

⁵⁵ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 215.

⁵⁶ Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 527, n. 2.

⁵⁷ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 179.

⁵⁸ Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 526.

⁵⁹ Tabari par Zötenberg, vol. I., p. 517.

⁶⁰ Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 593.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 592.

⁶² Mémoires sur la Perse, par S. de Sacy, p. 389.

⁶³ Dict. B. de Meynard, p. 122. Livre des Rois. Mohl. IV., p. 30, l. 713.

According to Kinneir⁶⁴ "Pushing is a considerable town a little to the north of Herat, built on the banks of the Heriroud." The foundation of this city is attributed to Shapur of Artashir, *i. e.*, Shapur I. In our treatise the foundation of seven cities is attributed to Shapur I. According to Firdousi, Shapur had founded several cities with the help of an engineer or a geometrician (هندسی) named Berânous, sent to him by Emperor Valerian of Rome. The seven cities referred to in our book as founded by Shapur are the following : (1) Pushen. (2) Neo Shâpuhar. (3) Hairat. (4) Vish Shâpuhar. (5) Vandu-i-Shâpuhar. (6) Airankard-i-Shâpuhar. (7) Kharayast.

Tus.—Tus of Naôdar is said to have founded it. It is the Tous of Ebn Haukal according to whom it is situated to the north of Nishapur.⁶⁵ According to Maçoudi, king Faridun had built a great fire-temple here. The building of the city of Mesched in its neighbourhood eclipsed the city of Tus. The following story is related about its foundation :—Once upon a time, Kaikhosru sent Tus, the son of Naôdar, to the frontiers of Turân to fight against Afrâsiâb. He specially directed Tus to avoid the route of Kelât, lest Farud, the step-brother of Kaikhosru, who was living there, might create a quarrel and fight with him. Tus on his way to the frontiers of Turân passed by way of Kelat in spite of Kaikhosru's directions to the contrary. Farud thereupon sought a quarrel, fought with Tus, and was killed in the battle. On hearing of the death of his step-brother, Kaikhosru got enraged against Tus, who got afraid to return to the court of the Persian King. He therefore stayed in Khorâsân, and founding a new city, named it Tus, after his name.⁶⁶ The Dabistan⁶⁷ also attributes its foundation to Tus. Tus is mentioned in our books as the seat of the *sepâh-pat*, *i. e.*, the commander-in-chief. According to Tabari the sovereigns of Tabaristan and of Khorâsân were called Ispahbads, or Sepahbads, *i. e.*, the commanders-in-chief.

Neo Shâpuhar.—The second city founded by Shapur I., is Nishâpur (نیشاپور) the well-known city of Khorâsân. According to Ebn Haukal, one of the places without its suburbs is known as Kohendez, and one of its gates is known as der-i-Kohendez⁶⁸ (در قهندز).

⁶⁴ Persian Empire, p. 183.

⁶⁵ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 215.

⁶⁶ Mecan's Shahnameh. Persian Preface, p. 32. Tabari, Vol. I., p. 467.

⁶⁷ The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I., p. 52.

⁶⁸ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 214.

The Kohendez referred to by Firdousi⁶⁹ as founded in Nishâpur by Shapur I. is the above Kohendez referred to by Ebn Haukal.

کهندهز بشهر نیشاپور کرد
برآورد وپردخت از روزارد

Mohl. V, p. 392.

Maçoudi attributes its foundation to Shapur⁷⁰ II. On the authority of an oriental historian and geographer Kinneir says: "This city was founded by Taimuras, and destroyed by Alexander the Great. It was after the lapse of many years rebuilt by Shapor I,"⁷¹ Hamd Allah Mustôfi also attributes its original foundation to Taimuras, and its rebuilding to Shapur I. "Le premier fondateur de cette ville est, dit-on, Thahomers. Quand elle fut ruinée, Ardeschi Babegân bâtit une autre ville qu'il nomma Nih (نہ). Son fils Schâpour, qui gouvernait le Khoracân, le pria de lui donner cette ville; piqué du refus de son père, il éleva sur les ruines de l'antique cité de Thahomers une ville nouvelle qui fut nommée Nih Schâpour, ou la ville de Shâpour, dont les Arabes formèrent plus tard le mot Niçabour."⁷² This passage gives a derivation of the name Nishapur. It says that it was so called because it was a city (Neh نی city) founded by Shapur.

According to our Pahalavi treatise, Shapur I founded the city of Nishapour at a place where he had killed an enemy named Pâhlizak Tur, a name which can be variously read. Now the question is, who was this enemy. From Tabari we learn that Shapur I had killed a hostile monarch in Khorâsân who had invaded the country of Persia during Shapur's absence at the siege of Nisib. "Schâpour . . . fut informé qu'un ennemi, venant du Khorâsân avait envahi la Perside Schâpour retourna dans la Perside, attaqua l'ennemi, le fit prisonnier et le tua; puis il revint à Nisibe."⁷³ Unfortunately Tabari does not give the name of this enemy whom Shapur had killed. So we are not in a position to ascertain if he was the same person referred to in our text. Maçoudi, Tabari and Mirkhond speak of another king as being killed by Shapur I. This king is variously known as Zizan, Dhaizan (Sâtiroun), or Manizen. But he was not a king of Khorâsân.

Kâin.—It is said to have been founded by king Lohrâsp. It is the

⁶⁹ Mohl. V., p. 392. ⁷⁰ Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 188.

⁷¹ Persian Empire, p. 185. ⁷² Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 578 n.

⁷³ Tabari par Zötenburg, Vol. II., p. 79. Valerian and Odenathus were also defeated by Shâpur, but they were not connected with Khorasan. Pâhlizak can, with some transmutation of letters, be read Valerian.

Kâin قاین of Ebn Haukal⁷⁴ according to whom it is about six days' journey from Herat. According to Yakout it is about eight days' journey from Herat, and nine days' from Nishapur. It is, as it were, the gate of Khorâsân.

Dahistân in the territory of Gurgân.—It is the Dahistân (دہستان) of Ebn Haukal.⁷⁵ Its foundation is attributed to Narsi of the Ashkânian dynasty, who, according to Maçoudi, was the fifth reigning monarch of the dynasty

Koumis.—It is the Koumis قومس of Ebn Haukal, situated in Tabaristan within the territories of Mount Damavand.⁷⁶ It is said to have been inhabited by the Parsis in the reign of Shapur of Yezdagard. The word پارسیان Pârsiân can be taken for the Parthians, because Damghân in the district of Koumis was the seat of the Parthians. "Damghan . . . is always supposed to mark the sight of the ancient Hekatompylos (or city of a hundred gates) the name given by the Greeks to the capital of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthian kings." Persia, by Curzon, vol. I., p. 287.

Khusrui.—We now come to a group of five cities known by the name of Khusrui, and said to be founded by different kings of the name of Khusrui. It is very difficult to identify the cities, and the kings bearing the name of Khusrui referred to in our book. There were several cities in Khorâsân bearing the name of Khusrui. Of these, one is Khusruv Jird or Khusruv Gird (خسروگرد or خسرو جرد). It is situated between Koumis and Nishapur. According to some oriental writers, it was founded by Kaikhosru. "Les Historiens orientaux parlent de la citadelle de Khosrewdjird comme d'une place très-fortifiée dont l'origine remonterait à Keïkhosrou."⁷⁷ "Le chateau de Khosraudjird خسرو جرد—C' était une place très forte, dont on attribuait la construction à Keïkhosrou, le vainqueur d'Afrasiab."⁷⁸ The city of Djeser Wadjerd (جسرو جرد) mentioned by Edrisi as situated on the way from Rei to Nishapur, is this same city of Khosraudjird⁷⁹ (خسرو جرد). This city, then, is the second city in our group said to have been founded by Kaikhusrui. Again, at the distance

⁷⁴ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 222-23.

⁷⁵ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 176.

⁷⁶ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 178, 212.

⁷⁷ Yakout par B. de Maynard, p. 208, note.

⁷⁸ Journal Asiatique, 1846, Tome VIII., p. 460.

⁷⁹ Edrisi, Vol. II., p. 177.

of 12 miles from the above city of Khosraudjird there is a city known as Jasrauâbâd (چسرو آباد), which, I think, to be Khosrauâbâd (خسرو آباد), the points (Nukteh) of چ and خ having exchanged places. It is the Khosravâbâd (خسرو آباد) of Yakout, according to whom it is two "farsakhs" distant from Merv.⁸⁰ This city then appears to be the third city in our list founded by Schâd Khosru Mustâvâd (âbâd).

Again, Yakout speaks of another city Khosrau Shah (خسروشاه) as being three "farsakhs" distant from Merv.⁸¹ Thus we find that there were three cities of the name of Khosrui near each other in Khorâsân. The next two cities also seem to be near these three cities. We know from the history of Persia that there were five kings of the name of Khosrui.—

- 1 Kai Khosru. 2 Khosru of the Parthian dynasty, who reigned after Pecorus from A. D. 108 to 130. 3 Khosru who reigned for a short time after Yezdagard of Shapur and before the accession to the throne of Beharâm Gour.
- 4 Khosru Kobâd (Noshirvân), and 5 Khosru Parviz.

Of these five, two can be identified with those in our list, *viz.*, Khosru Kobad and Kai Khosru. So the remaining three Khosrus of history seem to be the other three Khosrus referred to in our text.

Ctesiphon.—We now come to the second group of cities, *viz.*, the cities of Khâvar, or of the West.

Ctesiphon, the first city mentioned in the second group, is said to have been founded by one Tus, who was the Râvak (the governor) of Sifkân. Tha Ctesiphon was founded by by one Tus appears to be supported by the fact, that according to Yakout, its ancient name was Tousphon (طوسفون) and not Ctesiphon (طيسفون). "Hamzah dit que son non primitif tait Thôusfoun (طوسفون) que les Arabes ont changé en Thaïsfoun."⁸²

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Vardanes, a Parthian Prince, the son of Ardvân III., who reigned from A. D. 42 to 46, was the founder of this city. It appears then that Tus was possibly a general of Vardanis, of whom we know that he had suppressed a rebellion in Seleucia, which was situated on one side of the Tigris, while Ctesiphon was situated on the other. It is possible that when Vardanis conquered Seleucia, he got Ctesiphon rebuilt by Tus.

⁸⁰ Diet., par B. de Meynard, p. 208.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁸² Yakout, B. de Meynard, p. 400.

According to our Paharvi treatise Tus, the founder of Ctesiphon, belonged to a place called Sifkân. So I think Ctesiphon ܬܝܫܦܢ is the shortened form of Tous-i-Sifkân ܬܘܫܝܫܦܢ ܕܫܝܦܟܢ

According to Kinneir "The foundation of the city of Ctesiphon . . . can hardly be ascribed to any particular person, as it would seem to have increased gradually during a succession of many years, from a camp to a city. Pacorus supposed to be Orodes, king of the Parthians, and contemporary with Anthony, is thought to be the first who surrounded it with walls, and made it the capital of the Parthian Empire." (Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 253-54.)

Kinneir is quite right in saying that we cannot ascribe its foundation to any particular Prince. According to Yakout, it was at first founded by Alexander the Great. It was subsequently destroyed. Noshirvân (Chosroes) had rebuilt it. Ardeshir Bâbegân had again rebuilt it.⁸³

Sarsar.—Sarsar is another city attributed to the above mentioned ruler of Sifkân. It is the Sarsar ܫܪܨܪ of Ebn Haukal. It is situated at a distance of three farsangs from Bagdad.⁸⁴

Hirleh.—It is the modern Hilleh, situated on the Euphrates. It is 54 miles from Bagdad. "It covers a very small portion of the space occupied by the ancient Capital of Assyria (Babylon). . . .

. . . . We learn from St. Jerome, that the space within the walls was converted by the Parthian kings into a royal hunting park."⁸⁵

Bâwir.—It is the Bawri (ܒܐܘܪܝ Yt. V. 29) of the Avesta, and Babyrus of the Behistun Inscriptions. It is the modern Babylon. Our treatise says of this city that "it was founded in the reign of Jamsheed. He (the founder of the city) fixed there (the direction of) the planet Mercury. (By the situation of the city or its building) he pointed out magically the 7 planets, the 12 constellations and signs of the zodiac and the eighth part (of the heavens) towards the sun and other planets."

This seems to be an allusion to the building of the temple of Babylon, which was said to be built on some principles of astronomical calculations. Zohhâk is generally represented as founder of Babylon. Zohâk's connection with Babylon and his character as a

⁸³ B. de Meynard, *vide* the word ܬܝܫܦܢ

⁸⁴ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 68.

⁸⁵ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 269-272.

magician is also referred to in the Dinkard. "One marvel is several matters of evil deceit which Dahâk had done in Bâpél through witchcraft."⁸⁶

Hirat.—It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Aboulfeda.⁸⁷ It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Ebn Haukal who says that "Heirah is an ancient city, and large; but when Cufa was built, Heirah was drained of its inhabitants. Heirah enjoys a pure air, and is one farsang distant from Cufa."⁸⁸ Edrisi⁸⁹ and Maçoudi⁹⁰ also support Ebn Haukal. According to Kinneir, "the holy city of Nejiff, or Meshed Ali (the supposed burying-place of the Caliph Ali), is nine farsangs from Hileh, and four miles from Kufa, and situate on a hill, at the bottom of which is an artificial lake. This city was founded by Alexander the Great, and for a long time bore the name of Alexandria, which was afterwards changed into that of Hira, when it became the residence of a dynasty of Arabian princes, who fought under the Parthian banners against the Emperors of Rome. It is also known in history under the general appellation of Almondari, after the name of Almondar (the Almondarus of Procopius) distinguished in the wars of Nushirwan and Justinian."⁹¹

Our book attributes its foundation to Shapur I. According to Tabari, Rabia, the son of Naçr, the king of Yemen, had once a dream in which he saw a piece of carbon falling from a cloud, taking fire and burning all the people of Yemen. His astrologers gave the following interpretation of the dream: "There will come from Abyssinia a king who will conquer the country of Yemen, take all its inhabitants prisoners, and annex Yemen to the country of Abyssinia." The king thereupon, under apprehensions, sent away his family out of Yemen to the country of Iraq, with a letter upon the Persian king Shâpur, to take care of his children. Shapur thereupon gave them shelter in the above town of Heirah⁹² (Hira). Now, as to who this Shapur was, there is a difference of names in the different manuscripts of Tabari's text. But Zotenberg says that in one of his manuscripts the name is that of Shapur, the son of Ardeshir, *i. e.*, Shapur I.⁹³ It therefore appears that Shapur I. must have rebuilt this town at

⁸⁶ S. B. E., vol. XLVII, West's Dinkard, bk. VII, ch. IV. 72.

⁸⁷ Aboulfeda. Text by Reinaud et Slane, p. 299.

⁸⁸ Onsley's Oriental Geography, p. 65-66.

⁸⁹ Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 366.

⁹⁰ Maçoudi, III., p. 213.

⁹¹ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 282.

⁹² Tabari par Zötenberg, Vol. II., p. 171.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 537.

direction of Nehâvand. The country of Mâh ماله referred to here is that of Mah-el-Basrah and Mah-el-Kaufah. According to Tabari, these two towns were known under the joint name of Mahâin.¹⁰⁰ According to the same author the city of Nehâvand نهانده was also known as Mah-el-Basrah. According to some writers Nehâvand was originally Nuh-âvand, *i.e.*, the city founded by Neah. Now it is difficult to identify the city of Vâhrâm âvand referred to here. Perhaps it is the city of Râman رامن in the neighbourhood of Nehavand, situated about 21 miles from Hamdan; or perhaps it is the city of Râvandeه رانده, situated in the same district.¹

Mousul.—It is the Mousul (موصل) of Ebn Haukal, which he and Edrisi place in the country of Mesopotamia² (ديار جزيرة). According to Kinneir, neither the period of its foundation nor the name of its founder are known.³ But our book attributes its foundation to one Piroz-i-Shâpuharân. Now we know of no king known as Piroz of Shâpur. We know of a hero of that name, whom Rustam the general of Yazdagard Sheheriar sent as a messenger to Saad Wakhas, the chief of the Arabs. But he is not represented to have founded any city. We know of a city named Piroz-i-Shapour said to have been founded by Shapur Zul-aktâf.

Jazeereh.—The foundation of nine cities (whose names are not mentioned) in the country of Jazeereh (Mesopotamia) is attributed to Amatvash and Kaisar Barâtarzâd. It is difficult to identify these two persons. Kaisar Barâtarzâd is perhaps the Armenian king Chosroes, son of Tiridates, who lived in the reign of Shapur II.⁴ His original name must be Kaisar bin Tarazâd (Tiridates) كاسر بن ترازاد (*i.e.*, Chosroes, the son of Tiridates). Subsequently the bin بن seems to have been changed into barâ بار. This Armenian prince claimed his descent from the Parthian kings.

Shâm (Syria) Yemen, Farikâ (Africa) Koufat, Mecah, Medinah (Medina).—Twenty-four cities are said to have been founded in the land of these cities. Some of them were ruled over, or founded by, the Kaisar, *i.e.*, the Emperor of Rome, and some by the Malikân Malik, *i.e.*, the king of Persia.

¹⁰⁰ Tabari, V, p. 480.

¹ Edrisi par Jaubert II, p. 165.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 55. Edrisi par Jaubert, Vol. II., p. 142-148.

³ Persian Empire, p. 257, Note.

⁴ Gibbon I, p. 399.

According to Tabari, the Arab kings of Syria and Yemen were from time to time under the suzerainty of the kings of Persia. The Arab rulers of Hirat, referred to above, also ruled over the country of Yemen. The Persian king Faridun, had married his sons to the three daughters of the King of Yemen.

Kavûl.—Now we come to the towns of Nimrouz or Seistân. Kavûl is the modern Cabul, the foundation of which is attributed to Artashir of Spendadâd, who is the same as the Bahaman of Asfandiâr of the Shâhnâmeh. No other works support this statement. What we learn from Tabari, is that Bahaman had gone to Seistân to avenge, over Framroz, the son of Rustam, the death of his father Asfandiâr, who was killed by Rustam, the ruler of Zaboulistân and Kaboulistân.⁵ According to Maçoudi, he had also founded in Seistân, a large fire-temple known as Kerakeran which, I think, is the same as 'Fire Karkoê' of the Âtash Nayâish of the Avesta. As this sacred fire existed even in the reign of Minocheher, as we learn from a subsequent passage (p. 38), and as Kabul is often referred to by Firdousi as the seat of Rustam, the reference here seems to be to a rebuilding of Cabul.

Râvad.—This seems to be the Raêbad رايبد of Firdousi. It is said to have been founded by Rehâm, the son of Goudarz, at the place where he killed Aspvarz, the hero of Turkistân. This seems to be an allusion to the battle between the Iranians and Turanians known as the "Battle of Eleven Warriors," wherein Rehâm, the Iranian, killed Bârmân, the Turanian.⁶ The Pahalvi name Aspvarz ('warrior' from 'asp' horse) seems to be an equivalent of Bârmân (ربار a horse) of the Shâhnâmeh. This town of Râvad is perhaps the Rebât of Ibn Haukal⁷ known as Rebât Firouzmend (رباط فيروزمند). It is one menzal (stage) from Bost, the next town in our group. Perhaps the adjective Firouzmend (victorious) refers to the above victory of Rehâm over Bârmân, and to that of his other 10 Irânian colleagues over their Turânian rivals.

Bost.—According to Ebn Haukal and other writers, it is one of the principal cities in the province of Seistan.⁸ It is the Abeste of Pliny.⁹

⁵ Tabari I., p. 507.

⁶ Firdousi Mohl. III, p. 573.

⁷ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 210.

⁸ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 207. Firdousi Mohl IV, p. 252. Maçoudi V, p. 302. Edrisi I, pp. 417, 442.

⁹ D'Anville's Ancient Geography II, p. 64. Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190.

It was founded by Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta¹⁰ and the Nastur of the Shahnameh.¹¹ It is said to have been founded at the time when King Gushtâsp had gone to Seistân to propagate the Zoroastrian religion there, a short time before his second war with Arjâsp.¹²

Fariâv and Zavulastân.—These two cities are said to have been founded by Rustam. Fariâv is either the *فاریاب* of Firdousi¹³ Tabari¹⁴ and Yâkout¹⁵ or Fereh *فره* of Ebn Haukal¹⁶. Fariâb is not in Seistân Proper but Fereh is a town of Seistân Proper. It is the Parrah mentioned in ancient geography as the capital of the Parthian province of Anabon.¹⁷ As to Zavoul or Zaboul, in ancient geography, the whole region, which includes the modern towns of Cabul and Gizni, and the adjoining country, was known by that name. Rustam, who is mentioned in our treatise as the founder of these two cities and as the king of Seistan was the feudal Lord of this region under the rulers of Persia.

Zaranj.—According to Tabari,¹⁸ Ebn Haukal¹⁹ and Edrisi,²⁰ it was the capital of Seistân. It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy and modern Dooshak.²¹ The fire Karkoê is referred to in the text as being deposited in this city. It is the sacred fire Karkoê of the Âtash Nayâish of the Avesta and the Fire Temple of Kerakerkan *کرا کرکان* referred to by Maçoudi²² as being founded by Bahman of Isfândiar. The allusion to king Minocheher and Frâsiav in connection with this town is explained more fully by the Minokherad (S. B. E. XXIV., ch. XXVII., 44) and Zâd Sparam (S. B. E. XLVII., ch. XII., 3).

Kermân.—It is said to be founded by Kermânshâh. Now who was this Kermânshâh? He was Varanes (Beharâm) IV., the son of Sapor III. He is spoken of in our text as Piroujân, *i. e.*, victorious. The word Beharam (Varahana, or Varanes) also means victorious. There were several kings of the name of Varanes or Beharâm in

¹⁰ Yt. XIII, p. 103.

¹¹ Mohl. IV, p. 418.

¹² Yasht. V. 108, Mohl. IV, p. 442, ll. 994-95.

¹³ Mohl. III., p. 506.

¹⁴ Zotenberg III., p. 571, IV., p. 167.

¹⁵ B. de Meynard, Dictionnaire de Géographie de la Perse, p. 414.

¹⁶ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 208.

¹⁷ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 193; D'Anville's Ancient Geography II., p. 65.

¹⁸ Zotenberg III., p. 517.

¹⁹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 208, 207.

²⁰ Jaubert I., p. 442.

²¹ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 192.

²² B. de Meynard IV., p. 73.

Persia, and Oriental writers differ as to which of those several Beharams was the king Kermâushâh. According to Firdousi²³ it was Beharâm or Varanes III. According to Mirkhond²⁴ it was Beharam: IV. Tabari²⁵ agrees with Mirkhond. Malcolm,²⁶ on the authority of other Oriental writers agrees with Tabari and Maçoudi and differs from Firdousi. An inscription on a seal of king Beharâm IV. settles this question and shows that Firdousi is wrong in calling Beharam III. Keramanshâh. According to that seal it was Beharâm the son of Sapor, *i. e.*, Beharâm IV., who was known as Kermâushâh. He was so called, because in his young age he was entrusted with the governorship of Kermân by his father.

Now as to the foundation of the city of Kermân by Baharam IV., no other writer supports our text. According to Hamdulla bin Abou Bakar quoted by Silvestre de Sacy, it was the town of Kermâushâh, which is quite different from that of Kermân, that was founded by Beharam IV. Perhaps it is the similarity of names that has led our author to mistake the town of Kermân for that of Kermâushâh.

Veh--Artashir.—It is perhaps the New Ardeshir of Tabari, which, according to this author, was one of the six cities founded by Ardeshir Babegân. The Pahlavi, 'v' seems to have been read 'n.' It seems to be the same as Yazdshir, which, according to Edrisi,²⁷ is situated in the district of Kermân.

Stâkhar.—It is the Istakhar اصطخر of later writers. Ardavan (Artabanus) is said to be its founder. According to the Kârnameh²⁸ of Ardeshir Babegân Ardavan had his capital in that city. According to Tabari²⁹ it was queen Homai who had built it. According to Maçoudi³⁰ this queen had also built there a large fire temple. Mirkhond³¹ attributes to this queen the construction of the well-known building known as Hazâr-Setun (1,000 pillars) among the ruins of Istakhar. According to Zinet el-Medjalis,³² some attributed

²³ Muhl. V., p. 414, l. 2.

²⁴ Mémoires sur la Perse par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 320. Mirkhond, Bombay Edition, part I, p. 227.

²⁵ Tabari. Zotenberg, II., p. 103.

²⁶ History of Persia, 2nd Ed., Ch. V., p. 89.

²⁷ Edrisi par Jaubert I., pp. 416, 426.

²⁸ Kârnameh. D. Darab, ch. I., 4, Nöldeke, p. 36.

²⁹ Zotenberg, Vol. I., p. 510.

³⁰ IV., p. 76.

³¹ Bombay Edition of 1228 Hijri, p. 190.

³² Dictionnaire de la Géographie B. de Meynard (p. 48 n.).

its foundation to Keïomars and others to one of his sons named Isthakhr. Heshang added to it, and Jamshed finished its construction. Yakout³³ and Edrisi³⁴ attribute its foundation to Isthakhr son of Tahmuras.

Dârâpgird.—It is said to be founded by Dârâ, the son of Dâra. Other Oriental writers³⁵ differ from our text in saying that it was the first Dârâ (the son of Bahaman Asfandyâr) himself who had founded it and not his son Dârâ II.

Vish-Shâpuhar.—It seems to be the city of Shâpur, situated on the road from Bushire to Shirâz next to Kazeroun. It is said to be founded by Shâpuhar of Artashir, *i. e.*, by Sapor I. According to Kazvini and other eastern writers³⁶ it was first built by Tahmuras, ruined by Alexander the Great, and re-built by Sapor I., who named it Benâ-Shâpur (بنی شاپور *i. e.*, founded by Shapur). Some³⁷ called it Nischâvour or Nischawer, which is another way of reading the Pahlavi name Vish-Shapur. The name can also be read Vêh-Shâpur. In that case it is the Beh-Schâpour of Tabari³⁸ who by some mistake attributes it to Sapor. II.

Gour Artashir Gadman.—It is the Kharreh-i-Ardashir of Firdousi³⁹ which, he says, was subsequently also called Gour. Our text gives both the names together. The word Kharreh خوره of Firdousi seems to be the corruption of the Pahlavi word Khoreh خوره. So the correct form of Kharreh-i-Ardeshir is Khoreh-i-Ardeshir (*i. e.* the splendour of Ardeshir). The word Khoreh is the Iranian equivalent of the Semetic word 'gadman' گدمان which also means 'splendour.' Thus the Kharreh-i-Ardeshir of Firdousi is the same as Artashir Gadman of our text.

It is the 'Ardeshir Khoreh' اردشیر خوره of Ebn Haukal,⁴⁰ Tabari⁴¹ attributes to Ardeshir Bâbegân, the foundation of a city called Djour. This Djour جور is the same as the Gour گور of our text which

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁴ Jaubert I., p. 393.

³⁵ Mémoires sur la Perse, par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 274, n. 4, Tabari I, p. 510, Mudjmel al Tavârikh and Hamdallah Kazvini quoted by Ousley. Travels II, p. 134.

³⁶ Ousley Travels I, p. 297; Edrisi I., p. 399; Yakout B. de Meynard, p. 293-4.

³⁷ Dictionnaire de la Géographie par B. de Meynard, pp. 293-94; Edrisi I. p. 399.

³⁸ II., p. 95.

³⁹ Mohl. V., p. 302, ll. 438, 444.

⁴⁰ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.

⁴¹ II., p. 71.

can also be read Djour. The *Kâr-nâmeh*⁴² of Ardeshir Bâbegân also refers to the foundation of this city, which it calls Artashir Gadman. According to that work Ardeshir founded it on his return to Pars after his victory over the Parthian king Ardavân and introduced therein water-works and irrigation. According to Istakhri,⁴³ it was at the place of this very town that Ardeshir had gained one of his victories over his enemy. According to Ibn el-Tagit⁴⁴ it was the Arabs who changed its name Gour to Djour. The modern name of it is Firouzâbâd. It was a governor of this city who changed its ancient name Gour to that of Firouzâbâd. The reason was this. Whenever that governor went to the town of Gour, the people said *ماک بگور رفت* *i.e.*, "the king has gone to Gour." Now the word Gour also means in Persian a grave. So the sentence also meant "the king has gone to his grave." They say that the governor did not like these unlucky words, and so changed the name Gour to Firouzâbâd. According to Edrisi the area of this city is the same as that of each of the other three cities enumerated above, *viz.*, Istakhar, Sapur, and Darabgard.

Touje.—It is the town of *توج* situated in the district of Istakhar.⁴⁵ It is near Kazerun. Some authors⁴⁶ include it in the district of Ardeshir Kharreh. The Pahlavi name of this town can also be read Tanpak. In that case it can be identified with *تنپوک* Tenbouk which, according to Edrisi,⁴⁷ is situated in the territories of Shâpour. Our treatise attributes its foundation to Homâe Cheherâzâdân, who is the queen Homâe of Firdousi. 'Cheherâzâd,' (*i. e.*, of noble face) is the epithet applied to her. Firdousi calls her 'Chehârâzâd' *چهارزاد* which is the corruption of the original 'Cheherâzâd.' Mirkhond⁴⁸ gives the correct form. According to Maçoudi⁴⁹ she was so called from the name of her mother who was called Cheherâzâd. From all these Oriental writers we know nothing of her founding the town of Toujé or Tenbouk. The only town she is said to have founded was *جربادگان*.⁵⁰

Oharmazd Arteshiran.—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Hormuz, the son of Shâpur and the grandson of Ardeshir

⁴² Dastur Kaikobad's Edition, p. 15.

⁴³ Dictionnaire de la Géographie, B. de Meynard, p. 174-75. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Edrisi I., pp. 391, 403, Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 106, 112, 132.

⁴⁶ Dict. de la Géogr., B. de Meynard, p. 143.

⁴⁷ I., p. 596. ⁴⁸ Bombay Edition of 1,266 Hijri, p. 190. ⁴⁹ II., p. 129.

⁵⁰ Mirkhond, Bomb. Edition, p. 190.

Bâbegân. But Firdousi,⁵¹ Tabari,⁵² and other authors⁵³ attribute it to Ardeshir Bâbegân himself. It is the modern town of Ahwâz.⁵⁴ The original name Oharmazd Artashir has been at times abridged and corrupted into Hormuz Shir, Hormuz Scheher, Houzmschir and Hormuz-Mirkhond,⁵⁵ like our author, attributes the foundation of this city of Hormuz to king Oharmazd.

Ram Oharmazd.—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Oharmazd, the grandson of Ardeshir Bâbegân. Mirkhond⁵⁶ and Maçoudi⁵⁷ also do the same. It is the Râm Hormuz of later writers. It is the contracted form of its original name Arâm-Hormuz آرام هرمزد *i.e.*, the place of rest of Hormazd.⁵⁸

Its founder Oharmazd is here called brave (tag). Mirkhond similarly calls him dalir دلیر *i.e.*, brave, and Maçoudi batal, بطل *i.e.*, a brave man.

Shusand Shuster.—We have already referred to these towns while speaking of Khvarzem.

Vandu-i-Shâpuhar and Airângird Shâpuhar.—These two cities are said to have been founded by Shapur, the son of Artashir, *i.e.*, Shapur I. According to Maçoudi⁵⁹ the Arabs knew this monarch as Sabour el Djunoud سابور الجنود. So the "Vandu" in the name of the city as given by our text seems to resemble Djunoud, the surname of Shapur. This Vandu-i-Shapuhar seems to be the same as the town of Chand-i-Shapur, whose foundation Tabari⁶⁰ attributes to Shapur I. It is the Djoundi Sabour جندی سابور of Yakout.⁶¹ According to Edrisi⁶² it is situated in the district of Ahwaz in the province of Khuzistân, about one day's march from Shuster.

Airângird Shâpuhar, the second city here referred to, as being founded by Shapur I., is the Shâpurgird of Firdousi.⁶³ It is situated in the district of Ahwaz. It is called Airangird Shâpuhar, perhaps to distinguish it from other towns founded by Shapur I. in the west, and which also bore his name. Our text says that it was also called

⁵¹ Muhl. V., p. 386, l. 644.

⁵² II., p. 74.

⁵³ Yakout Diet. de la Geogr. de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 58.

⁵⁴ *Ibid* and Tabari II, p. 74. Edrisi I., p. 364.

⁵⁵ Mémoires sur la Perse. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 293.

⁵⁶ Rauzat-us-Safa, Bombay Ed., p. 223.

⁵⁷ II., p. 166.

⁵⁸ Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 71.

⁵⁹ II., p. 164.

⁶⁰ II., p. 84. ⁶¹ Diet. de le Geog. B. de Meynard, p. 169. ⁶² I., p. 383.

⁶³ Muhl. V., p. 392, l. 58.

Farâwâd. We know nothing of this fact from other Oriental writers.

Nahar-Tira.—Our text does not mention who founded this city. It merely says that it was founded in the reign of the wicked Azidahâk (Zohâk) and it served as a prison for the country of Irân. It is the Nahar-Tiri (نهر تیری) of Ebn Haukal.⁶⁴ It is situated at the distance of one day's march from Ahwâz.⁶⁵ It is situated on a canal (نهر nehar) of a river called Tiri. Hence its name. According to Yakout⁶⁶ it was Ardeshir Bâbegân who had got this canal dug.

Simlan.—It is the town of Semiran⁶⁷ سمیران in the province of Kharreh-i-Ardesir, which also contains the town of Desht دشت⁶⁸ referred to in our text in connection with Simlân as Desht-i-Tazik. It is said to have been founded by king Faridun, who is said to have conquered the country of Simlân and to have given the town of Desht as a marriage-gift to the Arab king Bât-Khûsrô, whose three daughters he had taken in marriage with his three sons. This Arab king Bât-Khûsrô is the king Sarv سرو of Firdousi,⁶⁹ according to whom, he was the king of Yemen in Arabia. He is the Pât Khusrôb of Dinkard,⁷⁰ according to which, he was the grandson of an Arab king named Tâz. He is also referred to in the Pahalavi Vendidad.⁷¹ The marriage alluded to in our text, is also referred to by the Dinkard⁷² and by the Pahalavi treatise of Binâ-i-Farvardin Yum-i-Khordad.⁷³

Kharayast.—This city, which is said to have been founded by Shapur I., seems to be the town of Sabour Khvâst سابور خواست founded by Shâpur in the country between Khouzistan and Isphahân. It is at the distance of 22 farsakhs from Nehâvand.⁷⁴

Ashkar and Veh.—Ashkar is the Asker or Asker Mokrem عسكر مكرم in Khouzistan. It is also called لشکر Leshkar.⁷⁵ It is

⁶⁴ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 74, 77, 80.

⁶⁵ Edrisi I., pp. 379, 385. ⁶⁶ Dict. de la Geog. B. de Meynard, p. 576.

⁶⁷ Edrisi I., p. 398. Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.

⁶⁸ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88. ⁶⁹ Mohl. I., p. 120, ll. 68-70.

⁷⁰ S. B. E. vol. XLVII. West Dinkard, VIII., ch. I. 34.

⁷¹ Spiegel Pahalavi Vendidad, p. 221. Darmesteter's *Études Iraniennes*, Part II., p. 216.

⁷² S. B. E. XXXVII. West, Bk. VIII., Ch. XIII., 9.

⁷³ Dastur Jamaspji's text., p. 103, s. 14.

⁷⁴ Yakout B. de Meynard Dict. de la Géographie de la Perse, p. 293. Ousley's Geography, pp. 167-68.

⁷⁵ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 20, 73. Edrisi I., p. 379.

situated at some distance from Ahwaz on the banks of the river Muchircan⁷⁶ (المشرقان). Veh seems to be the town of Hey⁷⁷ also situated in Khouzistan.

Gaê.—It is the city of Ispahan said to have been founded by Alexander the Great.

Khajrân, Adjân and Kird.—These three cities are said to have been founded by Kobâd-i-Pirouzân, who was the father of the great Noshirwân. Tabari attributes to Kobâd the foundation of two cities Awdjân and Kazeroun. The Khajrân of our text, seems to be the Kazeroun of Tabari and the Adjân of our text the Awdjân of Tabari. According to Ebn Haukal it was Kobâd who had augmented Kazeroun to a considerable size.⁷⁸ The city of Kird seems to be the Gird گرد of Ebn Haukal⁷⁹ and Kird of Edrisi.⁸⁰ It is about 21 miles from Shiraz.

Askar.—There were two towns of the name of Askar, of one we have already spoken. This second Askar seems to be the Askar Nishapur of Ebn Haukal.

Atropâtakân.—It is the Atropatena of the Greek writers. According to Strabo⁸¹ it was a Persian General named Atropate, who had founded it. This Atropate is the Azerbâd of Yakout⁸² who gave the city his name. This Atropate of Strabo and Azerbâd of Yakout may be the same as Airân Gushasp who is spoken of in our text as the founder of Atropâtakân.

Ninav.—It is said to be founded by Ninav of Yuras. It is the well-known town of Nineveh said to be founded by Ninus.

Ganjé.—It is said to be founded by Afrasiâb. It is the town of Ganjé or Janzè گنج or چنزه in Azerbaizân.

Amui.—There is one thing mentioned by our text about this town which draws our special attention, because it is mentioned here for the first time and not mentioned in any other book. It is this that "Zoroaster was of this city" (*Zartusht-i-Spitâmán min sak madinâ yehvunt*). Amui is nowhere else mentioned in connection with Zoroaster. Then the question is in which part of Irân are we to look for this town as the city of Zoroaster?

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁷⁷ Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 77.

⁷⁸ Ousley's Travels I, p. 274.

⁷⁹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 89.

⁸⁰ *I.*, pp. 402, 421.

⁸¹ *XI. ch. XVIII.*

⁸² *Dict. B. de Meynard*, p. 15.

The question, which was the native place of Zoroaster, has been much discussed. Some said, and especially the classical writers, that he belonged to the East of Irân, to Bactria, and that he was a Bactrian sage. Others said, and among them there were almost all Oriental writers and some classical writers also, that he belonged to the West of Irân, to Media. All the references to this much discussed question have been very fully given by Prof. Jackson of America, who himself has also ably discussed the question in his recently published work, "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Irân." The consensus of opinion is: that Zoroaster belonged both to the East and to the West of Irân, to Bactria and to Media; that Bactria, where the then king of Irân, King Gushtâsp, ruled, was the place of his ministry, the place where he promulgated his religion under the protection and with the help of the ruler; and that Media was the place of his birth, his childhood, his inspiration. Again, according to the Pahalavi books, in Western Irân or Media there were two places, each of which claimed him as its own. These were the province of Âdarbaijân (Atropatene) in Media and the province of Ragha or Raê (Media Phagina) or Media Proper.

According to the Bundelesh,⁸³ Zoroaster was born on the banks of the river Dâraja درازجا. The words used in connection with this place, viz., "*Zaratûsht temman-zad*," i. e., "Zoroaster was born there," are quite clear, and leave no doubt that this place is referred to as his birth-place. This river Dâraja is the modern Daryai which flows from Mount Savalân in Âdarbaizân and meets the river Arras. This mountain Savalân is known by Kazvini as Sebilân, and is spoken of by him as the seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. I think that Savalân or Sebilan is another form of Ushidarena spoken of in the Avesta as the mountain seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. Thus we see that Atropatene in Western Irân was the birth-place of Zoroaster.

Then in the Pahalavi Vendidad⁸⁴ Ragha or Raê is mentioned as the place of Zoroaster. (Rak...mûn Raê imallunêt...Zartûsht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt, i. e., Ragha, which was called Raê.....Zoroaster was of that place). Here Zoroaster is not said to have been born at Ragha or Raê, but it is merely said that he belonged to that place. The above two statements, one according to the Bundelesh, and the other according to the Vendidad, viz., that Zoroaster was born in

⁸³ S. B. E. V. West, ch. XXIV., 15. Justi, p. 58, l. 7.

⁸⁴ Spiegel, p. 6.

Atropâtene, and that Zoroaster belonged to Raê, are easily explained by a passage in the Shaharastâni that "Zoroaster's father was of the region of Âdarbaijân; his mother whose name was Dughdo came from the city of Raê."⁸⁵ This fact then explains why two places in Western Irân claim Zoroaster as their own.

This brings us to the question of localizing the town of Amui, mentioned in our text, as the city of Zoroaster. The words used in our text on this point (*Zartusht min Zak madinâ, Yehvûnt*) are similar to those used in the Pahalavi Vendidâd about Raê (*Zartusht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt*), the only difference being that our text uses the word "madinâ," *i. e.*, "city" instead of "Zinâk," *i. e.*, "place," in the Vendidâd. This very fact of the similarity of the language induces us to look for Amui in the province of ancient Ragha or Raê. On looking thus we find in Tabaristan a place called Amouyeh which, according to B. de Meynard,⁸⁶ is the same as modern Amoul. Edrisi places it at the distance of five days' journey from the town of Raê.

One may be tempted to identify this town of Amui with the Amui آموي of Transoxonia (on the way from Samarcand to Balkh)⁸⁷, which is the same as the Amui of Firdousi.⁸⁸ But the above consideration of the similarity of the statements of our text and of the Pahalavi Vendidâd and of the fact that Zoroaster's close connection with it is specially referred to, makes us look for it in the west in the province of Ragha.

Again, there is one point which requires an explanation. It is that the foundation of this city is attributed to the "Zendak-i-pur-marg" (the sorcerer full of destruction). This may refer either to Ahriman himself⁸⁹ or to an evil-disposed person of Satanic characteristics. Its foundation is attributed to Ahriman because this town, where Zoroaster's mother lived, was inhabited by persons who, according to the Dinkard,⁹⁰ were hostile to her. On account of the divine splendour and glory that appeared on her countenance, they suspected her of witch-craft and per-

⁸⁵ Quoted by Prof. Jackson, in *Zoroaster the Prophet of Irân*, p. 192.

⁸⁶ *Dict. de la Géographie, de la Perse, &c.*, Table, p. 615.

⁸⁷ Ebn Haukal. Ousley's *Oriental Geography*, pp. 239, 242, 275.

⁸⁸ Mohl. IV., pp. 29, 75.

⁸⁹ In the Pahalavi "Gajastak-i-Abâlis," Ahriman is called a Zendic Bartholomey's Ed., p. 1.

⁹⁰ S. B. E. XLVII., West's Dinkard, p. 20.

secuted her and her family to such an extent that her father was compelled to send her away to another district (Atropatene) where Poûrûshasp, the father of Zoroaster, lived. There she was married to Poûrûshasp and became the mother of the prophet.

Bagdad.—We have already spoken of this town in the beginning of this paper.

ART. XII.—*Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule.*—By the
Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

Read 16th February 1899.

The Hindu Financier whose opinions were so prominently referred to in one of the articles on Indian affairs published in a recent issue of the *London Times* reflected the views of his countrymen faithfully enough when he observed that "No Government has the right to close its Mints, or to say that the Currency of the country was either deficient or redundant. That was a question solely for the Bankers, Traders and Merchants to consider. If they do not require money they will not purchase Bullion to be coined. The duty of Government is merely to Assay all Bullion brought to the Mints for Coinage and to return the value of the Bullion in Money." The Currency troubles of the past few years have drawn, in a way not known before, public attention to this function of Government in the regulation of Mints and the Coinage of the country, and the question naturally suggests itself how under Native Rule State Mints were established and controlled in this part of the country. The study of comparative History can never be turned to better account than when we seek present guidance from the lessons it teaches as to the way in which those who went before us practically dealt with the questions which confront us at the present time. Admittedly there are no materials at present readily available by the help of which such comparisons might be made, and the present paper is intended to bring together the information that can be collected from widely scattered sources as regards the History of the Mints under Mahratta Rule during the past two centuries. The materials are not very ample, but scanty as they are, an attempt to bring them together cannot fail to be instructive.

It may be remarked at the outset that though the Sacred Institutes regard the power to coin Money as a very valuable prerogative of Royalty, the most powerful Hindu Rulers to the South of the Narmada have always shown a marked tendency not to set much store upon this emblem of their Power. The Policy of one Mint and one coin current all over the Realm, with which we have become so familiar in the present century did not find much practical recog-

tion in this or any other part of India. Mr. Macleod in his work on "Indian Currency" mentions that when British Rule commenced, there were no less than nine hundred and ninety-four (994) different Coins of Gold and Silver current in India. In an official Table published for the guidance of the Civil Courts in the Bombay Presidency the names of no less than thirty-eight (38) Gold coins and over one hundred and twenty-seven (127) Silver coins are mentioned as still so far current in different parts of this Presidency as to make it worth while to give the relative intrinsic values of these Local Currencies in exchange for the Queen's coin. Krishnajeo Anant Sabhásad, the writer of one of the best Bakhars of Shivaji and his Times mentions no less than (26) twenty-six different sorts of Hons or Gold coins of different values and weights current in Southern India in the seventeenth century. Some of these apparently bore the names of the Sovereigns of Vidayanagar, such as Shivaraya, Krishnaraya, Ramaraya, etc. But many more were called after the Places or Towns in which they were coined or issued. As the Vidayanagar Kingdom had ceased to exist after 1564, these Local Currencies must have been allowed to continue by their Mahomedan successors. The Local Currencies called after the names of the places as described by the Chronicler Sabhásad, were known as the Gooty Hon, the Adoni Hon, the Dharwad Hon, the Vellore Hon, the Tanjore Hon, and the Ramathapur Hon. The Mahomedan Rulers in the Deccan issued their own Gold and Silver coins such as the Shahi Rupees and the Páda Shahi Hons which latter are mentioned by Sabhásad. After the Mogul conquest of the Deccan, the Delhi Emperors continued the old system. Though as in Northern India, they issued their own Gold Mohurs, Akbari or Almagiri Mohurs and Silver Rupees, the old Local Currencies were not interfered with. The Government left these coins to find their own level in the Markets.

One result of this lax system was that various coins circulated at the same time exchanging for one another in proportion to their intrinsic value. One general feature, however, is noticeable distinguishing the coinage of Northern from Southern India. Macleod has remarked that in North India Silver Rupee coin circulated most widely and the Gold Mohur was only a supplementary coin. In Southern India the condition of things was reversed, especially to the South of the Krishna river. It was the Gold coin which enjoyed the largest circulation and the Silver Rupees were only subsidiary to it. This fact is best evidenced by the Sanad grants of cash allowances issued by

Shiwaji. The allowances granted were of so many Hons and not of Rupees as was the case in the later grants of the Peshwas. In the Karnatic the Government assessment was fixed, even under the Peshwa Rule, in so many Hons, and Hons were received in payment at the Treasuries. When Tippu's territory was partitioned among the three Powers in 1799, the revenues of the territories partitioned, were estimated in so many Lakhs of Hons. In the Maharashtra Country proper, the Rupee Coins of the Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi Kingdoms circulated widely in the seventeenth century when Shiwaji laid the foundations of the Mahratta Power.

As is known to all the students of Mahratta History, it was in 1664, after the death of his father, that Shiwaji first assumed the title of Raja and at the same time coined money in his own mint. This mint was established at Raigad in 1664, and Copper and Silver coins were issued from it. As regards the Copper coins, the inscription on one side was *Shree Raja Shiva* (श्रीराजशिव), and on the reverse *Chhatrapati* (छत्रपति) and the Pice was called Shivarayi Pice. One thing is most noteworthy about the Copper coin. It was current throughout the Mahratta Territory, and continued to be known for a century and a half as the Shivarayi coin, though the coins struck by Shahu and Ramaraja at Satara and by Sambhaji and his successors in Kolhapur bore the inscriptions of the names of these Rulers. The Shivarayi Pice was Ten Masas in weight, and double Pice or Dhabu Pice was also coined by weighing twenty-two Masas. There was no fraction below a Pice. The subsidiary coins below the Pice were the Cowries in extensive use still for small transactions. Rev. Mr. Abbot of this place had made a curious collection of these Chatrapati coins and he noticed a difference of letters in the inscriptions. The name Shiwa on the coins is variously spelt Shiva, Sheeva, Siva, Seeva (शिव, शीव, सिव, सीव). In the inscriptions Shree Raja Shiva Chhatrapati (श्री राजाशिवछत्रपति), also Pati is spelt Pati and Patee (पति and पती). He consulted me about these variations and from the inquiries made it was satisfactorily shewn that they indicated no difference in the locations of the Mints between the Konkan and the Deccan, and the variations, were simply due to the want of education of the Goldsmiths (Sonars) who were employed in stamping the inscriptions. Copper pieces with Persian inscriptions are still found, but for the most part the Shivarayi pice with no Persian inscriptions appears to have prevailed all over the country.

As regards the Silver rupee coined at Raigad, it is impossible to say what inscriptions it bore, as no specimens of Shiwaji's rupee coin are now available. The likelihood is that it bore Persian inscriptions because all the later coins issued under the authority of the Peshwas and the Great Mahratta chiefs bore such inscriptions. It seems to have been thought that Persian inscriptions bearing the names of the Delhi Emperors and the year of their reign in which the coins were issued, were essential to the currency of these rupee coins. This consideration influenced even the East India Company whose rupees issued before 1835 always bore Persian inscriptions. Even when Mahratta words were used, they were written at first in Persian characters. It was only in very late times that some Mahratta letters and figures appear on these coins. On the whole the Delhi Emperor's claims to having his name on the coins issued by the Mahratta Chiefs appear never to have been disputed. Shiwaji's seal, it is well known, bore a Sanskrit Sloka inscription, the latter half of which recited that it was the seal of Shiwaji, the son of Shahaji (शहासूनोरियं मुद्रा शिवराजस्य राजते). A slight change was made in the inscription after the coronation (शहासुतस्य मुद्रयं शिवराजस्य राजते). The civil arrangements made by Shiwaji during his life time were not maintained in proper order by his son Sambhaji, and they were entirely dislocated when Aurungzeb invaded the Deccan, and the Mahratta Armies had to abandon the Deccan and retreat to Jinjee in Southern India. On Shahu's return to power he set up a Mint at Satara from which Gold, Silver and Copper coins were issued. A Subsidiary Mint was opened at Rahimutpore for the coining of Copper pieces. On Shahu's return to Satara, Tarabai's party retired to Kolhapur and after some struggle an independent principality was founded at that place. The Kolhapur Rajas at first lived at Panalla, and Tarabai's son Sambhaji established a Mint at that place from which the Kolhapur or Panhalla Rupees also known as the Sambhu Rupees were coined. The Subordinate Jahagirdars of Bawada, Malkapore and Kagal also coined Rupees known after the names of those places. This Mint was subsequently removed to Kolhapur when the Rajas made it their Capital, and this Kolhapur Mint continued in working order till about 1850. The Panhalla and the other Rupees continued in circulation till 1860 when all the Local Currencies were withdrawn from circulation and sent to the Bank of Bombay to be coined into Queen's Rupees. Both the Mints at Satara and Panhalla issued small Silver pieces of eight, four and

two annas as occasion made it necessary. These Mints were not, in one sense, open to the public for coinage purposes. Anybody who brought Bullion to the Mints was not allowed to get coins in exchange. In practice, however, the Mints were set in motion by the large Sawakars who were creditors of the State. In return, for the sum borrowed from them, these creditors were allowed to get from the Mints new-coined Rupees with the usual deduction, and these Rupees were put into circulation by the State. The names of four such Sawakars are still remembered as having carried on a very lucrative business in this connection. The Thigales and Gulwanis of Kolhapur and the Angals and Rastes of Satara are still remembered by the Bankers of these places. And the Rupees coined at their instance often bore the names of the Sawakars. The Thigale Rupees or the Gulwani Rupees were well known coins in Kolhapur. As regards the Rastes, Malhar Bhikaji Raste, the brother-in-law of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, gave the name to Malhar Shahi Rupees struck at Bagalkot and later on the Rastes had a Mint at Wai.

After the death of Shahu, the Satara Mint was closed or rather transferred to Poona by the Peshwas. The first two Peshwas claimed only to be the Ministers of the Satara Rajas. In the time of the third Peshwa the seat of authority was transferred from Satara to Poona, and Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao gave a new development to the operations of the State Mints. He granted licenses to private persons to coin money under strict conditions in consideration of a small fee paid to the State. The first notice of such licensed Private Mints in the Peshwa's Daftar occurs in 1744 in which year one Balaji Bapuji of Nagotna was allowed a license for three years to coin copper pieces weighing 10 Masas, i. e., $10/12$ of a Tola each, and the fee for the license was settled at fifty for the first, seventy-five for the second, and one hundred rupees for the third year. A similar concession was granted to one Bahirawa Ram Datar of Rewadanda. Apparently the holders of both the licenses coined only Shivarayi pieces. Four years after, two Kasars of Mahuli in the Nasik District obtained a similar concession both for double and single pice pieces. The license was for three (3) years and the annual fee paid to Government was 125 Rupees. In the year 1760 it was brought to the notice of the Peshwas that the District Hereditary officers of Dharwar coined in their private Mints debased Mohurs, Hons or Rupees. Orders were issued for the stoppage of these private Mints and a Central Mint was ordered to be opened at Dharwar under the Superintend-

ence of one Pandurung Murar. He had the sole right to coin and issue Mohurs, Hons and Rupees paying to Government six pieces of each for every one thousand coined by him. The Hon was to be of three and half Masas in weight. The Mohur weighed equal to the Dehli Mohur in weight and the Rupee equal to the Arcot Rupee, *i. e.*, the English Rupee coined in Madras. Minute regulations were prescribed as to the payments of the charges to be incurred by him and the profits he was to receive. The Central Mint thus started in Dharwar in 1765 under the superintendence of Pandurung Morar led to the closure of twenty-one Mints which had been coining debased Hons and Rupees before the date of that order. These Mints were in the charge of the local Desais, and the names of the places given in the order shew how extensive was the tract of country served by these Mints. The Mints ordered to be closed were those of *Monoli, Lakshmishwar, Toragal, Athuni, Shahapur, Gokak, Kitur, Yadwad, Murgul, Navalgund, Bunkapur, Nargund, Ramdurg, Jamkhindi, Bagalkot and Chikodi*. It appears from the Peshwa's Daftar that in 1764 and 1765 the Delhi Mohur as also the Mohur struck at Surat was in value equal to $15\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees and the Aurungzeb Mohur $14\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees in value. The privilege granted to this Pandurung Murar included the whole territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and the Mint was located at Dharwar. Further regulations were made in connection with this Mint in 1765 and 1766. Pandurung Murar had power to call in the debased coin and issue new one of the standard weight of $3\frac{1}{2}$ masas for Hons, and one tola full weight for Rupees and Mohurs. The Hon was to be 10 Kas in touch and the Mohur to be 12 Kas in touch and equal to the Delhi Mohur in weight. For every 1000 pieces six were to be paid to the Government and one to be retained by Pandurung for his troubles. This was apparently the first serious attempt on the part of the Peshwa to check the evil of ill-regulated private Mints. To strengthen Pandurung's hands the revenue officers were ordered not to receive as Government dues any coins which did not bear the stamp of the New Mint. In 1765-66 a private license was granted to one Laxman Appaji to open a Mint at Nasik. The details of the license show that he was allowed one karkoon on 20 and two peons on 6 rupees each and 10 workmen of whom one was a blacksmith, 5 goldsmiths, 2 hammerers and a carver. The rupee was to be $11\frac{1}{4}$ masas in weight being half a masa less than the weight of silver that could be purchased for a rupee. This

deduction gave the licensee a profit of 45 rupees for every 1,000 coins struck and this covered the licensee's charges for manufacture and waste. In 1767-68, a license was given to two Sonars to open a Mint at Chinchwad near Poona. The rupee to be coined was directed not to be like the Surti rupee but to be like the Jayanagari or Fallohari rupees of full weight and pure silver. The stamp to be used should have the figures for the years altered annually, the Mohurs to be issued should be also like the old Aurangabadi Mohurs of full weight and fine gold of the Jayanagari stamp and the inscription for the year was to be altered annually. A similar concession was made to a Sonar at Talegaum Dábháde in 1766-67 and certain old licenses issued to Sonars at Pedgaum, Rashin, Talegaum Dhámdhere and Talegaum Induri were withdrawn. In 1768, two Sonars at Dharwar were allowed to open a Mint there with instructions that the Hon was to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ masas in weight, out of which $2\frac{3}{4}$ masas and $\frac{1}{2}$ gunja were to be pure gold of the Dehli stamp, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ gunjas were to be silver. The Mohur coins were to be of the Delhi standard gold, the weight being $\frac{3}{4}$ of a tola and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a masa and 1 gunja, the rest silver. And the rupee was to be of pure silver of the Delhi standard $11\frac{1}{4}$ masas in weight. In 1773, a karkun of Tukojirao Holkar obtained a license to open a Mint at Chandore under certain conditions. He was to bear his own charges out of the profits of the mints. He was to test the silver received from the traders, and then to cut it into pieces each weighing 11 masas and 1 gunja. He had to give security for the due observance of these conditions, and Tukojirao Holkar was directed to enforce the orders about the purity of silver. In 1782-83, one Dullabhashet Sonar and Govindshet were allowed to coin copper pieces in the Konkan. They had to pay a nazar of 1,200 rupees for the privilege which was conferred upon them for two years. The copper to be used was ordered to be brought from Bombay and not from Alibaug. The Shivarai pice was to be $9\frac{1}{4}$ masas in weight, and the double pice $18\frac{1}{2}$ masas in weight, and there was besides what is called Alamgiri pice which was to be $13\frac{3}{4}$ masas in weight. In 1800, the last Peshwa prohibited the use of Malkapuri rupees in Wai, Satara and Karad, on the ground that those rupees were debased. These are all the notices which appear in the Peshwa's rojanisi daftar about the regulations of the private Mints. They shew clearly how these operations were carried on in those days. Of course, besides these private Mints the Central Governments had their own State Mints under official supervision.

The private Mints were intended for the convenience of the remoter districts, communications in those days not being so easy as they are now, there was ample justification for the course adopted. In the Peshwa's own Mints Malharshahi rupees appear to have been the standard. They were called Malharshahi after Malharrao Bhicaji Raste as stated above. This Raste family was at first a great banking firm and Malharrow was the brother of Gopikabai, the wife of Balaji Bajirao. When the Karnatic was conquered from the Nabob of Savantr, the Rastes were appointed Subhedars and Malharrao opened a Mint at Bagalkot about 1753. There had been a Mint at Bagalkot established in the times of the Bijapur Kings, and the new Mint continued the operations. The Malharshahi rupee was under the two Madhawraos, the standard coin and the other coins were received at a discount in relation to it. In the reign of the last Peshwa Baji Rao the Chandwadi rupee took up the place of the Malharshahi, and was coined both at Poona and Satara. The Poona Mint was closed first in 1822 but had to be re-opened, and was finally closed in 1835, in which year the Bagalkot and the Shree Shikka rupees of Colaba and other Mints were also withdrawn from circulation. The Chandwadi rupee continued to be coined at Satara under the restored dynasty of the Satara Rajas, and the discount on it varied from two to three rupees in relation to the Company's rupees.

Besides the State Mint at Poona and the licensed Mints which have been noticed above, and which were at work in various parts of the Peshwa's dominions, the circumstances of the time and the difficulty of communication made it necessary that the rulers of each of the great Mahratta States in Guzerat, Central India, and the Central Provinces and the S. M. country should have their own Mints. The Gaikwad rulers in Guzerat had their own Mint in Baroda, and Sayashahi and Babashahi rupees are still current in those parts of the country, the Sayashahi being issued by the first Sayajirao Gaikwad and the Babashahi by Fattesing Gaikwad. The Sayashahi bore the inscription of a sword with *Sena Khaskhel Samsher Bahadur* (सेना खासखेलसमशेरबहादुर) written in Persian character. The Maharaja Scindia who ruled in Malwa had his Mint at Ujjain. The Maharaja Holkar had a separate Mint at Indore. The Bhosle Rajas of Nagpore coined their own money in their Mint at Nagpore. The Angrias of Kolaba struck their own Shree Shikka rupee so called because the inscriptions on the coin contained in Devanagri character, the letter Shree in the middle. The Pat-

wārdhan Chiefs of Sangli and Miraj had their own rupees which were distinguished by the Devanagari letters “गण” being the first letters of the name of their titular God Ganpatī, stamped in their inscriptions separate. These Patwārdhani rupees were called Hukkēri or Hallikēri rupees. After Sangli separated from Miraj, Miraj coined its own Miraji rupees and Sangli had its separate coinage which resembled the Hukkeri rupees. The Hukkeri rupees had about thirteen annas worth of silver in it, and the Shambhu coin of Kolhapur had the same weight of silver in it, while the Panhalli rupees had 9 to 11 annas worth of silver. The Malharshahi rupees contained the greatest weight of silver, the weight being 15 annas. The Chandwadi rupees which were most current in the central part of the Peshwa's dominions about the downfall of the rule of the last Peshwa were coined in Poona, and had in them about 14 annas of silver. The Ankushi rupee so-called on account of the Ankush or the Elephant-goat which it bore on the inscription was issued by the Rastes from their Mints at Wai. Haripant Phadake, the Peshwa's Commander-in-Chief, was allowed to issue a coin called Jaripataka rupee which was unlike other coins, a square piece and not round, and it bore the emblem of the Jaripataka banner of the Marathas. In the Khandeish and Nasik districts under the later Peshwas' rule this Jaripataka coin circulated as also the Chandwadi, Bellapuri, Chambhargondi and the Berhanpuri rupees. In Alibaug the Shree Shikka rupees of Kolaba were current, and in Rutnagiri the Chandwadi and the Hukkery rupees circulated.

The respective weights of some of the coins mentioned above together with the weight of pure silver in them and their intrinsic exchange value will be seen from the following statement prepared from the official notification :—

Alibaug ...	...	...	170	144	87½
Ankushi ...	...	...	172	160	97½
Baroda rupee ...	...	...	177½	150½	91
Baroda new ...	...	...	177	150¾	91½
Bombay rupee ...	...	...	180	165	100
Hukkeri rupee ...	...	...	172½	152	86
Halkeri new or Mirji ...	...	...	173¼	159	96
Old Panhalli ...	...	...	170½	108	65½
Shahapur ...	...	...	174	152	92
Old Surti (or Delhi Standard) ...	...	...	176¼	173½	105
Wai Shikka ...	...	...	171½	157½	95½

Barahanpuri	...	...	...	178.8	170.2	103.1
Sayashahi old	...	...	...	177½	149½	90½
Janjira Colaba	...	...	...	171.3	134.0	81.2

These scattered remarks about currencies and mints under Maratha rule can suggest few lessons for our guidance in the present day, as the circumstances of the times have changed so radically throughout British India. It is quite clear that a variety of currencies might have been necessary in those days when communication was difficult and authority decentralised. There are, however, decided indications that this variety was due to the lax system of Government which then prevailed. A more important lesson this history teaches us is, that the statement now so generally made that India was too poor a country for the circulation of gold coins is unsupported by the facts of the case, as they can be ascertained from the history of the Mints under Maratha rule. Gold coins were issued and freely circulated, though no attempt was made to regulate their value in relation to silver coins. The relative value of Gold and Silver was steady in the last century, and apparently stood at 15½ to 1, which proportion remarkably coincides with the ratio which our modern advocates of Gold currency would prefer to adopt. This coincidence is remarkable and it suggests that after all the new proposals are not so revolutionary as some people imagine them to be. Even the advocates of Silver currency might borrow a leaf from the administration of Mogul and Maratha rulers, and there is apparently no reason why, if the gold coins were in demand a 100 years ago, there should not be a similar natural demand for these coins in our present condition of greatly extended commercial and banking activity. We must leave this subject to be further developed by those who have made Indian Economics their special study. If their labours are in some way helped by the information here supplied, it will be all that I can claim by way of present interest for the otherwise dry subject to which I have ventured to draw the attention of the members of this Society.

ART. XIII.—*Description of a Hoard of 1,200 coins of the Kṣatrapa Kings of dates 203-376 A. D., found recently in Kāthiāwār.* By REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A., Rājkot.

[Read 10th March 1899.]

THE UPARKOT HOARD OF KṢATRAPA COINS.

N. B.—When a date is given without the letters A. D. it is to be understood as a date of the Kṣatrapa era, which began 78 A. D.

About two years ago excavations were being made among the ancient rock-cells and temples to the south of the Uparkot, the famous fortress of Junāgaḍh in Kathiawar, when in the floor in front of one of the cave temples a number of small holes were discovered cut into the rock and filled with earth. These holes were opened under the supervision of Mr. Bechardās Vihāridās, the Diwan Saheb of Junāgaḍh, and from several of the holes nearly 1,200 coins of the Kṣatrapa Kings were brought to light. A few holes were found empty. That the coins all belonged to the one hoard and were secreted at or about the same time does not seem to admit of doubt. The holes, one of which was kindly opened for my inspection by Mr. Bechardās, are about six inches in diameter and fifteen inches deep, cut out of the solid rock, which in this place is white sandstone.

This collection is, as far as I am aware, the largest and most important find of the coins of this dynasty that has yet been made, and an interesting point in connection with it is that there is strong internal evidence to indicate both the year in which the hoard was hidden and the reason for its having been so carefully put away.

Before the coins came into my hands they had already been roughly classified by Mr. Vallabhji Haridatt, the curator of the Watson Museum, Rājkot. He had, however, only arranged them according to the kings whose names they bear; and does not appear to have realised the importance of the fact that this hoard is exceptionally rich in dated coins. It was therefore my first business, in going over the collection, to separate the dated from the undated specimens of each king, and I was delighted to discover in several instances dates which are new to us, and which modify the history of the Kṣatrapa period as given in the most recent authority—Vol. I. of the Bombay Gazetteer.

Let me state at the outset that this hoard does not supply us with any specimens of the coins of the earliest Kṣatrapa kings, nor does it contain any coins of kings other than those already known to us. It would seem highly probable that we are now in possession of a complete list of the kings of this dynasty. Indeed, I hope to show good reason for making the list shorter by striking out one of the names given in the table in the Gazetteer: for this Uparkoṭ hoard among other facts proves that the twenty-second king Yaśadāman did not cease to reign in 240 as has been supposed, but continued to issue coins up to the year 254, and so there is no room for the so called twenty-third king, Damasiri, who is set down as reigning in 242 on the evidence of one "doubtful" coin.

The hoard contains three coins of the mysterious Mahākṣatrapa Iśwaradatta, who is like Melchisedek in being "without father, and without descent." All three coins belong to his first year, and we are still as far as ever from knowing where that year is to be placed.

I have prepared a table, which will be found at the end of this paper, showing the names of the kings whose coins have been found in this hoard, with the number of coins, dated and undated, belonging to each. From this it will be seen that there were 1,144 coins in the collection when it was brought to me for classification. I understand that about 40 or 50 coins had been given away to visitors to Junāgaḍh who were anxious to possess specimens, and we can only hope that no very important coins have disappeared in that way.

A comparison of our table with the list of coins formerly in the possession of the late Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji and now in the British Museum, as given in Mr. Rapson's article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1890, shows at once the great importance of the present find. Thus the British Museum possesses but 8 dated specimens of the nineteenth Kṣatrapa, Bhartṛdāman's coins, whilst here we have no less than 59 specimens with dates. The Museum has only 2 dated specimens of Viśvasena's coins, but here there are 56 with dates more or less clear. Of Rudrasimha's coins the Museum only possesses 4 dated specimens; here we have 30. Of Yaśadāman's coins we have 40 with dates, whereas the Museum has only 3; and we have no less than 90 dated specimens of the last king on our list, Rudrasena III., whilst the Museum has only 15 with dates. In fact we possess far more dated than undated specimens of the coins of the last mentioned king.

Before entering on a detailed description of the coins it may be

well to point out briefly the two principal facts which their examination has brought to light. In the first place, I had not proceeded very far with the investigation till I had formed a theory as to the probable time and occasion when the hoard was buried : and as fact after fact, coin after coin, came to light in support of this theory, and no opposing fact was discovered, I concluded that the theory may be regarded as reasonably established. My conclusion is that the coins must have been concealed on the outbreak of a revolution which seems to have begun about the year 352 A. D. ; and the facts in support of this conclusion are as follow :—

1. The 24th king, Rudrasena III., has left his name and title on coins of two different styles. Hitherto only two coins of the first class were known with the date 270 (A. D. 348); many coins of the second period have been found, and they are dated from 288 to 298 (A. D. 366-376). The long interval of 18 years, and the notable difference in the style of the coins led to the conclusion that some great political change must have taken place in the interval, and that the king was probably driven out of the country. Now we have in this collection 90 coins dated in the years, 270, 271, 272 and 273. (See Plate, coin 11.)

2. We have no coins of any later king or of Rudrasena's second period.

3. The coins of this king, and especially those of his later years are in remarkably good condition, have in fact the appearance of being fresh from the mint, and of having never been in circulation. I hold that these facts justify the conclusion stated above.

The second important fact to which I wish to draw attention is connected with another conjectured revolution, and with the supposed 23rd Kṣatrapa, Damasiri, referred to above.

Damasiri owes his place in the list of the dynasty given in the Gazetteer to two alleged facts, (a) a coin of his, dated "apparently 242," (b) the fact that no coin of his predecessor, Yaśadāman, was known of a later date than 240. I venture to question the reading of the single coin on which Damasiri's claim has been based, and I do so because our present hoard supplies us with about 40 coins of Yaśadāman with dates between 240 and 243 ; several dated 244 and upwards ; and one each of the dates 252, 253 and 254. (Plate, coins 9, 10). I hold that these coins effectually put an end to Damasiri's claim, and I have no doubt that an examination of the coin supposed to be his will prove it to be of some other date, and

[There are no specimens of the twelfth king's coins, which according to the Gazetteer are very rare: only five specimens having been recorded. To these must now be added three specimens in the Watson Museum, Rajkot, one of which is unique, as it styles the king Mahākṣatrapa.]

XIII.—The thirteenth Kṣatrapa Viradāman (A. D. 236-238) is represented by ten coins, of which four or five bear traces of dates, but none quite clear. Like those of the eleventh king these coins have clear and well-formed characters in the inscriptions.

XV.—Vijayasena, the fifteenth king (A. D. 238-250) is represented by 36 coins, in one of which he is styled simple Kṣatrapa, whilst he is Mahākṣatrapa on all the others. There were only two specimens of this king's "Kṣatrapa" coins known previously, one of which is in the British Museum. [Two other specimens are in the Watson Museum.] Our "Kṣatrapa" coin is not clearly dated, but it is evidently not in the seventies and seems to be 160.

Twenty-six of the other coins have dates more or less clear from 160 to 171 or possibly 172. [That Vijayasena reigned till 172 is certain as I possess a coin of his which is clearly of that date. The reign should therefore be a year longer than is given in the Gazetteer.] Several of Vijayasena's coins have the legend very finely cut, and they appear to have a fuller Greek inscription on the obverse than usual. By comparing several I made out the following: $\text{ΙΙΒΗΘΙΚΒΛ} \Sigma \Sigma \text{ΙΒΟ}$.

XVI.—There are nine coins of the sixteenth Kṣatrapa, Dāmajadaśri III. who reigned A. D. 251-255. This king's coins are, according to the Gazetteer, "comparatively uncommon." There were only seven in Pandit Bhagwānlāl's collection, of which three had dates, 174, 175 and 176. Our hoard has one coin dated 174, and three which may be 176 or 177.

XVII.—From the seventeenth king onwards we have large numbers of each king's coins. Thus of this king, Rudrasena II. (A. D. 256-272) we have no less than 109 specimens, and of these 42 have traces, more or less clear, of dates. They do not however teach us anything new, as none of them are dated earlier than 181 or later than 185.

XVIII.—Of the coinage of the eighteenth king, Viśvasimha (A. D. 272-278) there are 51 specimens: but as has been remarked about the coins of this king hitherto discovered they are carelessly struck with a bad die and on most coins the legend is very incomplete. One coin appears to be of date 200, and three or four appear to be of date 198.

XIX.—There are 207 coins of the nineteenth Kṣatrapa, Bhartṛdāman (A. D. 278-295), and to these might be added a score or two of the coins which have been set aside as illegible from having very incomplete legends, for this king's coins are often to be recognised even where the legend is obliterated. Bhartṛdāman's coins are frequently of noticeably bad workmanship, and the bust of the king is a great contrast to that of any of the kings who preceded him. Yet this statement needs to be somewhat qualified, for there are many of Bhartṛdāman's coins in this hoard which are of superior workmanship, having the bust almost if not quite as well executed as on other kings, coins (Plate, coins 1, 2). All the coins in which the king is styled simple "Kṣatrapa" are of the superior style. There are 18 such coins, of which five have traces of the date 201. I divided the rest of the coins not only into dated and undated, but into two classes in each case, according as they were of the well executed or of the coarse type. Among the undated coins I found that 74 are of good workmanship, and have the good looking bust which is found on the earlier Kṣatrapa coins, whilst 54 are of the coarse style. It is very probable that many of the coins of the first type really belong to the earlier period, for the title is either cut away or so obliterated that it is now impossible to tell whether to read "Kṣatrapa" or "Mahākṣatrapa" but a number of them have the latter title clearly enough. Of 59 dated coins about 20 belong to the first style, and the rest are of coarse workmanship. The dates range from 201 to 217 (?). Hitherto no coin of this king was known of a

𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮=214.

date later than 214, but in this Uparkot hoard

𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮=217 (?).

there are several specimens of the year 217.

There is one coin with the date very clear but the figure is new to me. It is 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮 and probably stands for 215.

This king's name has been frequently read Atridāma, and the inscription on the majority of his coins could hardly be read otherwise, but on the very first specimen of his coins which I took up, when examining this collection, I found the legend gave the name Bhartṛdāman quite clearly.

XX.—Regarding the twentieth king, Viśvasena, son of Bhartṛdāman, (A. D. 295-304), the Gazetteer says that though his coins are fairly common, dated specimens are rare. Thus out of 25 in Dr. Bhagwānlāl's possession, only three bore traces of dates, and all three seem to be indistinct; "only three bear doubtful dates, one 218 and two 222." Now in the present hoard there are 179 specimens

of this king's coins, and of these no fewer than 56 bear traces of dates. About half of these may be set aside as doubtful, though I believe that if we had no better specimens to work on we should manage to read the Paṇḍit's dates on them with a tolerable degree of certainty ; but fortunately we have about 30 coins with legible dates, regarding which there can be no doubt. Most of these are of the years 217, 218, 219 : ten or eleven are of the dates 220 and 22 ; one is 224 or perhaps a year or two later. On the evidence of this last coin I should give Viśvasena a reign of at least two years longer than is given him in the Gazetteer. [There are two coins of Viśvasena in the Watson Museum whose dates I read 224 and 226.]

It is to be noted that Viśvasena's coins, like his father's, exist in two types, but the well executed coins bear a very small proportion to those of coarse construction. These latter are even worse than Bhartṛdāman's and are in fact the worst executed and the worst mutilated in the cutting of all the Kṣatrapa coins. (Plate, coins 4, 5).

XXI.—The twenty-first Kṣatrapa in the list of the dynasty as given in the Gazetteer, is Rudrasimha, son of Swāmi Jivadāman, and the earliest date hitherto known on his coins is 230. On this account and from the fact that Rudrasimha's father was not a king, but simply Swāmi Jivadāman, it has been conjectured that Chashtana's direct line ceased with the twentieth Kṣatrapa, and that Rudrasimha is the first of a new line who came to the throne after an interval of seven years. Dr. Bhagwānlāl possessed only 12 specimens of this king's coins, and of these only 5 had legible dates. We have in this Uparkoṭ hoard altogether 83 specimens of Rudrasimha's coins, and of these about 30 have dates that can be read with a fair degree of certainty. Most of these are of the year 230 and later years. None can be certainly identified as of 240 or any later year ; but *two are certainly earlier than 230*. Both clearly belong to the previous decade, one appearing to be 227 and the other 229. (Plate, coins 6, 7.)

Thus the interval between the 20th and 21st kings is still further lessened, and indeed it appears doubtful now whether there was any interval at all. It should be remarked that while almost all of this king's coins have the name of the king so badly printed that it seems to be Janadāman, there is here at least one coin in which the name is clearly Jivadāman. Again, a number of the coins have Chhatrapa instead of Kṣatrapa.

It is also worthy of remark that many of the coins of this king, as

well as of the two remaining kings whose coins are found in this collection, are new and unworn, apparently fresh from the mint.

The twenty-second king was Yaśadāman, the son of Rudrasimha, (A. D. 320). His coins have hitherto been very rare. Dr. Bhagwānlāl had only three of them, on two of which he read the date 239. We have in the present collection 117 specimens of this king's coins of which over 50 bear more or less clear traces of dates and the important point is that these dates cover quite a considerable period. Two are dated 239; thirty-five are dated 240; twelve have dates between 241 and 249; one is dated 252, another 253 and a third 254. (Plate, coins 8, 9, 10.)

The importance of these dates will appear when we turn to the account given in the Gazetteer. We read there that only the date 239 was known on this king's coins, and that a single coin of date apparently 242 is known of a king called Damasiri. On the strength of this testimony it was supposed that Yaśadāman reigned only one year, and was succeeded by a king called Damasiri who was reigning in 242. It is now evident that a mistake has been made. The alleged coin of Kṣatrapa Damasiri cannot be of the date supposed, as Yaśadāman was reigning in the year 242 and for at least 12 years afterwards. The Gazetteer does not inform us of the whereabouts of the coin in question, but I have little doubt that a more careful examination will show it to belong to one of the Dāmajaḍas.

Again the author of the Gazetteer account of the Kṣatrapas, in the absence of coins or other records for the years 240 to 270, has conjectured "some great political change" during these 30 years. We are now in a position to shorten this period considerably, for we have seen that Yaśadāman was still reigning in 254, so that the interregnum, or rather the period of which we have as yet no record, is now seen to be only 15 or 16 years.

XXIV.—The next king, and the last whose coins are found in this collection is Swāmi Rudrasena, the son of Swāmi Rudradāman (A. D. 348-376). Before proceeding to describe his coins it is necessary to draw attention to what is said about him in the Gazetteer. Two of his coins dated 270—and only two such—are on record; but "later coins of the same Kṣatrapa and of a different style are found in large numbers." These later coins are dated from 288 to 298. It is surmised that some political change must have taken place between 270 and 288; that Rudrasena was for the time overthrown, but that after 18 years of exile he again came to power. Now, on examining

this Uparkoṭ hoard, we find that there are no coins of any later king than Rudrasena, and not only so but there are no coins of Rudrasena's later period. There are 111 coins of Rudrasena's in the collection, and all belong to that first period of his reign of which only two specimens have hitherto been recorded. Out of 111 specimens no less than 90 have dates more or less clear. Sixty-five are dated 270 ; 25 are dated 271, 272 and 273. (Plate, coin 11.) Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition, fresh and unworn. From these facts, as I have shown above, we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden. Quite possibly its owner went into exile with the king or lost his life in the struggle which took place, and so never returned to unearth his treasure. We may suppose that 274 (A. D. 352) was the year in which the revolution took place, and in which the money was concealed. This would lead us to the conclusion that the coins lay hidden for 1545 years till they were dug up two years ago by Mr. Bechardās Vihāridās.

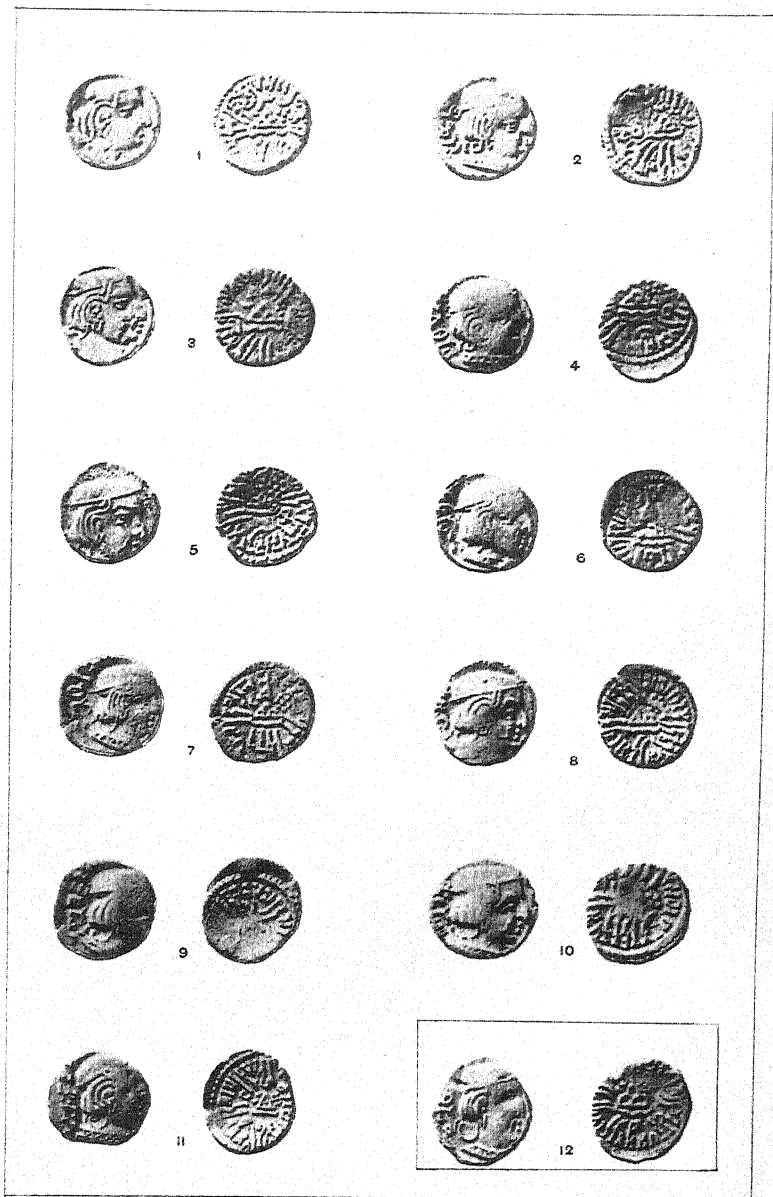
Note.—Besides the coins above described, there are between two and three hundred coins with illegible or very incomplete inscriptions—coins which cannot be classified. On 25 of these there are no legends at all, the obverse having a bust, and the reverse a blurred counter-impression of a bust. Others have the father's name alone legible and in some cases the king's name may be read, but which of the kings of the same name cannot be determined. A good many appear to be Bhartṛdāman's or his son's, but in the absence of the legend I have not thought it well to place them among coins which have the inscription clear.

[Coin No. 12 in the plate does not belong to the Uparkoṭ hoard, but has been given as a specimen of Swami Rudrasena's later coinage. (S. 288—300), for the purpose of comparison with his earlier coins, of which No. 11 (S. 273) is a fair specimen.]

TABLE

GIVING NAMES OF KINGS, THEIR DATES, AND THE NUMBER OF
THEIR COINS, DATED AND UNDATED, FOUND IN THE HOARD.

No. in Gazet- teer List.	Kṣatrapa or Mahā- kṣatrapa.	Name of King and Date.	Number of dated Coins.	No. of undated Coins.
VIII.	M.	Rudrasena I., A. D. 203—220...	6	1
XI.	M.	Dāmasena „ 226—236 ..	5	...
XIII.	K.	Viradāman „ 236—238...	4	6
XV.	K. and M.	Vijayasena „ 238—250...	26	10
XVI.	M.	Dāmajadaśri III. „ 250—255 ..	4	5
XVII.	M.	Rudrasena II. „ 256—272...	42	67
XVIII.	K.	Viśhvasiṃha „ 272—278...	6	45
XIX.	K. and M.	Bhartṛidāman „ 278—295	59	148
XX.	K.	Viśhvasena „ 295—304 .	56	123
XXI.	K.	Rudrasīṃha „ 305—311...	30	53
XXII.	K.	Yaśadāman II. „ 317—332 ..	40	68
XXIV.	M.	Rudrasena III. „ 348—376 ..	90	21
	M.	Is̥waradatta—First year „ ...	...	3
		Coins not fully legible :—		
		Rudrasena ... ..	...	24
		Rudrasenaputra ... ..	...	96
		Damasenaputra ... ..	...	7
		Falsely struck ... ..	...	27
		Quite illegible ... ..	...	72



COINS OF THE WESTERN KṢA-TRAPA.

ART. XIV.—*A New Copper-plate Grant from Broach District.*
By A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

[Read 10th March 1899.]

THE two plates which are the subject of this paper were forwarded by the Collector of Broach to the Secretary of the Society, who handed them over to me for examination. They were found in November last buried about two feet below the surface of a cart-track in the village of Sunev Kulla in the Hansot Mahal of the Broach district. Along with the plates were found (1) two flat pieces of iron 2 feet long and 2 inches wide, (2) two similar but smaller pieces, (3) a conch-shell, (4) a flat piece of stone such as is used in mixing spices, (5) a conical piece of stone resembling a "ling," (6) a small iron cylinder such as is used in making a cart-wheel. Both plates belong to the same grant and after a little cleaning are easy to read. The first plate is entire. The second has suffered damage (1) by the wrenching off of the seal, which has destroyed a few *aksharas* in the first line, and (2) by the breaking off of a piece of the left-hand edge, which has destroyed one *akshara* in line 4, two in line 5, two in line 6, and one in line 7. The missing syllables can however, nearly all be supplied by conjecture.

The two plates are equal in size, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The lower edge of the first plate was formerly attached to the upper edge of the second by two copper rings, one of which remains attached to each of the plates. The seal which was probably carried by the left-hand ring, has been wrenched off and is lost. The letters are deeply cut and in many places show through on the back of the plates.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and resemble in general form those of the earlier Valabhi inscriptions. The angularity of some forms is perhaps due less to archaism than to the unskilfulness of the engraver. Most of the letters have, however, one remarkable peculiarity, *viz.*, a distinct triangular head. The numerical symbols for 200, 90, 5 and 2 occur in line 13 of plate II. The language is Sanskrit, and, except in the parenthetical description of the grantees in lines 4 to 8 of plate I., is singularly free from grammatical errors. With the exception of the verses quoted from

the Mahābhārata in lines 7 to 11 of plate II., the inscription is in prose throughout. The only notable orthographical peculiarity is the occurrence of the sign *jihvāmūṭiya* in line 3 of plate II. *upanaya* (kāryya).

The inscription records the grant, on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, in the year 292 of an unspecified era, of the village of Sōnavvā in the district "within the Narbadā," to five Brahmins of Broach to enable them to perform the five great sacrifices. The granter is the great feudatory and Mahārāja Saṃgama Simha.

There can, I think, be little doubt that the grant is dated in the Chedi, Kalachuri or Trāikūṭaka Era, whose first year falls in A. D. 249-50 (cf. Kielhorn in Ind. Ant. XVII., pp 215 ff.). The grant belongs palæographically to the first half of the 6th century A. D., and we know from the Pardi grant of Dabhasena of Sam. 207 (A. D. 455-6) and from the Sāṅkhēḍā grant of Nirihullaka (Ep. Ind. II. 21) that the Chedi Era was in use in this part of Gujarāt before the establishment of the Gurjara kingdom of Broach. We may therefore place the present grant of Saṃgama-Simha in the year 540-1 of Christian era. It is clear from the fact that Saṃgama-Simha bears the title of Mahāsāmanta, that he was not an independent ruler, but owed allegiance to some overlord. As he issued his grant from Broach, that place was probably his capital, but for the seat of his overlord's power we must look to the south or south-east. For Sōnavvā, the village granted, must be no other than Sunev, the place where the grant was found, which lies south of the Narbadā. The fact that the district in which the village stood was called "the district within (i.e., on this side of) the Narbadā," shows that it belonged to a kingdom whose seat also lay south of the Narbadā, though it included also territory to the north of that river. On the whole the most probable supposition appears to be that Saṃgamasimha was a feudatory of the Kalachuris whose era he used, and who were certainly recognised as supreme in the lower Narbadā valley about A. D. 580 when Nirihullaka made his grant (cf. Bhagwānlāl's Early History of Gujarat, p. 114).

The grantees, being mentioned as Brahmins of Broach, probably belonged to the Bhargav caste, who claim to be the original Brahmins of that town, and are still to be found to the number of about 1,500 souls in the Broach and Surat districts. Whether the gotras of Chāndōgya, Gālava, Lōkākshi, Lōhāyana and Dhondī are still represented among them I have not been able to ascertain. The

name Chândôgya properly belongs to the third Brâhmâṇa of the Sâma-vêda, and I do not know whether it occurs elsewhere as the name of a gôtra. Gâlava is the name of a grammarian quoted by Yâska and Pâṇini, and a Gâlavasmṛiti is quoted by Hemâdri and other later writers. At the Mysore Census of 1891, 34 Brahmans returned themselves as belonging to the Gâlavagotra (Mys. Rep. I. 303). Lôkâkshi, or, as the name is more usually written, Lângâkshi, is the reputed author of the Kâṭhaka Grihya-Sutra. The name Lôhâyana I have not traced elsewhere. The Dhônḍi Gôtra may take its name from the same patriarch as the Jambusar Brahmans gotra called Dâuṇḍakīya in the Khêḍâ grant of Vijayarâja (I. A. VII. 241) or Dâuṇḍakīya in the Khêḍâ grants of Dadda II (I. A. XIII. 81 ff.).

TEXT.

1. Om Svasti Bharukacchân Mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânudhyâtô mahâ sâmantha. 'Sṛi mahârâja. Saṅgama-sîha¹

2. Sarvvân êva svân râjasthânîy-ôparika- kumârâmâtya-vishaya patyârakshika-drâṁgika.

3. Kula-putraka-câṭa-bhaṭ-âdîms tad-âdêśakâriṇasca kuśalam anuvarṇya samanudarśa.

4. Yati Astu vô viditam yath-âsmâbhir antar-nnarmmadâ-vishay-ântargata-Sônnavâ-grâmô Bhâru.

5. Kacchaka-Chandôga² sa-gôtra Chandôgasa brahmacâri Brâhmaṇ-Ânanta-datta. Tathâ Gâlava.

6. Sagôtra-Chandôga-sa-brahmacâri-Prajâpatîsarma. T a t h â Lôkâkshi-sagôtr-âdhvaryu-sa-brahma-

7. câri-Sivadêva. Tathâ Lôhâyana-sagôtr-âdhvaryu-sa-brahma-âri-Bhâṇudêva. Tathâ Dhônḍi (?) sa

8. gôtra-bahvrica-sa-brahmacâri. Bhavarucibhyô bali-caru-vâis- vadêv âgnihôtra-havana-paṇca.

9. mahâ-yajña-kriyôtsarppan-ârttham â-candr-ârkk ârṇava-graha-nakshatra-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlinah

10. sôdraṅgas sôparikaras sa-bhûta-vâta-pratyâyôcâṭa-bhaṭa-prâvēsyôbhûmi-cchidra-nyâyêna.

11. putra-pôtr¹-ânvaya-bhogyô mâtâ-pitrôr âtmanaśca puṇya-vaśô-vâptayê dya puṇyatamâm

12. mahâ-kârttiki²-tithim atî-katya³ udak-âtisarggêṇa pratipâtîtô yata êshâm brâhmaṇânâm

¹ Read sîmah.

² Read Chândôgya.

¹ Read pâutra.

² Read Kârttiki.

³ Read adhikṛitya.

Plate II.

1. ucitayā brahma- . [.] ra-sthityā bhmajātām
krishatām karishayatām⁴ pradiśatām ca na kēnacit⁵
2. nishēdhē varttatavyam⁶ Tadgrāma-nivāsibhirapyamishām
vidhēyāir bhūtvā samucita-
3. -mēya-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanaya) kāryyaḥ-Bhavishyad-
rājabbhis c-āsmad-vamśyāir anyāir-vvā sū-
4. [-mā]nyam bhūmi-dāna-punya-phalam abhivāñchadbhir
vvibhavan-abhāv-ānubandhān-āyur-vvivyōgā-
5. [nushthi] tam guṇānś ca dīrggha-kālānugunān viganayya
dānam ca guṇavatām avadātām iti.
6. [pramā] nī-kṛitya śasikara-śuci-ruciram cirāya yaśas cicīshubhir
ayam asmad-dāyō numantavyaḥ
7. [pratipā] layitavyaś cēti || Uktām ca bhagavatā Vyāsēna |
shashtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati
8. bhūmidah Ācchettā c-ānumantā ca tānyēva narakē vaset |
bahubhir vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbhis Sa.
9. gar-ādibhiḥ yasya yadā yadā bhūmir tasya tadā phalam |
pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō ya.
10. -tnād raksha Yudhishthira mahīm mahimatām śrēshthā
dānāc chrēyō nupālanam || Vindhyātavishv atō.
11. yāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ kṛishṇāhayō bhijāyantē pūrvva-
dāyān haranti yē ||
12. mahā-pratīhāra-Gōpāhyaka-prāpit-ājñāya sādhivigrahika-
Rēvāhyaka-dūtakah
13. Likhitam Vishṇu¹-shēpēn-eti || Sam 200 90 2 Kārttika
śu 5 (?) na.

Translation.

1. Om Hail ! From Bharukaccha, Śrī Mahārāja Saṅgama-Sinḥa
the Mahāsāmanta, who meditates upon the feet of his father and
mother,
- 2-3. Having given greeting⁷ to all his officers, husbandmen,
princes, ministers, heads of districts, guards, heads of towns, noble-
men, regular and irregular troops and their subordinates, proclaims :—
4. Be it known to you that the village of Sōnavvā in the Antar-
narmadā District (has been given to the following).

⁴ Read Karshayatār.

⁶ Read varttitavyam.

⁵ Read kēnacit.

¹ Read Vishṇu.

5-8. The Brahman Anantadatta of Broach, of the Chandoga *gôtra*, singer of the *Sâma-vêda* and ascetic : and Prajâpatiśarman of the Gâlava *gôtra*, singer of the *Sâma-vêda* and ascetic : and Śivadêva of the Lokâkshi *gôtra* student of the Yajurvêda and ascetic : and Bhâṇudêva of the Lohâyana *gotra*, student of the Yajurvêda and ascetic : and Bhavaruci of the Dhoṇḍi (?) *gôtra*, reciter of the Rig-Vêda and ascetic.

8-9. (To these) for the performance of the rules of the five great sacrifices—the *bali*, the oblation to the *manes*, the *vidîsvadêva*, the *agnihotra* and the *kavana* (a gift) coeval with the existence of the moon, sun, ocean, planets, and constellations.

10. Together with the *udraiga* and the *uparikara* and the revenue from *bhûta* and *vâta*, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, according to the rule of *bhumichidra*.

11-12. And to be enjoyed hereditarily, (the aforesaid village) has been bestowed with outpouring of water, for the attainment of merit and fame by our parents and ourself, upon this day under the most holy *Mahâkârttikîtihi*.

II—1-2. So that no one shall interfere with these Brahmans in their enjoyment, tillage by themselves or by servants, or letting (of the village lands) according to the due terms of a gift to Brahmans.

2-3. The people of the village also should be compliant to them and should bring them their proper dues, measured (grain), money, &c.

3-7. And future kings, whether those of our race or others, should assent to and preserve this our grant, desiring to share in the merit that results from land-grants, and wishing to lay up a store of fame pure and sweet as a ray of moonlight, on the authority of the words "calculating that riches are associated with non-existence, that life is attended by separation, but virtues and gifts to the virtuous are durable."

7-8. And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa : "The giver of land revels in heaven for sixty thousand years, (but) the interrupter (of a gift) and his abettor lives so many years in hell.

8-9. "The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with Sagara. Whosoever the earth is at any time, his also is the fruit (of a land-grant).

9-10. "Oh Yudhishtîra, carefully maintain former grants of land to Brahman (for), oh best of kings, the maintenance is better than the gift.

10-11. "Those who resume old grants are born as black snakes living in the hollows of withered trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya."

12. By command obtained through Gopāhyaka the great chamberlain. The *dūtaka* is Rêvāhyaka the minister of peace and war.

13. Written by Vishṇuśeṇa. The year 292. The bright halt of Kârttika 5.

ART. XV.—*The Etymology of a few towns of Central and Western Asia as given by Eastern writers.* By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODY, Esq., B.A.

[Read 24th March 1899.]

In my last paper before the Society I gave a short account of a few cities of ancient Irân, as presented by the recently published Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân. In this paper I propose giving the etymology of the names of some of these cities. I will divide the subject of my paper into two parts. Firstly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has not been given up to now. Secondly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has been given by oriental writers and will examine how far that etymology is correct.

Ctesiphon.—No oriental writer gives the derivation of its name. I think the Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân helps us to derive its name. It says, that it was founded by "Tus-i-Râvak-i-Sifkân," i.e., by Tûs the ruler of Sifkân. I think, then, that its name is derived from the name of its founder Tus-i-Sifkân, i.e., Tus of Sifkân. Ctesiphon is another form of Tus-i-Sifkân. The fact that this city must have received its name from one Tus is supported by the statement of Hamzah¹ that the original name of this city was Tusfoun طوسفون.

Babylon.—It is the Bawri of the Avesta,² Babyrus of the cuneiform inscriptions³ and Bâbil بابل of the Persian writers. The Avesta connects Azidahâka (Zohâk) with this town. The grand Bundeshesh⁴ says that Azi Dahâk had built a palace in Babylon which was known as Kûlâng Dushit, which is the "Kvirinta dushita" of the Avesta,⁵ Kulang Dis of Hamz Isphahâni, Gang Dîzh-hukht of Firdousi.⁶ These references and other references by oriental writers lead to show that Babylon (Bawri) was founded by Azi-Dahâk. Maçoudi⁷ attributes its foundation to Nimrod. But according to Malcolm, oriental writers identify Nimrod with Zohâk. Ebn Haukal,⁸

¹ Dictionnaire de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 400.

² Yt. V., 29.

³ Behistun Inscription I., 6.

⁴ Darmesteter Le Zend Avesta II., p. 584. Études Iraniennes II., 210-213.

⁵ Yt. XV., 19.

⁶ Mohl. I., p. 96. Vide my Dictionary of Avestic proper names, p. 63.

⁷ Maçoudi per B. de Meynard I., p. 78.

⁸ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 70.

and Edrisi⁹ also attribute the foundation of Babylon (Bâbil) to Zohâk.

Now, according to the Bundelesh,¹⁰ and the Shâhnameh¹¹ Azi-Dahâk or Zohâk was also known as Bivaras, because, as Firdousi says, he was the master of 10,000 (bivar Av. baêwar') horses (asp). I think, then, that Bawri, the original form of the later name Bâbil, derived its name from the name of its founder Baêvaré or Bivar-asp. The second part (asp) of the compound word is dropped. We find another instance of this kind of dropping of the latter part, in the name of Tahmuras. The original name is Takhma-urupa, but in the Farvardin Yesht we find the name in its simpler form Takhma, the latter part *urupa* being dropped. In the same way we find the name Yima Khshaéta (Jamshed) shortened into Yima (Jam. Afrin-i-Haft Ameshâspand). At times instead of the second part of a compound name the first is dropped, and we find an instance of this kind in the name of this very Azi-Dahâka which we find in some places simply Dahâk, the first part 'Azi' being dropped.

Bost.—It is the Abeste of Pliny.¹² It is one of the principal cities of the province of Seistân. Oriental writers neither derive its name nor give the name of its founder. But we learn from the Pahalavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân¹³ that it was founded by Bastur, the son of Zarir, who was the brother of king Vishtâsp. It appears then, that the city has derived its name from its founder Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta.¹⁴

Zarenj.—It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy. The word زرنج Zerenj can also be read 'Zarang,' the name which Ptolemy gives. It is the Zarinje زرنج of Ebn Haukal¹⁵ and Edrisi¹⁶ according to whom it was the largest city in Seistan. According to Tabari¹⁷ it was the capital of Seistân. According to Kinneir, Zarenj is the same place as Dooshak, the modern capital of Seistân. He says "the situation and description of Dooshak led me to suspect that it can be no other than Zarang, the old name having been lost in the constant revolutions

⁹ Edrisi par Jaubert, II. pp. 160-161.

¹⁰ S. B. E. V West, XXIX., 2; Justî, p. 69, l. 19.

¹¹ Mohl. I., p. 56.

¹² D'Anville's Ancient Geography II., p. 64; Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190, note

¹³ Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22. My translation, p. 91.

¹⁴ Yt. XIII., 103.

¹⁵ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 203, 207.

¹⁶ Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 442.

¹⁷ Tabari par Zotenberg III., p. 517.

to which this unhappy province has been subject for more than a century.”¹⁸ Kinneir seems to think that Dooshak is the modern name and Zarang the older name of the city. But the fact is that Dooshak is the older name which seems to have been forgotten for some time. Zarang was a later name which again was displaced by the older name Dooshak. What seems to have happened in the case of Syria appears to have happened in the case of this city. Syria is the old name of the country. Then after the Mahomedan conquest it began to be known by the name of Shâm among oriental writers, and now again it is generally known by its old name of Syria.

[illegible]

Firstly, as said above, according to the Vendidad, Duzaka was the capital of Vaêkereta and according to Tabari, Edrisi and Ebn Haukal, Zarenj is the capital of Seistân, and we know that Vaêkereta is identified with Seistân. (a) The very fact that the meaning of their names is the same, supports their identification. 'Vaêkereta' means divided or cut into two halves. Now another common name of Seistân is Nimruz,²⁰ which means half a day. According to Kinneir²¹ "tradition reports that this province was once entirely under water, but, having been drained, in the short space of half a day, by the genii, it hence received the name of Nimruz." (b) Again tradition also supports the identification of Seistân with Vaêkereta. As this tradition invests Seistân with the presence of genii, so the Vendidad invested Vaêkereta with the presence of a fairy known as Khnâthaity. (c) Again the geographical fact, that just as the Vendidad speaks of Duzaka as the capital of Vaêkereta, the modern maps point a town named Deoshaka in Seistân, further supports the identification of Vaêkereta and Seistân.

Secondly, the Pahalavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i-Îrân,²² says of Zarenj that King Manushcheher (Minocheher) took it from Frâsiâv and included it in the county of Pâtashkhvârgar. The Minokherad says

¹⁸ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 192.

¹⁹ Vendidad, ch. I., p. 10.

²⁰ Kinneir's Pers. Empire, p. 189. Shatroihā-i-Iran Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 21. My translation, p. 88. ²¹ *Ibid* note.

²¹ *Ibid* note.

²² Dastur Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22. My translation, p. 93.

the same thing about Duzaka "From the land of Padashkhvârgar into the beginning of Dûgako, such as Frâstiyâk had taken, by treaty he seized back from Frâstiyâk and brought it into the possession of the countries of Irân."²³

Thirdly, the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân²⁴ speaks of the foundation in Zarenj of a fire-temple named Karkoê. This temple is the same as that named Kerâkerkân by Maçoudi,²⁵ and said to be founded in Seistân.

Having stated these facts which lead to the identification of Duzaka and Zarenj, we now come to the main question of deriving the name Zarenj. I think the word Zarenj is derived from the very word Duzaka. In fact, it is another form of Duzaka. The word Duzaka may be written thus دزک . It is so written in the Minokherad.²⁶ It can be read Zarzak. The final ک in the word, if written in Zend characters and if written with a longer stroke towards the left, can be read د و . The word can be then read Zarzad. The final 'd,' و when written thus in Pahalavi, can be read either as g or j. So the word in that case can be read Zarzaj. The word, when written in Persian characters in the Mahomedan times, would be written زرزج . In the Shekasté style the letter ز z in Zarzaj is likely to be mistaken for و n, and so the word would subsequently be written زرنج and read Zarenj. Thus we see that the name Zaren can be derived from the old name of the city, viz., Duzaka.

Now there remains for us the question to consider why was the place called Duzaka.

The word Duzaka means 'bad or evil,' and the place seems to have been so called, because, according to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,²⁷ it was founded by Afrâsiâb, who was a wicked Turânian monarch and who was therefore always called Gazashtê or cursed in the Pahalavi books. He is said to have afterwards destroyed the city and also extinguished the sacred fire-temple there.

Again, as said above, the place was infested with fairies and genii. That fact also may have gained for the city the appellation of Duzaka.

²³ S. B. E. XXIV. West. Minokherad, ch. XXVII., 44.

²⁴ Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22. My translation, p. 93.

²⁵ Vol. IV. p. 73.

²⁶ Dastur Darab's Edition, ch. XXVII., 44.

²⁷ Dastur Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22, s. 38. My translation, p. 93.

Kerman.—Yakout says, on the authority of another author, that the city was called, from the name of its founder, Kermân, who was the son of Felawdj, son of Lobthi, son of Yafet, son of Noaha.²⁸

According to the *Tarikhé Guzideh*,²⁹ the city was so called from the name of one of its rulers named Bakhtê-Kerm **بخت کرم** who ruled there during the time of Ardeshir Babegân who conquered the city. This statement is more probable than that which derives the name from the name of the great great-grandson of Noaha. The Bakhtê-Kerm **بخت کرم** of the *Tarikhé-Guzideh* is the Haftân *Bokhtê-i-Kerm* **خوداء کرم** of the *Kârnâme*³⁰ of Ardeshir Babegân. He is often spoken of simply as Kerm **کرم**.³¹ This Haftân Bokhtê-i-Kerm is the Kerm Haftwâd **کرم هفتواد** of Firdousi.²²

His proper original name was Haftân Bokht in the *Kârnâme* and Haftwâd in the *Shâhnâme*. According to Firdousi,³³ he was called Haftwâd, because he had seven (haft) sons. The Pahalavi name Haftân Bôkht³⁴ may also mean seven sons. Kerm or Kerm-khodâe (lit., the lord or master of the worm) was the designation by which he was subsequently known. The following story from Firdousi's *Shahnâme* explains why he was called Kerm or Kerm-khodâe, a name from which the city of Kermân is said to have derived its name.

There lived in the city of Kajârân³⁵ **کجاران** in Pars a poor man named Haftwâd. He had a young daughter, who, with other girls of the city, daily went to an adjoining hill. They all passed their time there in good company and in spinning their cotton. One day, when they laid aside their spinning distaffs to have their dinner, the daughter of Heftwâd found an apple dropped from an adjoining tree. While eating it, she found a worm (**کرم** Kerm) in it. She carefully removed it with her finger and placed it in her distaff and went for her meals. On her return, she found that the worm had moved round about

²⁸ Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 483.

²⁹ *Ibid* note.

³⁰ Nöldeke. Geschichte des Artachsir Pâpakân, p. 49; *Karnâmê-i-Artakhshir-i-Pâpakân*, by Dastur Darâb, ch. VI., p. 1.

³¹ *Ibid*, ch. VI. 1, 8, 10. ³² Mohl, V., p. 308. ³³ Mohl, V., p. 308, l. 510.

³⁴ P. **بوخت** son. The word Haftawâd seems to be a contracted form of

Haftân Bokht **هفتان بوخت** can be read Haftâô-bavâd, which seems to have been contracted into Haftavâd.

³⁵ **کجاران** in the *Kârnâme*.—D. Darâb, VI., 1.

in her cotton and spun a good deal of it. So her task that day was made very easy, and she was able to spin that day twice as much cotton as she was able to do before. She was much pleased with it and said to her friends, "Thanks to God, by the good fortune of the worm,³⁶ I have been able to spin twice the usual quantity this day." The next day she carried double the quantity of cotton, and placed the worm in it. The spinning work was again finished very quickly. Every morning she gave a piece of apple to the worm, which increased daily in size and strength, and the quantity of cotton spun increased in proportion. The increase in the daily production of yarn made the family comparatively richer and more prosperous. Haftwâd took the worm to be a possession of good omen. He gradually became richer and richer. The ruler of the city, growing jealous of him, tried to extort money from him, but he opposed, and, collecting some force, killed the ruler and captured the city. He subsequently built a large fort on an adjoining hill, where he kept the worm, which, according to the story, had grown to an enormous size. Owing to the good luck and prosperity brought about by the worm, Haftwâd and all his followers began to worship the worm as a god. It was against this Haftwâd or Bakhtê-Kerm that Ardashir had waged his war.

This story then relates how Haftwâd had received the appellation of Kerm, an appellation from which the city founded by him had received the name of Kerman.

Gour, or Jour.—It is the old name of the modern town of Firouzâbâd. Its original name was Khorreh-i-Ardeshir according to Firdousi³⁷ or Ardeshir Gadman according to the *Karnâmeh*³⁸ and *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân*.³⁹ The word Khorreh خوره in the name Khorreh-i-Ardeshir is a corruption of Khorreh (Av. 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 Pahlavi P. خوره, or خُره) meaning splendour. Gadman is the semitic equivalent of Khoreh. Hence the Pahlavi name Ardeshir Gadman is an equivalent of the Persian Khorreh-i-Ardeshir. Now the

³⁶ با اختر کرم Ba akhtarê Kerm. Possibly the name Bokhtê-Kerm is a corruption of this phrase, which occurs several times in the episode. The poor man had become rich by the good fortune of the worm. So, possibly, he was named Ba-akhtarê-Kerm. Or his name can be directly derived from Bakhtê-Kerm, i. e., the fortune of the worm.

³⁷ Mohl. V., p. 302, ll. 438-444.

³⁸ Text D. Parab ch. IV., 17 Nöldeke *Geschichte des Artachsir Pâpakân*, p. 47.

³⁹ Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 22. My translation, p. 99.

city was so called from the name of Ardeshir, because this monarch was, according to the Kārnameh, invested with a certain halo, splendour or glory which was supposed to have accompanied him in his war with Ardwân or Artabanes. Now the name Jour, which according to Firdousi was another name of Ardeshir Khorreh, seems to be another form of Khoreh (splendour). Khoreh

خُره or خوره and Khur خور are one and the same. The word Khur has subsequently become کور Kur.⁴⁰ The word kur کور was subsequently read گور Gour and so the name of the town of Ardeshir Khorêh has subsequently become Gour. Perhaps the word خور Khur may have, by a mere change of points (nuktâs) become جور Jour. It is said that it was a governor named Adhed ed Dooleh, who had changed the name of the town into Firouzâbâd. This town had a bracing climate, and so he often went there for a change. The people then said ملک بگور رفت *malik ba Gour raft*, i.e., the King has gone to Gour. But the word Gour also means a grave, and so the words could at times be misunderstood for "the King has gone to his grave."⁴¹ So it was this ruler Adhed who changed the name for that of Firouzâbâd.

Ahwaz.—We learn from Yakout that it was formerly known as Hormuz. He says "El-Ahwâz, dit Abou-Zeid, était autrefois nommé Hormuz-schehr شهر هرمز Les Arabes l'appelèrent Sonq-er Ahwaz."⁴² Ibn Haukal also says, "Koureh Ahwaz is also called شهر هرمز Hormuz Shehr."⁴³ According to Mirkhond it was called Hormuz because it was founded by king Hormuz. "On dit que la ville d'Hormuz fut fondée par ce prince et qu'il lui donna son nom."⁴⁴ It appears then that the above named city of Hormus or Hormuz Schehr is the Hormuz-Artashir of the Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân.⁴⁵ It was so called because, as said there, it was founded by king Hormuz. He probably named it after his own and his illustrious grandfather's joint name. Hormuz Schehr was probably a contracted form of Hormuzd Artashir, or probably it retained only the first part

⁴⁰ Just as Khosrô has become Kaisar and Chosroe. We find from Ebn Haukal, that the name Korreh Ardeshir has latterly become Kureh Ardeshir (Ousley's Orient. Geog. pp. 87-89).

⁴¹ Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 174.

⁴² Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 58.

⁴³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 73, 74.

⁴⁴ Mémoires sur la Perse, S. de Sacy, p. 293.

⁴⁵ Dr. Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22. My translation, p. 103.

of the name (Hormuz) and the word Schehr was joined to it to signify city. Thus we see that Ahwaz is the later name of the city of Hormuz-Artashir or Hormuz Schehr or Hormuz. Edrisi also says that Ahwaz carried the name of Hormuz. "Hormuz qui porte aussile nom d'Ahwaz."⁴⁶ But it appears that Ahwaz is not only the later name of the city of Hormuz but that the name Ahwaz is derived from that of Hormuz. In the Shatroihi-i-Irân it is written thus 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 Auharmazd. That name can also be read Auhumazd. The letter m in Pahalavi is at times substituted or transmuted for the Avesta letter v (e. g. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 in Avesta and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 Zarmán in Pahalavi). So the last-read form Auhumazd may have become or been written Auhuvazd. The last d was then dropped and the name then became Auhuvuz and then Ahwaz.

Simlan or Semiran.—The Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân⁴⁷ gives the name of the city as Simlân which can be read Simrân also. It is the same as Semirân 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 of Ebn Haukal⁴⁸ and Edrisi.⁴⁹ It is situated in the province of Ardeshir Khorrêh. Now, according to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân it was founded by Faridun, who conquered it from the hands of its former king and presented it or a part of it named Desht, as a marriage gift to the Arab king Bât-Khusrob, whose three daughters he had taken in marriage for his three sons. This Bât-Khusrob is the king Sarv of the Shâhnâmeh.⁵⁰ The name Sarv is derived from the latter part (Srob) of the name Bât-Khusrob. It appears then that the city was named after this Arab king Sarv. It must have been originally named Sarvân just as we have Turân from the name of Tur. This word Sarvân would be written 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 Sarvân. By an interchange of letters Sarvân would be written Savrân 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥. The 𐭠 v in this word would be changed into m 𐭠 in Persian (e. g. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 into 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 or 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥) and the letter 𐭠 when passing into Persian may be read 𐭠 l (e. g. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥). So 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 would be written 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 Samlân. Thus we see that the

⁴⁶ Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 364.

⁴⁷ Dr. Jamaspji's Ed., p. 23. My translation, p. 108.

⁴⁸ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88. ⁴⁹ Edrisi par Jaubert I., pp. 398, 414

⁵⁰ Mohl I., p. 120 ll. 38-70.

name of the town Simlân or Simrân (Semiran) is derived from the name of the Arab king Sarv to whom it was presented as a marriage gift by king Faridun who had conquered it from its former rulers.

Askar.—It is the Askar (عسكر مكرم) of Ebn Haukal⁵¹ and Edrisi.⁵² It is a large beautiful city situated at some distance from Ahwas in Khozistân. According to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân⁵³ it was founded by Ardeshir of Asfandiâr (i.e., Bahman Asfandiar) and one Kharashk of Akar (سروش و سرو) who belonged to this city was appointed the governor (marzpân) of Jerusal (Jerusalem). I think that this Kharashk-i-Akar is the Kirousch (Cyrus) son of Aikoun of Tabari,⁵⁴ who represents him as going with the Persian King to take Jerusalem. The final *r* of the Pahalavi word Akar being written ¹ thus, as it is at times written, it can be read as *n*. So the Pahalavi name Akar can be read and identified with Aikoun of Tabari. Again, the Pahalavi name Kharashk may be the same as Kirousch of Tabari.

Again the allusion to the Kharashk of Akar in the Pahalavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân is similar to the allusion to Kirousch in Maçoudi.⁵⁵ According to that author, in the reign of Bahman of Asfandiâr, the Israelites returned to Jerusalem, and Korech the Persian, governed Irâk on behalf of Bahman. Thus we see, both from the Pahalavi treatise and from Maçoudi that it was one Kharashk who had ruled in Jerusalem on behalf of Bahman, who is said to have founded the town of Askar. Now it seems that as this Kharashk had done him some service, Bahman may have named the new town that he founded after his name. In that case we can attribute the difference in the forms of the two names—Askar and Kharashk—to a change of letters; the letter 'r,' which is second in the latter name, having changed place, occurs last in the former name. By a re-arrangement of letters سروش Kharashk would become سروش Khashkar, and the word then can also be read Ashkar.

⁵¹ Onsley's Orient. Geog. I., pp. 20, 73. ⁵² Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 379.

⁵³ Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 23. My translation, p. 111.

⁵⁴ Tabari par Zotenberg I. p. 500.

⁵⁵ Maçoudi, par B. de Meynard, II., pp. 127, 128. Maçoudi gives the name

کورش Korech, which resembles more the Kharashk سروش of the Pahalavi book.

Nineveh.—This city has received its name from its founder. According to the Pahalavi treatise of *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân*,⁵⁶ its original name is *Ninav*, and it was founded by one *Ninav*. This *Ninav* is the *Ninus*, to whom, according to *Kinneir*,⁵⁷ other writers ascribe its foundation. The Pahalavi book calls the founder *Ninav-i-Jurâshân* (or *Yurâshân*). Though, according to the Pahalavi book, the name of the town and that of the founder is *Ninav*, other writers have made the name *Nineveh*. I think that the reason of this change is that in the above mentioned name of the founder (*Ninav-i-Jurâshân*, *i. e.*, *Ninav* of *Jurash*), they have taken the 'i,' expressing the meaning 'of,' to be a part of the original name, because the genitive is again expressed by the last termination 'ân.' So they have taken *Ninav-i* (*Nineveh*) to be the proper noun. Now the Pahalavi book calls this founder *Jurâshân*, *i. e.*, "of *Jurâsh*." This name *Jurâshân* can be read *Junâshân*, if we take the 'r' to have been written l, in which way also it can be written. This *Junash*, then, is the Hebrew prophet *Jonas*, who had been ordered to go to *Nineveh*,⁵⁸ and whose sepulchre is said to have been in the city of *Nineveh*. The Pahalavi writer seems to have thought, that the founder *Ninav* belonged to the family of *Jonas*, whose tomb was in the town. *Maçoudi* also says that *Jonas* was of this city: "C'est à cette cité que Dieu envoya autre fois *Jonas* fils de *Mati*."⁵⁹ The *Mati* of *Maçoudi* is the *Amattai* of the Scriptures.

II.

Samarcand.—According to *Tabari*, *Samarcand* derived its name from *Schamr*, a general of an Arab king *Tobba 'Abu-Karib*, who conquered it: "Le général arriva à *Samarcand* . . . Il se rendit maître de la ville, la détruisit et tua un grand nombre d'habitants. Ensuite il la reconstruisit et la nomma, d'après lui, *Samarcand*, car auparavant elle avait porté un autre nom. *Samarcand* veut dire 'la ville de *Schamar*' car en langue pehlvie *qand* signifie 'une grande ville;' les Arabes en traduisant ce nom dans leur langue en ont fait *Samarqand*."⁶⁰

We do not find in the Pahalavi language the word 'qand' in the sense of a great city as mentioned by *Tabari*. Perhaps, the word is

كانت *kant*, from كان *kan* (traditionally read *Kantan*, now read *Kardan*,

⁵⁶ Dr. *Jamaspij's* Ed., p. 21. My Translation, p. 115.

⁵⁷ *Kinneir's Pers. Empire*, p. 239. ⁵⁸ *Jonah*, I, 1, 2; III., 2. *Maçoudi*, Vol.

⁵⁹ *B. de Meynard*, Vol II., p. 93.

[I., p. 111.

⁶⁰ *Tabari*, par *Zotenberg*, II. p. 32, Partie II., Ch. VI.

(کردن) *i.e.*, to do. Then the name Samarcand may mean "founded by Samar." We find instances of names similarly formed in Dārâbgird (*i.e.*, the city founded by Dārâb) and Shapurgird. On the analogy of these names the proper form of the name should be Samarkird. Or, possibly, the word *qand* is from Pahlavi *qand*, (*kandan*, to dig, to root out). In that case Samarcand may mean "(the city) dug out or excavated by Samar." In this sense it may rather refer to the fact of the old town being destroyed by Samar than to the fact of the new town being founded by him. It is possible that the inhabitants of the town, instead of commemorating the name of the conqueror with its construction, connected it with its destruction.

That it was so derived, and not as Tabari mentions it, appears from other authors, on whose authority Percival writes his history of the Arabs. He says,⁶¹ "Chammir-Yerâch . . . détruisit les murs et une partie des édifices de la capitale de la Soghdiane. Les gens du pays appellèrent alors cette ville ruinée Chammir-cand, c'est-à-dire, Chammir l'a détruite. Ce nom, un peu altéré par les Arabes, devint Samarcand. Chammir lui-même la restaura ensuite." Under any circumstances, the city derives its name from Samar. Maçoudi⁶² also derives its name from Samar.

Tabari gives the following story about its conquest by Samar. Samar had besieged the town for one year without success. One night, taking a quiet walk round the city, he took prisoner one of the guards on duty at one of the gates of the city. He asked him how it was that the city was so well defended. The guard said that the king himself was addicted to drinking and pleasures, but that he had a daughter who was very intelligent and that it was she who so well defended the city. On further inquiry, Samar learnt that she was not married. He thereupon sent her, as a present, a golden box full of pearls, rubies, and emeralds with the following message: "I have come from Yemen in your search, I want your hand in marriage. I have 4,000 golden boxes of the kind I send you. I am not anxious about the capture of this city. I will leave it to your father to rule. If a son will be born of our marriage, I will make him the king of

⁶¹ Essai sur L' Histoire des Arabes, par Percival, I., p. 80.

⁶² Maçoudi traduit par B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille, III., p. 224, Ch. XLVI.

Persia and China. If you will like, I will send the 4,000 boxes at night to your city." The guard carried that private message to the young princess, who was soon duped. She accepted the offer, and, according to a previous arrangement, opened one of the four gates of the city for the admission of the promised boxes, each of which, instead of the treasure, contained two armed men. The boxes were placed on 4,000 asses, each of which was conducted by an armed man. By this piece of treachery 12,000 armed men were admitted into the city at night. At a given signal they all rushed out of the boxes, opened the gates of the city, and Samar entered with all his troops. He killed the king and took his daughter a prisoner.

According to Tabari, this event had happened in the reign of Kobâd, the father of Noshirwân (A. D. 490-532). Percival places this Chammir or Samar in the middle of the first century.⁶³ Hamza and Nowayri⁶⁴ make him a contemporary of Gushtâsp, who had reigned a long time before Alexander the Great. If we at all attribute the name Samarcand to Samar, we must place his time long before that of Alexander, because, according to the Greek writers who have written about Alexander, this city was taken by him, and that it was then known as Maracanda, a name which is the same as Samarcand. That Samarcand was taken by Alexander the Great appears from the Pahalavi book *Shatrôihâ-i-Îrân*,⁶⁵ from Tabari,⁶⁶ and from Greek writers. The name Samarcand occurs only once in other Pahalavi works, and that in *Bundehesh*.⁶⁷ We do not find the name in the Avesta, though we find there the name of Sugdha⁶⁸ (Sogdiana), of which it is the capital. This shows that possibly the name came into use later, when it derived its name from Samar.

Balkh.—According to Ahmed Razi⁶⁹, Kazvini,⁷⁰ and Mirkhond,⁷¹ this city was originally founded by king Kaiomars. Mirkhond gives the following story, which gives the etymology of the name :— "Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him : who, at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found, on his arrival at Damâvend,

⁶³ *Le Histoire des Arabes*, I., p. 82.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Dastur Jamaspji's Text*, p. 18. *My Translation*, p. 55.

⁶⁶ *Tabari par Zotenberg*, I., p. 517.

⁶⁷ *S. B. E.*, Vol. V., West, Ch. XX., 20.

⁶⁸ *Vendidad*, I., 5.

⁶⁹ *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, par B. de Meynard, p. 112. n.

⁷⁰ *Unsley's Travels of Persia*, II., p. 372.

⁷¹ *Shea's Translation*, p. 58. *Bombay Edition*, p. 150.

that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiomars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed, 'Ho! who is this who directs his course towards us?' One of his sons answered, 'Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation.' On which Kaiomars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him: but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother, and said to his son, Bál Akh! (Arabic بئ assuredly, and أخ brother) (i. e., this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."⁷²

Now, the Avesta name of Balkh is supposed to be Bákhdhi 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀 (Bactria).⁷³ The Pahalavi rendering of this name is 𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈, which can be read either Bákhar or Bákhal⁷⁴ and which can be identified with Bokhârâ or Balkh.

We do not know why Bákhdhi is so called in the Avesta, and what its meaning is. But if we try to trace its origin to a compound of words meaning "brother assuredly," as Mirkhond has taken its later form Balkh to mean, one can form a compound Bâdha-akh 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀, which will be a compound of an Avesta word Bâdha 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀, meaning assuredly, and a Pahalavi word Akh 𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈, meaning brother. This word Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh can easily become Balakh, as the word *madhakha* has become *malakh*. Thus, the old name Bákhdhi may have been formed from the above name Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh by the interchange of 'dh' and 'kh,' such interchanges of letters being common.

But the objection to this is that the compound so formed is of an Avesta and a Pahlavi word. So one must look into the Avesta language itself for both the words. We find them in Brâtar

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Vendidad, I., p. 7.

⁷⁴ The word Balkh can be thus derived from Avesta Bákhdhi. The Avesta 'dhi' is changed into 'l' as in the case of *madhakha* (𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀), which has subsequently become *malakha* (𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋). Thus Bákhdhi becomes Bákhal, and then 'l' and 'kh' interchange places. (Darmesteter's *Le Zend Avesta*, Vol. II., p. 8 n.)

برادر, brother, and زى Zi, assuredly. This word Brâtârzi, then, may, by some corruption, become Bâklibî.

Herat.—According to an Oriental writer, this city owes its name to its founder Herat, an emir of Nariman. "Hérat dit le géographe Persan a été fondée par un des émirs du célèbre Neriman le héros du monde qui portait le nom de Hérat, et après avoir été ruinée, elle a été rétablie par Alexandre." (*Mémoires sur la Perse*, par S. de Sacy, p. 389.)

This etymology seems to be imaginary; firstly, we do not find from the Bundehesh or from the Shâh-nâmeh that Nariman had an emir named Hérat. Again, Herat is Harô,û of the Avesta, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions, Harî of the Pahalavi Vendidad, Harâe of the Shatroiâ-i-Irân, and Harôî of the Bundehesh.⁷⁵ According to William Ousley, Herat was formerly known as Hari, a name by which the river Harirûd, which flows by its side, is still known. The word Hari or Haroyû is derived from har 𐬔𐬌 to flow, because the country is watered by a large river. In the Vendidad the city is said to be Vish-harezanem, i. e., well-watered, because it was watered by the river.

Pusheng.—This town is situated at the distance of about 10 farsakhs from Herat. It was so called because it was originally founded by Pashang, the son of the Turanian king Afrasiâb.⁷⁶ The other name of this place was Shideh.⁷⁷

Tus.—This city is the modern Meshed. According to some authors, it was situated a little near the modern Meshed. It was so called because it was founded by Tûs, the son of the Irânian king Naôdar.⁷⁸ The Pahalavi treatise of Shatroiâ-i-Iran⁷⁹ and the Dabitsan⁸⁰ also attribute the foundation of this city to general Tûs.

Nishâpûr.—This city was founded by Shapour I, from whom it derives its name. Various stories are given about the event which led Shapour to build it. Hamd Allah Mustâfi⁸¹ gives the following story:—

"Ardeshir Bâbegân built a city which he named Neh (P. ن), i. e., the city. His son Shapour, who was the Governor of Khorâsân, requested

⁷⁵ Justi, p. 50, l. 17. ⁷⁶ Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. Meynard, p. 122.

⁷⁷ Shâh-nâmeh. Mohl. IV., p. 30, l. 713.

⁷⁸ Mecan's Calcutta Edition of the Shâhnâmeh, Persian introduction, p. 32. Mohl. II., pp. 595-631.

⁷⁹ Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 19. My Translation, p. 65.

⁸⁰ Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol. I., p. 52.

⁸¹ Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 578.

his father to give that town to him, but his request was refused. Piqued at this refusal he built in its vicinity, on the ruins of the ancient town founded by Tehmuras, another city, and, to distinguish it from the Neh founded by his father, called it Neh-Shapour, which the Arabs afterwards changed into Nicabour."

Others give another story and etymology. They say that Shapour, once passing the locality of this town, had remarked that it was full of Naê (P. نى) *i. e.*, reeds. So the city built afterwards on that locality was known as Naê Shapour (*i. e.*, the reeds of Shapour).⁸² Edrisi⁸³ also refers to this story, but he attributes it to Shapour II.

Others give the following story to derive its name. The astrologers had predicted that Shapour would one day lose his throne, and be reduced to poverty, and that he would suffer great misfortunes till the time of his restoration to the throne. Shapour asked the astrologers how he was to know that the time of restoration had come. They said, "you may expect restoration to the throne when you eat golden bread on an iron table." The prediction turned out to be true. He lost his throne and wandered in deserts and mountains till he came to the city of Esfajân. There he served as a labourer at the house of a cultivator, who, pleased with his work and energy, gave him his daughter in marriage. This wife of Shapour carried his meals every day to the fields. One day, being invited at a marriage in the village, she forgot to prepare the meals for Shapour. Being reminded of this fact, she hastened to her house from the marriage party, took with her a few cakes prepared with honey that were ready in the house and that presented a yellow colour like that of gold, and ran to the field where Shapour was working. A small trench separated Shapour from the place where she was standing. So she could not hand over the cakes to Shapour. He consequently extended towards her his spade, over which she placed the golden coloured cakes. The sight of the golden coloured bread, placed over the iron spade, reminded Shapour of the astrologer's prediction, that the eating of a golden bread over an iron table would bring about his restoration to the throne. He recounted the story of the prediction to his wife, declared to her who he was, and hastened home to be ready to go to his native country. He put on his royal robe and dress, which he had concealed in a bag. He wrote to his ministers and informed them of his whereabouts. He

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Edrisi, par Jaubert, II., p. 182.

got his coat of mails suspended at the gate of his house. The ministers, on hearing from Shapour, sent courtiers to bring back Shapour to the royal city. They came to a place and inquired about Shapour's whereabouts. They were told "Nist Sapour" نِست ساپور *i. e.*, Shapour is not here. Hence it is, they say, that the place was called "Nist Sapour" نِست ساپور and then Nishapour (نیشاپور). The courtiers, not finding Shapour at that place proceeded further, and came to a place, where the people asked them, what they had come there for. They replied "Sabour Khâst." سابور خواست (from خواستن to wish, to look for), *i. e.*, we look for Shapour. Hence the place was called Sabour Khâst. This seems to be the city known as Sabour Khawst. The courtiers, on proceeding further, came to the village where Shapour lived. His house being discovered by means of the coat of mails hung at the gate, they said Jaudim⁸⁴ Sabour جندیم ساپور *i. e.*, we have found Shapour. Hence the place was called Joudi Sabour. This is the city known as Vandū-i-Shapuhar in the Pahalavi treatise of Shatroiha-i-Îhân.

Nehavend.—According to Yakout,⁸⁵ some writers says that its original name was Noulâvend, and they thus derive it from Noah as the city originally built by him.

Shâm.—Shâm is the modern name of Syria. Asiatic writers call it Bald-el-Shâm, *i. e.*, the city on the left (Arab. شمال). According to Maçoudi, Yemen is so called because it is situated on the right hand side of Kaabah, and Syria is called Shâm because it is situated on the left of Kaabah.⁸⁶

Others derive the name Shâm from Arabic شام or شوم, 'unlucky' and the name Yemen from Arabic يمن, 'lucky.' They say that Yemen (Arabia Felix) is so called because it is very fertile.

Farika.—It is the Afrikie افريقيم of Edrisi, Afrinkeieh افرنقيمه of Ebn Haukal and modern Africa. Maçoudi calls it Afrikiyah افريقيم. According to this author, the country received its name from one Africas, the son of Abrahe, ابراهيم who founded it.⁸⁷ The Romans had first introduced this name into Europe. At first they knew the country about Carthage by the name of Africa.

⁸⁴ This word seems to be the same as Pahalavi vandâdan (فندادن) (to find, to obtain).

⁸⁵ Dictionnaire de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 573.

⁸⁶ Maçoudi III., p. 139.

⁸⁷ Maçoudi III., p. 224.

Nahartirak.—It was so called because it is situated on the canal (nehar نهر) of the river Tira. According to Yakout,⁸⁸ the river was so called from the name of Tira, a son of Goudaraz, the Vazir of Kaikhosru.

Âtaropâtakan.—According to Strabo⁸⁹ the city had derived its name from one Atropâte who had saved it from passing into the hands of the Macedonians. Yakout⁹⁰ says, that, according to Ibn el-Moquanna, it received its name from its founder Azerbad اذرباد. This word Azerbâd is the same as Atropâte. But this Oriental writer places this personage in times much anterior to that of the Macedonian conquest. The Pahalavi Shatrôitrâ-i-Irân attributes its foundation to one Airân Goushasp, a name which can also be read Âdarân Goushasp. In that case the first part of the name Âdar is the same as the Âtro in Strabo's name Atropâte and Âzer in Yakout's name Âzerbâd.

⁸⁸ Dictionnaire de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 576.

⁸⁹ Bk XI., ch. 18.

⁹⁰ B. de Maynard, p. 15.

ART. XVI.—*Three interesting Vedic Hymns.* By RAJĀRĀM
RĀMKRISHNA BHĀGAWAT, ESQ.

[Communicated June 1899.]

PREFACE.

The hymns of Rig-veda may first be classed under five heads, according to the subject-matter—(1) historical, (2) poetical, (3) ritualistic, (4) philosophical, (5) miscellaneous.

There is also a second way of dividing the Vedic hymns. The Mīmāṃsā philosophy or the orthodox school holds all the three constituents, viz., *Samhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* to be alike without any beginning, coeval or coeternal with one another, thus distinguishing them from the Shrauta-sūtras or the Ritual manuals, which, though based on the three-fold Veda or *Śrīti* have not the same authority with the *Śrīti*, and therefore go by the name of *Smṛiti*.

The modern Brahmin going a step further, or rather descending a step lower, holds even the Shrauta-sūtras with the remaining five *Angas* of *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Chandas* (Prosody), *Jyotiṣh* (Astronomy), *Shikṣhā* (Phonetics), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar) and the *Nighaṇṭu* (Glossary) to be coeternal, calling these the Ten Books (*Dasha Granthas*), and taking special care to commit them to memory (even without understanding a single syllable) outstrips the most orthodox school, and carries to excess the theory of the co-eternity of the Vedāngas with the Vedas, which latter alone, were held to be without beginning by the great Jaimini and his equally great expositor Shabarswāmīn. But this is a matter which just now does not concern us, though the intellectual descent or deterioration deserves to be noted. Even the view of the orthodox Jaimini will be found to have been a new departure of later times. The older view for which the student of Sanskrit is indebted to the aphorisms of Pāṇini may be said to be the view of the grammarians. This view of the grammarians materially differs from the orthodox view, inasmuch as it recognizes a part of Vedic literature to be older, another part to be later, and the remaining part to be still later, on which account it may not inappropriately be called the *chronological* or in other words comparative—historical view.

The basis of the chronological view is firstly the aphorism *Purāṇa-prokṭeṣu* (पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु—४,३,१०५) and secondly the

aphorism *Shaunakādibhyas* (शौनकादिभ्यश्छंदसि—४.३, १०६). The first aphorism places the Brâhmaṇa on the same level with the Kalpa, i.e., the *Shrauta-sūtras* and distinguishes from the “old Brâhmaṇas and the Kalpas” the new ones. Whether it be liked by the Mīmāṃsakas or not, this levelling down of the Brâhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas with the Kalpa-sūtras is a fact. The second aphorism divides the Chhandas or the Riks into the *drishṭa* (seen, revealed) and *prokta* (first spoken, not revealed). The word *prokta*, which is applied to the Brâhmaṇas and the Kalpas, being also applied to the division of the Chhandas or Riks ascribed to Shaunaka and others, there is evidently a levelling down of that division. The whole of Rîg-veda may, according to Pāṇini, be thus divided into two divisions, viz., the revealed (*drishṭa*) and the non-revealed (*prokta*), the hymns composed by Shaunaka being placed at the head of the latter. The age of Shaunaka, as a matter of fact, does mark a new era in the history of Sanskrit literature. The originally non-Brahminical story of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas was for the first time made known to Shaunaka and other Brahmins engaged in the celebration of the twelve-years *satra*, though the almost complete Brahminisation and bulkiness of the story must be ascribed rather to times far removed from Shaunaka and his companions in the *satra*. The age of Shaunaka or the ritualistic age is thus deservedly held in high esteem, being the connecting link between the pre-Shaunaka or pre-ritualistic and the post-Shaunaka, or post-ritualistic ages. The Sanhitâ of Rîg-veda will be found to contain hymns of all these three ages. Though the majority of the hymns may be assigned either to the ritualistic or the post-ritualistic age, there are a few which may be traced to the pre-ritualistic age. The ritualistic hymns must be the product of the Shaunaka age, and to some extent of the post-Shaunaka age also. The philosophical hymns one would not be wrong in assigning to the post-Shaunaka age. The miscellaneous hymns cannot all be said to belong to one particular age, though the historical and the majority of the poetical must be held to be the product of the pre-ritualistic age. A Vedic hymn may thus be a product of the pre-ritualistic, the ritualistic or the post-ritualistic age.

This three-fold division of hymns corresponds with the order of natural growth observable in individual or collective man. Admiration and wonder excited by heroes and great man is the *first* stage; parallel to these is the admiration and wonder excited by natural objects or phenomena. The *second* stage is when attempts are made to

make this admiration and wonder permanent by institutions and rites. And when these fail to give satisfaction, there comes the *third* or last stage of thoughtful reflection or philosophy. This three-fold division will be best illustrated by a consideration of representative hymns.

It is proposed to deal this time with three hymns only, *viz.*, the Vṛiṣhā-kapi hymn (86th), the Saramā hymn (108th) and the Stars hymn (72nd), all of the 10th Maṇḍala. Of these three selected hymns the first two belong to the historical or pre-ritualistic age. The third hymn, though a poetical one, cannot be said to belong to the pre-ritualistic age; it will have to be referred to the ritualistic, or even to the post-ritualistic age.

Let us now first turn to the Vṛiṣhā-kapi hymn.

- 1 “वि हि सोतोरसृक्षत, नेन्द्रं देवममंसत,
यत्राऽमवद् वृषाकपिरर्थः पुष्टेषु; मत्सखा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः”.
- 2 “परा हीन्द्र धावसि वृषाकपेरतिव्यथिः,
नो अहं प्र विन्दस्यन्यत्र सोमपीतये; विश्वस्मा०”.
- 3 “किमयं त्वा वृषाकपिश्चकार हरितो मृगः ?
यस्मा इरस्यसीदु न्वर्यो वा पुष्टिम् वसु; विश्वस्मा०”.
- 4 “यमिमं त्वं वृषाकपिं प्रियमिन्द्राभिरक्षसि,
श्वा न्वस्य जम्भिषदपि कर्णे वराहयुः; विश्वस्मा०”.
- 5 “प्रिया तष्टानि मे कपिर्व्यक्ता व्यदूदुषत्;
शिरो न्वस्य राविषम्, न सुगं दुष्कृते भुवम्; विश्वस्मा०”.

1 The उपसर्ग *vi* (वि) should be taken with असृक्षत-व्यसृक्षत the passive aorist (कर्मणि लुङ्) of सृज् with वि. The form सोतोः seems to be a तोसुनन्त, though not quite in accordance with the aphorisms of पाणिनि. As a तोसुनन्त adverb, सोतोः = सोतुम् = to bruise, to destroy. अर्थः = lord or master.

2 “अहं” = अथ. सोम comes from सु (षु) to bruise or ferment; hence originally *some* fermented liquor.

3 “इरस्यसि” = प्रयच्छसि (Mādhava).

4 “जम्भिषत्” is the लेट् the Vedic potential of जम्भ्, a Vedic root meaning “to eat.” “वराहयुः” boar-chasing, literally “longing for” or “wishing to have a boar (आत्मनो वराहमिच्छुः)”. The form is Vedic.

5 “तष्ट” is the past pass participle of तक्ष् to chip or to pare from which comes तक्षन् = carpenter. व्यक्ता (Vedio) = व्यक्तानि (classical) “राविषम्” the लेट् of लृ, र् being substituted for लृ; compare जम्भिषत् in the preceding verse. “सुगम् = सुखम्; one may derive it from गम् with सु and take it for “access” or “accessible.” “भुवम्” also is लेट्, but without सिप्; while both जम्भिषत् and राविषत् are with सिप्.

- 6 “न मत् स्त्री सुभसत्तरा, न सुयाशुतरा भुवत्,
न मत् प्रतिच्यवीयसी, न सक् युयमीयसी; विश्वस्मा०”.
- 7 “उवे अम्ब सुलाभिके यथेवाङ्ग भविष्यति,
भसन्मे, अम्ब सक्थि मे, शिरो मे वीव ह्वयति; विश्वस्मा०”.
- 8 “किं सुबाहो स्वङ्गुरे पृथुष्टो पृथुजाघने?
किं शूरपत्नि नस्त्वभ्यमीषि वृषाकपिन्? विश्वस्मा०”.
- “अवीरामिव नामयं शरारुभिमन्यते,
उताऽहमस्मि वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नीः मरुत्सखा विश्वस्मा०”.
- 10 “सं होत्रं स्म पुरा नारी समनं वाव गच्छति,
वेधा कृतस्य वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नी महीयते; विश्वस्मा०”.
- 11 “इन्द्राणीमासु नारिषु सुभगामहमश्रवस्;
न ह्यस्या अपरं चन, जरसा मरते पतिः; विश्व०”.

6 “सुभसत्तरा” is the comparative of सुभसत् = सुभगा, भसत् being a synonym of भग. “यायु” according to Mādhava is either “happiness” (सुख) or “son” (पुत्र). “भुवत्” is again the लृट्. “च्यवीयसी” or “युयमीयसी” are comparatives in ईयस् formed from च्यववत् or युयमवत् respectively, like वसीयस् from वसुमत् or ओजीयस् from ओजस्विन् or ओजस्वत्.

7 “उवे” a vocative particle. अम्ब mother (exclamatory), not literal “सुलाभिके” either a proper name or equal to “सुलभि” = “sure success”; if a proper name, अम्ब perhaps literally; if equal to सुलभि, अम्ब exclamatory. “वीव” = विरिव, “वि” = वयः = पक्षी = bird. “ह्वयति” is throbbing; the throbbing of the several limbs being considered auspicious even in those times, as in classical times.

8 “स्वङ्गुरे” = स्वङ्गुले; for the substitution of र् for लृ, compare राविषम् for लाविषम्. “पृ” according to Mādhava, is “hair, hair-band.” “पृथुजाघने” for पृथुजघने. “शूरपत्नि” is said to be the vocative singular of शूरपत्नी, the feminine form of शूरपति; it should, therefore, be dissolved as शूरः पतिर्यस्याः सा. Virtually, it is the same with शूरस्य पत्नी. “अभ्यमीषि” = अभिकृध्यसि.

9 “अवीरा” even in classical Sanskrit is निष्पतिसुता = without husband or son; originally the word meant “without a defender,” the husband or, in his absence, the son, being considered as the “defender (of a woman).” “शरारु” is used also in the classical language.

10 “होत्रं” = a wooer, from वह्, to call. “समनं” a youth (समनं न योषाः— ऋ० २, सू० १६८, मण्डल १०, ऋग्वेदसंहिता). “वाव” is an expletive. “वेधा” = विशाघी = maker, fashioner, moulder. “कृत” from कृ, to go; originally it meant “path” or “water.” “महीयते” = पूज्यते.

11 “नारिषु” = नारीषु. “अश्रवम्” = अश्रुणवम्. “मरते” = म्रियते.

- 12 “नाहमिन्द्राणि रारण सख्यवृषाकपेर्कते,
यस्येदमप्य हविः प्रियं देवेषु गच्छति; विश्व०”.
- 13 “वृषाकपायि रेवति सुपुत्र आदु सुस्तुषे,
घसत् त इन्द्र उक्षणः; प्रियं काचित् करं हविः; विश्व०”.
- 14 “उक्षणो हि मे पञ्चदश साकं पचन्ति विंशतिम्,
उताहमाग्निं पीव इदुभा कुक्षीं पृणन्ति मे; विश्व०”.
- 15 “वृषभो न तिग्मशृङ्गोऽन्तर्गृथेषु रोरुवत्;
मन्थस्त इन्द्रं वां हरे, यं ते सुनोति भावयुः; विश्व०”.
- 16 “न सेशे यस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या कपृत् ?
सेदीशे यस्य रोमशं निषेदुषो विजृम्भते ? विश्व०”.
- 17 “न सेशे यस्य रोमशं निषेदुषो विजृम्भते ?
सेदीशे यस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या कपृत् ? विश्व०”.
- 18 “अयमिन्द्र वृषाकपिः परस्वन्तं हतं विदत्;
असिं सुनां नवं चरुमादेधस्याऽन आचितम्; विश्व०”.
- 19 “अयमेमि विचाकशश्च विचिन्वन् दासमार्यम्,
पिबामि पाकसुत्वनोऽभि धीरमचाकशम् ; विश्व०”.

12 “रारण” according to Mādhava = रमे. “अप्यम्” = आप्यम् = watery, liquid.

13 “वृषाकपायि” = O wife of Vṛiṣhā-Kapi; see Panini (4-1-37). “रेवति” = wealthy; रे or रै = wealth. “आदु” = आत् + उ = and “घसत्” again an example of लेट्. “उक्षणः” = उद्वगः. “करम्” = सुखकरम्.

14 “पीवः” = पीवरः = Stout. “उभा” = उभौ.

15 “न” = इव. “रोरुवत्” is either the present partic. or लेट् of the frequentative (यङ्लुगन्त) of रु, an अदादि root. “मन्थ” might be taken in the sense of “destruction, plot, conspiracy.” “भावयुः” may mean “trusting” also.

16 “सेशे” = सः + ईशे = “ईशे” = ईष्टे. “रम्बते” = रम्बते; compare राविषम् and स्वङ्गुरे. “सक्थ्या” = सक्थनोः = between thighs. “कपृत्” = शिदनम्. “सेदीशे” = सा + इत् + ईशे; “ईशे” = ईष्टे. “यस्य” qualifies जनस्य; which is understood.

17 “सेशे” = सा + ईशे; “ईशे” = ईष्टे. “सेदीशे” = सः + इत् + ईशे; “ईशे” = ईष्टे.

18 “परस्वन्तम्” = परवन्तम् = a stranger having (a hand); this adjective qualifies “हतम्,” a past passive participle used as a substantive; “हतम्” (thus) = death, that is, assassination. “विदत्” (लेट्) = विन्दतु. “चरुम्” = boiled rice. “आत्” = and, afterwards; आचितम् = full of.

19 “विचाकशश्च” = पश्यन्; it is the present participle of the frequentative (यङ्लुगन्त) of कश्च a Vedic root. “विचिन्वन्” = पृथक् कुर्वन् = separating, distinguishing. “दास” and “आर्य” seem to be used for “slave” and “master” respectively, “पाकसुत्वनः” = पशस्तं सुवतः = of the excellent brewer.

20 “धन्व च यत् कृन्तत्रं च, कति स्विता वि योजना ?

नेदीयसो वृषाकपेऽस्तमेहि गृहां उपः विश्वं”.

21 “पुनरोहि वृषाकपे सुविता कल्पयावहै.

य एष स्वप्नशनोऽस्तमेषि पथा पुनः विश्वं”.

22 “यदुदञ्चो वृषाकपे, गृहमिन्द्राऽजगन्तन,

क स्य पुल्वघो मृगः? कमगं जनयोपनः? विश्वं”.

23 “पर्शुर्हे नाम मानवी साकं ससूव विशतिम्,

भद्रं भल त्वस्या अभूत् तस्या उदरमामयत् विश्वं”.

TRANSLATION.

1. (They, *i. e.*, the slaves who) were sent to destroy (the enemy) did not respect (the authority of) Indra the *Deva*, when Vṛishâ-Kapi master of the fed (*i. e.*, slaves), became intoxicated (with power); my friend Indra is superior to all.

2. O Indra, putting (thyself) to great trouble for Vṛishâ-Kapi, (thou) runnest and (thou) dost not get (time) to drink liquor elsewhere; Indra is superior to all.

3. What (benefit) has this dark animal done to thee? On whom (*i. e.*, the dark animal) thou, his master, didst lavish so much swelling wealth; Indra is, &c.

4. (O) Indra, may the dog longing for a boar, devour the two ears of him, whom thy favourite thou guardest; Indra (is), &c.

5. The monkey has publicly spoilt dear (things) prepared for me; may I get his head cut off, may I not be (an object of) pleasure to (that) sinner; Indra (is), &c.

20 “धन्व,” in the sense of “desert,” is used in the classical language also. “कृन्तत्रं” = forest (according to Mâdhava). “ता योजना” = तानि योजनानि. “अस्तम्” = गृहम्.

21 “सुविता” = सुवितानि = friendly visits or communications (सु + इतानि). “स्वप्नशनः” = one who has lost sleep.

22 “उदञ्चः” = उदगच्छः “अजगन्तन” is the plural form of the 2nd person of the imperfect (लङ्), the root गम् having undergone reduplication. “स्यः” for सः is allowed even in the classical language. “पुल्वघः” = पुर्वघः = पुरु + अघः; “पुरु” much, many, and “अघ” misdeed. “अगम्” = अगाम् = अगात्; the 1st person used for the 3rd. “योपन” = separating; hence “bribing” or “working treason.”

23 “ससूव” = सुषुवे. “भल” perhaps for भण. “त्वस्याः” = तस्याः “आमयत्” = अवर्धयत्.

6. There was not born a woman having more beautiful thighs than mine, more pleasure-giving, having more (pleasing) movements (of limbs) and stronger legs ; Indra (is), &c.

7. By mother, my thigh, my leg, my head, are throbbing like a bird (in such a manner) that (my desires) will be, by (my) mother, easily fulfilled ; Indra (is), &c.

8. (O) beautiful-armed, beautiful-fingered, copious-haired, broad-thighed, what (is the matter) ? (O thou) with a brave—defender, why art thou angry against our Vṛishâ-Kapi ? Indra (is), &c.

9. This villain thinks me (to be) without a brave defender, but I, wife of Indra, have a brave defender (in) Indra, friend of the Maruts, (is), &c.

10. Verily, a maiden only once unites with a young man courting (her) ; the wife of Indra, possessed of a brave defender, is made much of (as) the maker of the way (of chastity).

11. I have heard Indrâni (to be) fortunate among these women ; she, verily, has nothing else (except her husband) ; from old age (her) husband dies ; Indra (is), &c.

12. (O) Indrâni, I find no pleasure except in (my) friend Vṛishâ-Kapi, belonging to whom this liquid oblation passes among the Devas, (being) dear (to them) ; Indra (is), &c.

13. (O) worthy wife of Vṛishâ-Kapi, (O thou), blessed with a son and blessed with a daughter-in-law, may Indra feast on thy oxen ; (let) some (maid prepare) the dear (and) agreeable oblation (of liquor) ; Indra (is), &c.

14. Fifteen (men) are roasting for me twenty oxen at one and the same time ; besides I am stout, (they) fill both my sides (with the liquid oblation) ; Indra (is), &c.

15. (May he drop down) groaning like a bull with sharp horns in the midst of a herd ; (O) Indra, may the draught (of death) which thy faithful (wife) prepares bring happiness to thy heart ; Indra (is), &c.

16. Is not the rule man's ?

Is the rule woman's ? Indra (is), &c.

17. Is not the rule woman's ?

Is the rule man's ? Indra (is), &c.

18. (O) Indra, may this Vṛishâ-Kapi obtain death at another's hand, a dagger, a slaughter-house, new rice, and afterwards a cart-load of fuel ; Indra (is), &c.

19. Here I come, inspecting and distinguishing between the

slave and the master ; (I) drink (of the liquor) of the excellent brewer ; I face the bold (Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi).

20. The desert and that forest, how many miles (are) they hence ? (O) Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, seek the house of the neighbour, (then go) to (thy) house ; Indra (is), &c.

21. (O) Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, thou who losing sleep, goest by the way (back) to (thy) house, come again ; may we two hold friendly meetings again ; Indra (is), &c.

22. (O) Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, that thou shouldst have escaped ! (O) Indra that thou shouldst have come back home ! Where is that beast of many misdeeds ? Where has that traitor gone ? Indra (is), &c.

23. Parshu by name, verily a descendant of Manu, was delivered of twenty (children) in all ; say, she, whose womb conceived (him), received a blessing (when Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi escaped).

Substance of the hymn.

Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi was the son of one Parshu a female of the tribe or class of Manu. His father's name is not mentioned. Indra had many slaves, and Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi seems to have been in command of them. Whether Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi himself was originally a slave is not quite clear. He seems to have been once sent to chastise some enemies, when, with his following of slaves, he rebelled against the authority of Indra. Even after this rebellious conduct, Indra continued to be as kind to him as before. This kindness was doubtless owing to the superior quality of beer and beef supplied by Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi at the table of Indra. But Indra's kindness seems to have turned the head of Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, who thereupon commenced trespassing on the privacy of Indra's wife. What follows is graphically described in the hymn, Indra's wife complains to him and demands that Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi be made over either to the dogs or to the executioner. In the first seven verses Indra's wife is the speaker. In the eighth verse Indra gently inquires the cause of her wrath against Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi. From the three following verses (the 9th, 10th, and 11th), it is quite clear that Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi paid attentions which Indra's wife naturally resented and rejected with indignation. In the twelfth Indra discloses his partiality for the liquid drink brewed in the house of Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi and appreciated even by the other Devas. In the 13th the wife of Indra calls upon the wife of Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi to prepare a repast with plenty of roast beef and beer for Indra, insinuating thereby that the beef roasted by her was less savoury and the beer served by her

or her maid less sparkling in his eyes. In the 14th Indra repudiates the insinuation with some warmth. In the 15th the wife of Indra seems to undertake the preparation of some fatal draught to be administered to Vṛishā-Kapi. In the 16th Indra asks her 'Whose is the rule?' In the 17th the wife of Indra puts the same question to Indra. The wife of Indra, either being born a princess or being his sister-queen or being his anointed queen, seems to demand a recognition of her rule as well, seeing that her proposal of poisoning does not meet with approval. Indra's wife in the 18th verse proposes that Vṛishā-Kapi be invited to a feast, stabbed or assassinated and secretly burnt. In the 19th Indra pretends to approve the plan, and undertakes to mete out in person the proposed punishment to the rebellious slave, after having indulged in a strong potation of his favourite drink. In the 20th Vṛishā-Kapi is offered the advice to secrete himself for some hours in a neighbouring house and then to go home direct. In the 21st Vṛishā-Kapi is asked to come back not long after and to renew his visits. Being told by Indra on his return home that Vṛishā-Kapi has escaped, his wife indignantly asks him, in the 22nd verse, how and where the villain could have escaped. In the 23rd Indra coolly replies that Vṛishā-Kapi has returned to his mother.

Authorship of the Vṛishā-Kapi hymn.

The ritualists ascribe the twenty-three verses severally to Indra, Vṛishā-Kapi, or the wife of Indra. But their way of determining the authorship of a hymn or a verse is generally very crude. A verse is very often ascribed to one whose name occurs in it. The verse "May that lord Varuṇa, whose name Shunash-shepa, bound (to the post), invoked release us," is put against the name of Shunash-Shepa, because *Shunash-Shepa* happens to be mentioned in the verse. The ritualists, following this custom, once universally in vogue in India, have ascribed the verses in this hymn severally to Indra, the wife of Indra, or Vṛishā-Kapi. But this, to say the least, is not a very satisfactory way of determining the authorship of a hymn or of any verse in it. It is not possible to father this hymn or any verse of it on any of the three mentioned therein. The author, whoever he was, was certainly other than these three, even if he be held to have been their contemporary. As regards the name or parentage of the author of this hymn or the time of its composition, we know absolutely nothing.

Society as painted in the Vṛiṣhā-Kapi hymn.

The hymn undoubtedly belongs to a time when beef was an article of daily consumption, both Indra and Vṛiṣhā-Kapi being very great beef-eaters. The author of the hymn also, even supposing for a moment that he was not a beef-eater, could certainly not be counted among those who held beef unclean. A fermented liquor of some strength is mentioned. It was prepared either from barley or from rice, both of which species of grain were required in the preparation of the Vedic beer *surā*. The hymn was evidently written at a time when society, having advanced beyond the pastoral stage, as the word 'house' points out, had recognized the two classes of *Ārya* and *Dāsa*, i. e., master and slave, or 'upper' and 'lower.' Not only do we find the institution of marriage established, but faithfulness and devotion to one man are prized at least by women of the upper classes. It was a time when maidens were freely wooed and won. The wife of Indra, no doubt, claims equality with her husband, but on what this claim of equality is based is not quite clear. She was, perhaps, Indra's sister, and, as such, could not but claim equality with Indra her brother. In the advancement of some societies there seems to have been a stage when the royal blood, not being allowed to be contaminated with the plebeian, it had become customary among royalty for the brother to marry his sister. This custom must have been at the bottom of the marriage of Jupiter with Juno. The primitive Moguls also had this custom among them. The Spaniards found the same custom among the Peruvians, when they first landed on their shore. There is a strong suspicion that Tryambaka and Ambikā, who are mentioned in Vedic literature as brother and sister, bore also the relation of husband and wife. Both poisoning and stabbing or assassination seem to have been, when the hymn was written, not uncommon. The slaves were doubtless cremated; but whether their masters were likewise cremated or buried, and tombs erected on them, is a point not easy of solution. With beef they had no wheaten bread but rice. So they did know rice, but whether they cultivated it themselves or had to depend on their depredations in some rice-producing districts near or far for its supply is again a nut hard to crack. The society of the time had made some advance in the manufacture of steel, as a 'dagger' is mentioned.

With so many materials before him, would it be presumptuous on the part of one to assume that 'Indra' is used in the hymn for a human ruler, prince or king, and that the 'Devas' were originally some

human subjects acknowledging his rule? The hymn may be held to belong to, or describe the state of, a time when the Devas were the masters, and the Manus or the Mānavas either partly or entirely the slaves.

We turn next to the Saramâ hymn.

- 1 "किमिच्छन्ती सरमा प्रेक्षमानङ् ? दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः पराचैः;
काऽस्मे हितिः ? का परितक्म्याऽऽसीत् ? कथं रसाया अतरः पयांसि ?"
- 2 "इन्द्रस्य दूतीरिषिता चरामि मह इच्छन्ती पणयो निधीन् वः;
अतिष्कदो भियसा तन्न आवत्, तथा रसाया अतरं पयांसि."
- 3 "कीदृङ्निन्द्रः सरमे ? का दृशीका ? यस्येदं दूतीरसरः पराकात् ;
आ च गच्छान्मित्रमेना दधामाऽथा गवां गोपतिर्नो भवति."
- 4 "नाहं तं वेद दभ्यम्; दभत् सः, यस्येदं दूतीरसरं पराकात्;
न तं गृह्णन्ति स्रवतो गभीराः; हता इन्द्रेण पणयः शयध्वे."
- 5 "इमा गावः सरमे या ऐच्छः परि दिवो अन्तान् सुभगे पतन्ती ;
कस्त एना अवसृजादध्वी ? उताऽस्माकमायुधा सन्ति तिग्मा."
- 6 "असेन्या वः पणयो वचांसि; अनिषव्यास्तन्वः सन्तु पापीः;
अधृष्टो व एतवा अस्तु पन्थाः; बृहस्पतिर्व उभया न मृळात्."

1 "इच्छन्ती" = अविच्छन्ती = searching. प्र + इदम् + आनट् = "प्रेक्षमानट्" आनट् (Imperfect लङ् of अश्, a Vedic रुधादि root meaning "to go") = came, has come. "जगुरिः" = उड्गुरिः = roaring, high. "पराचैः" (Vedic) = पराणिभिः (classical) = going or throwing back; it is an adjective qualifying कञ्जोलैः by waves understood. "अस्मे" (Ved.) = अस्मासु. "हितिः" = धानम् = आधानम् = deposit. परितक्म्या (according to माधव), night or voyage. रसा coming from रस water) = any river, though in the "Rivers-hymn" (6, 75, 10 M., Rîg-veda) a particular river is meant.

2 "दूतीः" (Ved.) = दूती (cl.) = spy, envoy. "इषिता" = प्रेषिता. "महः" (Ved.) = महतः (cl.). "निधीन्" = a godown, a factory (etymologically) — marts, markets. "अतिष्कदः" = great velocity, rapidity, rapid crossing.

3 "दृशीका" (according to माधव) = army. स्थानम् after इदम् understood. "पराकात्" = दूरात्. "आ च गच्छात्" = आगच्छात् च; "आगच्छात्" (the Vedic लोट्) = आगच्छेत् "एना" (Vedic) = एनम् or एनेन. "आदधाम" = कुर्याम. "अथा" (Ved.) = अथ (cl.). "भवति" (Vedic) = भवति or भवेत्.

4 "दभ्यम्" = दभ्यम्, हिंस्यम् = easy to humble or destroy. "दभत्" (Ved.) = अदभोत् (cl.) = अदमयत्, अहिंनत् = humbled, destroyed. "स्रवतः" = स्रवन्तः = स्रवन्त्यः (cl.) = नद्यः. "शयध्वे" (Ved.) = शेष्ये (cl.).

5 परि to be taken with पतन्ती. "अवसृजात्" (Ved.) = अवसृजेत् (cl.) = Would untie, set at liberty. "अयुध्वी = युद्धमकृतवान् = one who has not fought. उत = besides. "आयुधा तिग्मा" (Ved.) = आयुधानि तिग्मानि.

6 "असेन्या" = "असेना" = "non-army" or असेन्यानि = "no substitutes for army." "अनिषव्याः" = अनिषयोग्याः; "इधु" = arrow. "पापीः" (Ved.) = पाप्यः.

- 7 "अथ निधिः सरमे अद्रिबुध्नो गोभिरश्वेर्भिरसुभिर्नृष्यैः;
रक्षन्ति तं पणथो ये सुगोपाः रेकु पदमलकमाजगन्थ."'
8 "एह गमन्नुषयः सोमशिता अथास्थो अङ्गिरसो नवग्वाः;
त एतमूर्ध्वं विभजन्त गोनाम्;" अथैतद् वचः पणथो वमन्त्रित.
9 "एवा च त्वं सरम आजगन्थ प्रबाधिता सहसा दैव्येन;
स्वसारं त्वा कृण्वै, मा पुनर्गाः; अप ते गवां सुभगे भजान."'
10 "नाहं वेद आदृत्वम्, नो स्वसृत्वम्; इन्द्रो विदुराङ्गिरसश्च घोराः;
गोकामा ते अच्छदयन्, यदाऽऽयम्; अपात इत पणथो वरीयः."'
11 "दूरमित पणथो वरीयः; उद् गावो यन्तु मिनतीकृतेन.
बृहस्पतिर्या अविन्दन् निगूळहाः सोमो प्रावाणो कषयश्च विप्राः."

(cl.)=पापकृतः=sinful. "अष्टः"=unchallenged, unobstructed. "एतैः" either a तुमुन्त (infinitive) or कृत्य (potential participle) from इ=आगन्तुम् or आगन्तव्यः. "उभया" (Ved.)=उभयो or उभये (cl.)=both; any two, or the three (वचस्, तन्, पथिन्) mentioned. "वृळात्" (Vedic)=वृडात् (Ved.)=वृडेत्=सुखयेत्; "वृड्" a Vedic root=to make happy.

7 "बुध्न"=bottom, root, foot. "अश्वेभिः" (Ved.)=अश्वैः (cl.) "न्युष्टः"=filled. "रेकु" (perhaps) *having plenty of* (stores and soldiers). "अलकम्" (Ved.=अलीकम् (cl.)=in vain.

8 "एह"=आ+इह. "गमन्" (Ved.)=अगमन् (cl.). The class अंगिरस् seems to have had many sub-divisions, of which two, viz., नवग्व and दशग्व were the most distinguished (8 62 H., 10 M., R̥igveda Sanhitā). उर्वम् (Ved.)=महान्तं यूथम्. विभजन्त (Ved.)=व्यभजन्त (cl.). "वमन्" (Ved.)=अवमन् (cl.). "इत्"=एव.

9 "एवा" (Ved.)=एव (cl.). "सहसा" by tyranny. दैव्य is either an adjective meaning "of the Devas" or a collective noun meaning "the Devas collectively." "त्वा"=त्वाम्. "अप"=अपच्छिद्य=having detached.

10 "अच्छदयन्"=अच्छादयन्=covered, shielded. "अपात इत"=अतः अपेत "वरीयः"=दूरतरम्.

11 "इत"=गच्छत. "उद् गावो यन्तु"="गावः उयन्तु." "मिनतीः" (Ved.)=मिनत्यः (cl.)=गच्छन्त्यः or आगच्छन्त्यः, "कृतेन"=मार्गेण, यथा. "निगूळहाः" (Ved.)=निगूढाः (cl.)=hidden. "प्रावाणः" perhaps like अङ्गिरसः formed a clan; or the soldiers are so called, being (hard like) "stones." विप् seems originally to have been a wooden weapon with a steel point (विपा वराहमयोऽग्रया हन्"—ऋ० ६, सू० १९, मण्ड० १०) attached to it; the र being a possessive suffix, the word विप denoted "one possessing the weapon विप्;" hence "armed."

1. "Seeking what, has Saramâ come to this (place)? The way (is) verily long (and) roaring with (waves) dashing backwards. What deposit (of hers) with us? How fared the night? How didst thou cross the waters of the river?"

2. "A spy of Indra in quest of your large marts I travel; that rapid crossing owing to the fear (of being drowned) has preserved us, thus (I) crossed the waters of the river."

3. "(O) Saramâ what is the nature of Indra? What the (strength of his) army? whose spy thou hast come from a distance; and if he were to come and (we) to make him (our) friend, (he) might become the possessor of our cattle."

4. "I do not think him, whose spy I come to this place from a distance (to be) easy to humble; he has humbled (those difficult to humble); deep rivers do not keep him back; killed by Indra, you, (O) Panis, will sleep (the long sleep)."

5. "(O) fair Saramâ, here are the cows in whose quest thou art running down to the ends of Div. Who of thine without fighting will release them; besides, our weapons are sharp."

6. "(O) Panis, your words are no army; let not your sinning bodies be exposed to (our) arrows; let not the road leading to you be stopped; the commander of forces will afford rest to neither."

7. "(O) Saramâ, here is the mart filled with cattle, horses and wealth at the foot of the hill; those Panis who are good defenders are in charge of it; for nothing (thou) hast come to this well-defended station."

8. "The soldiers (made) cruel by liquor, (the renowned) Ayâsya and the Navagvas of (the clan of) the Angiras have come hither; they have divided (among themselves) this wealth of cattle." Afterwards this sentence the Panis gave vent to.

9. "(O) Saramâ, thou hast come groaning under the tyranny of the Devas. (I) make thee (my) sister, go not again (back); (O) fair (one), having separated (from the rest) thy cattle, (we) restore (them) to thee."

10. "I know not to be a brother (or) to be a sister; Indra and the terrible Angirasas know (it, that is, what is to be a brother or a sister); when (I) came, they, anxious to have the cattle, shielded me; therefore, (O) Panis, remove (yourselves) farther hence."

11. "(O) Panis, remove yourselves farther; let the cows, which Soma, the commander of forces, and the hardy (and) armed soldiers discovered (though) hidden, come, bounding on the way."

Substance of the hymn.

Saramâ was a female spy of some Indra, ruler of Div, bounded by a rapid and unfordable river. Beyond the river lived the Paṇis, a people or tribe not quite friendly to the natives of Div. Some cattle of this Indra were once stolen by the Paṇis and immediately carried off beyond the river. This Indra sent a party of soldiers, accompanied by Ayâśya and the Navagvas of the Angiras clan and furnished with the necessary quantity of liquor under the command of Soma, in search of the missing cattle, the female spy Saramâ being in the advance guard. They all crossed the rapid stream without the loss of a single soldier and landed early in the morning on the opposite bank. The Paṇis, who were encamped at the foot of a hill, were not prepared for the arrival of a party in search so soon, especially when the stream was well-known as unfordable and rapid; so they were taken rather by surprise. The land of the Paṇis does not seem to have fallen within the jurisdiction of the ruler of Div. The hymn contains a dialogue between Saramâ and the Paṇis, after the former with a strong military escort set her foot upon the land of the latter. The Paṇis begin, then Saramâ follows—this order is preserved up to the 10th verse, which is put in the mouth of Saramâ. The eleventh which is the closing verse of the hymn, being supplementary to the 10th, is also put into the mouth of Saramâ.

In the first verse the Paṇis questioned Saramâ as to the object of her visit, as to how she could cross the impetuous stream at night, land among them early in the morning and at once advance to the foot of the hill. In the 2nd verse Saramâ discloses to the Paṇis the fact of her having come from her Indra on the errand of searching their marts, and also informs them of the success which she owed rather to the quickness of her movements in crossing the rapid stream. In the 3rd, the Paṇis want to know the strength of that Indra, whose spy Saramâ reported herself to be, and spoke as if they were ready to submit or to concede the demands of Saramâ. In the 4th, Saramâ taking the Paṇis to be rather frightened dwells on the invincibility of her Indra, on the inability of the waters to arrest the advance of his search party, and on the certainty of annihilation in case of resistance to his lawful demands. In the 5th, the intrepid Paṇis, who point out the cows for whom Saramâ travelled all the way long from Div and refuse to surrender them peacefully, show themselves now in their true colours. In the 6th, Saramâ advises them not to run rashly to arms and to expose their bodies to the arrows or in any way

to attempt to oppose the advance of the search party, as all such means would, in her opinion, prove no barrier to the irresistible onward march of its commander. In the 7th, the Pāṇis now describe the great wealth lying with them at the foot of the hill and point out the possibility of a very determined resistance on the part of the veteran warriors who were entrusted with the defence of the precious treasures. In the 8th, Saramā, not in the least frightened or even bewildered, now gives out the composition of the escort and also points to possible divisions of the spoils, especially of cattle, which those forming the escort had expected or calculated to secure. In the 9th, the Pāṇis appear rather embarrassed and endeavour to bribe Saramā by acknowledging her as their sister and by proposing and agreeing to the restoration in full of the cattle which she might have lost or which she might claim as her own. In the 10th, Saramā acknowledges no other brothers or sisters except her Indra and his terrific Angirāsas who are watching her movements and therefore in right earnest counsels the Pāṇis to retreat still further. In the 11th, there is again the same counsel; but before retreating they are asked to restore the stolen herds to their rightful owners and thus avert their just wrath.

Authorship of the hymn.

As regards the authorship, the ritualists are pleased to deal with this Saramā hymn precisely in the manner in which they have dealt with the Vṛishā-Kapi hymn, fathering some verses upon the Pāṇis and the remaining on Saramā. Consequently the same canon of criticism, which has been applied to the preceding hymn, may be safely applied to this hymn also. In the 8th verse, the 4th line is evidently of the author, whoever he was. Barring this one line in the 8th verse, in no other verse will the reader find anything to break the continuity of thought and regularity of argument observable in this hymn.

The value of the Saramā hymn.

This hymn is rather political than social. The whole atmosphere of this hymn being political, there is very little in it calculated to catch the eye of a social reformer, nevertheless, a woman, employed in open diplomacy as a spy or rather as an envoy, is a phase of society for which even the progressive Christendom does not as yet seem prepared.

There is no Indrāṇī here, the hymn being political. But there ought to be no two opinions in regard to the meaning of the word

Indra, which will be found used precisely in the same sense in this hymn as in the preceding. Not only is this hymn useful in arriving at the original meaning of the word Indra, but it is equally useful in getting an insight into the original meanings of the words Brihaspati, R̥ṣhi and Soma. The word Brihaspati is clearly used for a "Commander" or "General." The other words being military, the word Brihaspati also in this verse must be held to express some military officer, and that too the "highest." बृहत् or बृहस् must primarily have denoted an "army." One might as well take बृहत्, to mean "great." The same canon applies to the word R̥ṣhi in the 8th verse. The R̥ṣhis who were under the Brihaspati must have been "soldiers" or "warriors," not "priests." The word 'Soma' in the 8th verse may be taken to mean "liquor;" but in the last verse to take it as a proper name, and that too of the Brihaspati, is the only course, no other course being found tenable. The word *Indra* thus seems to have originally denoted a 'ruler' or 'king,' *Brihaspati* 'a general' or 'commander,' and *R̥ṣhi* a 'soldier' or 'warrior.' If for nothing else, at least as a means to determine the primitive meanings of the oldest Vedic words such as *Indra*, *Brihaspati*, *R̥ṣhi* and *Soma*, this Saramā hymn is simply invaluable. The hymn also throws an equally bright light on some other points, whose knottiness or obscurity can in no way diminish their importance. The name of the province or region ruled over by the Indra is mentioned as *Div*. May it not be that this name of a province or region ruled over by the Indra had something to do with the word *Deva*? *Deva* was thus the name of a tribe or division of mankind and *Div* that of the land occupied by that division. *Indra* was the title of the ruler of the division of the *Devas* and of the land of *Div*. The word *Deva*, or rather *Dairya*, occurs in the 9th verse, where the natives of *Div* are clearly indicated. The word *Deva* must thus have denoted all sections like the Angiras with their sub-sections like the Navagvas, while the word *R̥ṣhi* denoted a member of the military profession. It might be that the R̥ṣhis formed a sub-section like the Navagvas or a section like the Angiras of the natives of *Div*.

The Panis appear to have been a section of some division, which if it did not rise above, at least equalled, the *Devas* in civilization. One cannot gather from the hymn whether the *Devas* had marts, but the Panis at least had them, and they were filled with wealth and horses and cows or oxen. There can be no doubt as to the Panis being traders. The natives of *Div* must have made depredations into

the land of the Panis, as the Panis made into theirs. The cows or oxen and horses also formed the principal object of plunder. If the Panis spoke the same language, they must have belonged to the same human family with the Devas; if it be held that the language ascribed to them in the hymn has been fathered on them, the hymn being written in the Sanskrit language, they must have belonged to a different human family. The word *Daivya* applied by the Panis to their enemies in the 8th verse tends to establish that the Panis at least thought themselves to be quite distinct from the Devas. Be that as it may. In one of the plundering expeditions the Panis were, according to our author, the aggressors, and Saramâ, sent with a large military escort by the then Indra, proposed that they should restore the stolen cows and recede far inland. The hymn is silent as to whether the Panis accepted the proposal and accordingly receded, or whether they had to be forcibly disgorged of their unlawful plunder and also dispossessed of a part of their land. It is the close pursuit of, and dictation of terms to, the Panis by Saramâ, backed by a strong military escort which our bard has seen fit to immortalize.

More about the Devas and Div.

There was a time when it was usual to divide the then known mankind into two principal divisions, viz., the Devas and the non-Devas. In the very first hymn of the third Mandala, the author hopes (अभिष्याम पृथनायूं अदेवान् and आ देवानामभवः केतुरधे—अनुदेवान् रथिरो यासि साधन्—16 and 17 verses) to humble the warlike non-Devas by the aid of the sacred fire, which the Devas seem to have carried in a chariot in the van and also in the rear of their armies, while marching or fighting. In the 10th Mandala in the 87th hymn in the 14th verse, the sacred fire is asked to consume by its flame the *Mûra-Devas*; while in the 99th hymn in the third verse, Indra is described as "humbling, by his power, the *Shishna-Devas*." The *Shishna-Devas* and the *Mûra-Devas*, though originally they must have been offshoots of the Devas, as the addition of the word *Deva* to their names incontestably proves, seem to have been rather ill-disposed towards, and therefore at war with, the main stem at the time when the hymns in which their names occur were written. May it not be that the Panis being either of the *Shishna-Deva* or the *Mûra-Deva* branch carried on a constant warfare with, and gave no small trouble to, the Devas with their *Brihaspatis* and *Indras*.

From the 10th hymn (verse 4), of the 7th Mandala, *Div* seems to have been divided into three divisions, had three rivers, three lakes

and many streams descending down the chain of mountains called *Virapshi*. The names of the three divisions as given in the 65th hymn (verse 2) of the 8th Maṇḍala are *Prasravana*, *Svarnara* and *Samudra*, while in the 10th hymn (verse 1) of the same Maṇḍala, the names of *Dirgha-prasadman* and *Rochana* are substituted for the first two, though the third *Samudra* is the same as that found in the other hymn.

The word *Deva* will thus be seen to have originally denoted a people or division of mankind. The whole mankind then known was divided into 'five divisions' or 'five peoples' and the word *panch-jana* was most appropriately used when all the known divisions of men were intended to be expressed. The word *panch-jana* is found also in classical Sanskrit. The value of some of the historical Vedic hymns as unfolding the earliest history of one of the five divisions of mankind, is simply incalculable.

It is now time to turn to the "Stars' hymn."

देवानां तु वयं जाना प्रवोचाम विपन्यया
उक्थेषु शस्यमानेषु, यः पद्यादुत्तरे जुगे. १
ब्रह्मणस्पतिरेता सं कर्मार इवाऽधमत्;
देवानां पूर्व्ये जुगे असतः सद्जायत. २
देवानां जुगे प्रथमे असतः सद्जायत;
तद्भाशा अन्वजायत, तदुत्तानपदस्परि. ३
भूर्जस उत्तानपदो, भुव आशा अजायत;
अदितिर्देवो अजायत ? दक्षाद् वदितिः परि ? ४

¹ "जाना" (Ved.) = "जानानि" (Ved.) = जन्मानि (classic.). "प्रवोचाम" (Ved.) = प्रवोचाम (classic.) = (we) have described, we describe. "विपन्या" is very loosely used for "wisdom" and विपन्यु for "wise." यः apparently for कोऽपि. "पद्यात्" is the so-called लट्.

² "एता" (Ved.) = एतान् (classic.) = (देवान्) एतान्. The prefix सम् should be taken with अधमत्; समधमत् = successfully blew. कर्मार is evidently an abbreviation of कर्मकार, which would literally mean any worker, though here the worker in glass only seems to be understood. पूर्व्ये for पूर्व्यतर the older, the more ancient.

³ प्रथम is strictly speaking प्रथम, the superlative of प्र meaning "old." The antecedent of तन् seems to be असतः; "तत् अनु अजायत" = followed that (*asat*) in birth = that *asat* begot. "उत्तानपदः" is evidently in the plural. "तत् परि (अजायत)" = तत् अनु अजायत = ताः (आशाः) अनु अजायत = those directions produced.

⁴ "उत्तानपदः" is the ablative singular. "वदितिः" = उ अदितिः; the particle उ is often interrogative, it sometimes expresses doubt also. परि should be

अदितिर्जनिष्ट दक्ष या दुहिता तव, तां देवा अन्वजायन्त भद्रा अमृतबन्धवः.	५
यद् देवा अदःसलिले सुसंख्या अतिष्ठत, अत्रा वो मृत्यतामिव तीन्नी रेणुरपाऽयत्.	६
यद् देवा यतयो यथा भुवनानि अपिन्वत, अत्रा समुद्र आगूळहमा सूर्यमज्जभर्तन.	७
अष्टौ पुत्रासो अदितेः, ये जातास्तन्वस्पति, देवां उप प्रैत् सप्तभिः, परा मार्ताण्डमास्यत्.	८
सप्तभिः पुत्रैरदितिरुप प्रैत् पृथ्व्यं युगम्; प्रजायै मृत्यवे त्वत् पुनर्मार्ताण्डमाभरत्.	९

1. Let us describe, while the Ukthas are being recited, the births of the Devas in polished language; any one will see (them, that is the Devas) at a time subsequent (to the recitations of the Ukthas).

2. Brahmanas-pati—like a glass-blower (karmāra)—blew them (of the previous night); in the more ancient creation of the Devas, the existent had sprung from the non-existent.

3. In the very first creation of the Devas, from the non-existent sprung the existent; that (non-existent) produced the (celestial) directions, those (directions) produced the (firmaments) extending high up.

4. From (the firmament) extending high up sprung the earth; from the earth the (terrestrial) directions; did Dakṣha spring from Aditi? or was Aditi produced from Dakṣha?

5. (O) Dakṣha, that Aditi, thy daughter, who was born (of thee), produced the blessed Devas, friendly to the not—dead.

taken with the imperfect (लङ्) of जन्; the उपसर्ग in the Vedic language, sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the verb, one or even more words often intervening between them.

५ “ताम् अनु अजायन्त” = she begot or produced. ६ “अत्रा” = अत्र.

७ “अपिन्वत” (Ved.) = आप्याययन् (classic.). “गूळहम्” (Ved.) = गूढम् (classic.). “अजभर्तन” (Ved.) = अजहर्तन (Ved.) = अहरत (classic.); one आ to be taken with this verb.

८ “पुत्रासः” (Ved.) = पुत्राः (classic.). परि should be connected with जाताः. “तन्वः” (Ved.) = तन्वाः (classic.). “देवां” (Ved.) = देवान् (classic.); “देवां उप” = देवानुप. “परा” = उपरि, पश्चात् = afterwards. “मार्ताण्डम्” = मृताण्डम्; “dead” seems to be used for “after death.”

९ In the 2nd line च should be taken as understood after मृत्यवे. “त्वत्” (Ved.) = एकम् (classic.); “त्व” in the Vedic language being equal to एक in the classical. “आभरत्” = conceived (if from पु), brought forth (if from ह).

6. (O) Devas, when you stood greatly agitated in yonder water (of firmament), sharp dust of you as if dancing flew down hither.

7. (O) Devas, because you, like the Saints (Yatis) fed (with light) the worlds, you did lift up in this (world) the sun hidden in the sea.

8. Aditi had eight sons, who were produced from her body; she with the seven (sons) joined the (first creation of the) Devas; afterwards she threw out the posthumous egg.

9. With the seven sons, Aditi joined the (very) first creation (of the Devas); but she brought forth the posthumous egg for the propagation (and) death (of mankind).

Remarks and Observations on the Hymn.

First as regards the time of its composition.

The four words, *viz.*, *Uktha*, *Brahmanas-pati*, *Karmāra* and *Yati* deserve special notice.

The words *Uktha* and the passive present participle *Shasyamā-neshu* have a technical meaning in the Soma sacrifice. The term *Uktha* was once applied to the recitations of the Hotri priest, that is, the priest of R̥ig-veda. But subsequently the word *Shashtra* came to be substituted for it, the word *Uktha* being reserved for those evening recitations only, which were recited in a special form of the Soma sacrifice, which on that account has received the designation of *Ukthya* (possessed of the *Ukthas*). The *Ukthya* form of the Soma sacrifice gets the second rank among the four, the first being reserved for the Agni-stoma. In the ritual aphorisms, whenever the recitations of the priest of R̥ig-veda are intended, the word invariably used for them is '*shastra*,' derived from *shans* which in the ritualistic language means to "recite."

If the word *Uktha* be taken in the sense in which it is understood by later ritualists, it will be necessary to assume that the hymn was composed, while the *Ukthya* form of the Soma sacrifice was being celebrated by some munificent sacrificer. But the elaborate and tedious recitations (with permutations and combinations, often meaningless to a layman's ear) of the priests of later times, were ill-adapted to times rather simple, when, there being no established priesthood and therefore no organised attempt on the part of the priests to bring about an abnormal development, the ritual also was likely to be simple. The hymn seems to have been the production of a time, when the word *shastra* had not yet seen the light.

The word *Brahmanas-pati* means "Lord of the Ritual." The hymn must thus have been written at a time when there was the custom

of reciting some evening prayers in honour of the Lord of the Vedic ritual. There certainly was some advance in the ritual, as the words Ukthas and Brahmanas-pati prove; but the abnormally developed ritual of the later Soma sacrifice seems a long way off.

The word "glass-blower" proves that the society of the time when the hymn was written had made some advance in the art of glass-blowing. The author himself had perhaps the honour to belong to that trade. The word *yati* etymologically means a 'self-restrained' person. Whether these yatis had taken the vow of perpetual celibacy or only of one marriage is not quite clear, though they were evidently itinerant preachers, belonging to some religious order. The great mission of these saints was to banish the gloom prevailing in the heart of the hearers by awakening the dormant spiritual or moral faculty appropriately likened, in the 7th verse of the hymn, to the Sun. The saints, from the language at least of the seventh verse, must be taken as theistic, the word "sun" being suggestive rather of the Supreme Spirit. The society of the time of the hymn will thus be seen to have made considerable advance in spiritual and moral culture.

Now, as regards the authorship of the hymn.

The ritualists hold one Brihaspati, the son either of Loka or of Angiras, to be the author. Whoever the author was, he was a poet of no mean order; he was possibly a distinguished preacher of some religious order and by profession a glass-blower. He seems to have been a theist holding matter to have sprung from nothing. Whether the Supreme Spirit was or was not according to the author also a creator, is not quite clear. In the eye of the writer of the hymn the Supreme Spirit was possibly only an all-merciful and good Being, having had nothing to do with the creation of matter, though the blowing of the stars by Brahmanas-pati seems to be suggestive of the act of creation or rather of the creation of cosmos out of chaos.

The order of creation as unfolded in this hymn is somewhat obscure. The three words Uttāna-pad, Dakṣha and Aditi are, when speaking of creation, most interesting. The word Uttāna-pad is not a proper name, etymologically the word means something "extending high up" and in this place it is evidently applied to the 'firmament' or 'firmaments.' "The ends (Āshās) of the firmament first sprung from nothing; and extending high up, they formed the firmament, the terrestrial globe came out of the celestial, which it met at the ends." Such is the genesis, as described in this hymn,

of the two globes. The author, though at first sorely puzzled not knowing whether to put the genesis of day first or to make its genesis follow that of night, as if by a vision, perhaps prophetic, suddenly sees the relation between the first day and the first night to be that of father and daughter. *Dakṣha* is evidently "day," derived perhaps from 'dah' to burn; *Aditi* (non-*diti*) is evidently "night," *diti*, derived from *div* to shine, being "day." The word *Deva* in this hymn means nothing more than a "star," and as such, it is not less interesting than the preceding three words.

Aditi gives birth to the *Devas*, that is, to "stars" of which only seven are taken into account, the eighth the Sun being the "post-humous egg." The seven stars *perhaps* are *Mitra* (मित्र), *Aryaman* (अर्यमा), *Bhaga* (भग), *Tuvijâta* (तुविजात), *Varuṇa* (वरुण), *Dakṣha* (दक्ष) and *Ansha* (अंश) found in the 2nd Maṇḍala (verse 1, hymn 27) of *R̥ig-veda*. The *Taittiriya Âraṇyaka* has substituted, according to *Mādhav*, *Dhātṛi* (धातृ) and *Indra* for *Tuvijâta* and *Dakṣha*, while it reads *Anshu* for *Ansha*. The order of the *Taittiriya Âraṇyaka* also slightly differs. The author ought to rank pretty high among the Sanskrit poets of the Vedic times. What a revolution in the original meaning of the word *Deva*!!!

May it not be that there were two words originally distinct; the one was an independent word connected with *Div*, the cradle of one of the five divisions of mankind, while the other, derived from *div*, to shine was a cognate of *divā*, *dya*, *dina* and *divasa*, all the four words meaning "day" in the Sanskrit language. A distinction was possibly made even in their pronunciation during the pre-ritualistic times, when the language was living. But how could the distinctions in pronunciation be preserved after the language had become dead. The consonant ह (*h*) will quite vividly illustrate the point. It is not known whence *Pāṇini* received the first 14 alphabet—aphorisms. That he was not their author is admitted by all. The alphabet—aphorisms perhaps belong to the pre-ritualistic age, when the language was living; they are, perhaps, the product of the ritualistic or even of the post-ritualistic age, when, the language not being living and therefore many of the original simple words and expressions that had become obsolete being somehow misunderstood, the foundation—stone of the later sacrificial ritual was laid and its formidable fabric was either in course of being reared or had already been reared. Be that as it may, there are two kinds of ह (*h*) mentioned in the alphabet—aphorisms, one being (हयवरट्) a semi-vowel

while the other is (हल्) a decided aspirate. Both kinds of ह् (h) in these days are pronounced alike, no distinction being ever made between them. Pāṇini in one of his aphorisms (व्योलेष्टुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य—८,३,१८) has two kinds of व् (v) and य् (y); one being *lighter*, the other must be *heavier*. But there is no room for *lighter* व् (v) and य् (y) in the alphabet—aphorisms, nor is any distinction in the pronunciation ever made in these days. When such has been the case with the distinctions in pronunciation even of some sounds that were known in the ritualistic and the post-ritualistic ages, when the language was dead, should it be a matter of surprise that no clue is found to distinctions in the pronunciation, as they were observed in the pre-ritualistic age, when the language was living? Suppose the Marāṭhī language were to become dead; how could the distinctions in the pronunciations of फट (fissure) and फट (the sound *phat*), हंस (swan) and हंस (smile-imperative singular), चार (four) and चार (green grass or graze-imperative singular) be preserved? Some such distinction was, perhaps, made in the pronunciation of either one of the vowels or consonants of *deva*, denoting a division of mankind, and *deva* denoting a star, when the language was living; but all such distinctions are now lost beyond recovery. This of course, it is submitted, is only a conjecture. But still the fact remains, and there ought to be no two opinions with regard to that fact, that the word *deva* in the Vedic hymns denotes a “division of mankind” and also a “star.” Either the two words were originally distinct, or the original meaning being lost, the word somehow came to be applied to a “star.” These seem to be the only two solutions and, how-so-ever crude they may be, they are most respectfully submitted for the consideration of those who, having made the Vedas their life-long study, are better qualified to judge and pronounce an opinion or judgment.

The words Uttāna-pad, Dakṣha and Aditi are understood as proper names by the authors of the Purāṇas, and are thus made the groundwork of many a curious story. On a closer examination many of the stories in the Purāṇas, not excluding the great epic of the Mahābhārata, will be found to have for their basis a misunderstanding of some of the Vedic hymns, which, though generally very simple, are sometimes not quite intelligible, being filled with obsolete words and expressions, while at other times they are even obscure, being highly poetical.

Note on the Royal Society's International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.

THE following account of the Royal Society's scheme for an International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, published in the August proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has been received from the Honorary Secretary, Committee of Control of the Regional Bureau for India and Ceylon, and as suggested by him it is republished for the information of the members of the B. B. R. A. Society :—

I. ORIGIN AND OUTLINE OF THE SCHEME.

At an International Conference organized by the Royal Society and held in London during July 1896, it was considered "desirable to compile and publish, by means of some international organisation, a complete catalogue of scientific literature, arranged according both to subject matter and to author's names," in order that scientific investigators, by means of the catalogue, may be able readily to find out what has been published concerning any particular subject of enquiry.

In the following November a Committee was appointed by the Royal Society of London to study all the questions involved, and to frame a scheme for the work. The report of this Committee was issued on the 30th March, 1898, and during the following October a second International Conference was held in London to discuss the proposals of the Committee. This Conference, which included delegates from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany Hungary, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, Cape Colony, India, Natal, New Zealand and Queensland, confirmed the general principle of the previous Committee, that a catalogue be published in the form of separate cards for each paper as well as periodically classified in book form. It was decided to provide schedules for the internal classification of each of the following seventeen sciences :—

Mathematics.
Astronomy.
Meteorology.
Physics.
Crystallography.
Chemistry.

Mineralogy.
 Geology (including Petrology).
 Geography—Mathematical and Physical.
 Palæontology.
 Anatomy.
 Zoology.
 Botany.
 Physiology (including Pharmacology and Experimental
 Pathology.)
 Bacteriology.
 Psychology.
 Anthropology.

Each of these subjects will be distinguished by a separate *registration letter* and the subdivisions indicated in the schedules by *registration numbers* designed purely for the guidance of the Central Bureau in arranging the cards in order for the compilation of a book-subject-catalogue.

Card Catalogue.—The basis of the catalogue is the card or slip. For every communication containing scientific statement worthy of being indexed, whether appearing in a periodical or any other form of independent publication, at least one separate slip is to be prepared. These will be issued regularly to subscribers and will enable them not only to keep themselves informed as to the progress of a science, but also easily to keep an "account current" of such progress.

Book Catalogue.—At determined regular intervals, not necessarily the same for all sciences, the Central Bureau in London will compile from the slips and issue in a book form an index to authors as well as an index to the subjects treated in the literature published within the determined period. The book-catalogue will be obtainable in parts corresponding to the several sciences for which slips are provided, and in some cases, in Zoology for example, it may be found desirable to issue separate volumes for special sections of the subject. It is proposed also to supplement this frequent periodical publication of book-catalogues by issuing collective indices covering periods of at least five or ten years. The titles of the publications and the subject entries will appear either in English, French, German, Italian or Latin, and the titles of publications appearing in other languages will be translated into one of these five for the purpose of indexing, but the original title will be preserved and issued with the translation.

The final schedule of classification for each subject is now being

worked out by an International Committee, which was appointed by the 1898 Conference for the purpose, but the schedules proposed by the Royal Society's Committee, whose work closed on March 30th of last year, may be taken as example of the way in which the subjects will be sub-divided and catalogued.

As an example, the schedule proposed for subject F, Chemistry, is given at the end of this note and shows the elaborate system of classification which will enable the worker in any special branch to readily obtain the current literature bearing on his researches.

Where the different subjects overlap one another arrangements will be made as much as possible for similarity of numbering. Thus, in the case of Palæontology a publication will be numbered according to the system used in Geology for the stratigraphical horizon of the fossils referred to, according to the Zoological and Botanical systems to indicate their position in the animal or vegetable kingdom, and according to the scheme for Geography to show the country in which the specimens were found. A paper, for instance, on Cretaceous Fishes from Asiatic Turkey would bear the symbol, K 75, 14*ei*; K standing for Palæontology; 75, the number for Cretaceous in the Geological schedule; 14 that for fishes in the Zoological; *e* for Asia and *ei* for Asiatic Turkey and Arabia.

The systems of classification indicated above for Chemistry and for Palæontology are sufficient to show the immense value the catalogues will be to special workers, who, under present circumstances, have no certain means of readily discovering the whole of the current literature bearing on their particular lines of research.

II. THE FORMATION OF REGIONAL BUREAUX.

The Royal Society's Committee, by enquiry of experts in the various subjects, estimated that the number of communications to be analysed and indexed would not fall far short of 40,000 in each year. To deal with such a body of literature, according to the detailed scheme indicated above, would, naturally, be beyond the powers of any one unaided Society, and the formation of Regional Bureaux was consequently undertaken.

The term *Regional Bureau* is introduced to indicate an organisation, wherever established, for the purpose of collecting and indexing the scientific literature of a particular region. The region may be either a country or part of a country, or several countries or parts of

countries which can for this particular purpose be conveniently grouped together.

It is proposed that such Regional Bureaux shall be entrusted with the task of preparing the slips required to completely index the scientific literature of the regions committed to their charge. The slips so prepared in the different regions will be regularly forwarded to the Central Bureau in London, to be checked according to the sanctioned schedules, and then printed, first in slip form and finally in book form for issue to the subscribers.

Primary slips.—The slips forwarded to the Central Bureau from each region will be known as *primary slips*, and when these bear more than one registration letter, or more than one subject-entry (indicating that more than one subject is treated in the publication it refers to), copies will be printed, with or without alteration in the arrangement of the subject-entries, to permit the production of a full card catalogue for each subject. Such copies of the primary slip will be known as *secondary slips* and will be prepared entirely in the Central Bureau.

The Regional Bureaux will be responsible merely for the preparation of the primary slips, each of which is to contain :—

- (i) *A Title-entry*—giving the author's name and the full title of the communication, in the original language alone if the language be either English, French, German, Italian or Latin. In the case of other languages, the title will be, as far as the Regional Bureau for India and Ceylon is concerned, translated into English ; but the original title will also be added, either in the original script, or transliterated into Roman script. The title will be followed by every necessary reference, including the year of publication, and such other symbols as may be determined. In the case of a separately published book, the place and year of publication, and the number of pages, &c., will be given.
- (ii) *Subject-entries*—indicating as briefly as possible the principal subjects to which the communication refers. Such subject entries will be given only in the original language of the communication if this be one of the five previously referred to, but in other cases in India and Ceylon, English will be used.

The following specimens of primary slips prepared by the Royal

Society's Committee will serve as a guide to Authors, who, it is hoped, will assist the local committee in their preparation:—

Specimen Primary Slips.

Mineralogy.

G.

- FOOTE, H. W. On the occurrence of Pollucite, Columbite, and Microlite at Rumford, Maine. *Am. Journ. Sci.*, 1896 (iv), 1, 457.
Pollucite. From Rumford, Maine. Anal.
Mangano-columbite. From Rumford, Maine. Cryst.
Columbite. Mangano-columbite, from Rumford, Maine. Cryst.
Microlite. From Rumford, Maine.
Rumford (Maine). Pollucite, &c.

Zoology.

- WINTON, W. E. de. Remarks on the existing forms of Giraffe
P. Zool. Soc. London, 1897, pp. 273-283.

[*Mammalia*, *Artiodactyla*. *Giraffidæ*.]

- Giraffa*, specific characters, figg.; synonymy ...
 Means of defence, use and origin of horns ...
 Africa, distribution in

III. THE REGIONAL BUREAU FOR INDIA AND CEYLON.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal, recognising the immense value of the scheme to workers in this country, readily acceded to the request of the Royal Society and undertook the formation and conduct of the Regional Bureau for India and Ceylon. The Governments of India and Ceylon have been addressed on the subject, and, in addition to an annual grant sanctioned by the former Government to cover office expenses, they have directed all heads of Government Departments issuing publications on subjects included in the Royal Society's list, to supply the Asiatic Society with primary slips of the kind described above; they have also instructed Local Governments and Administrations to supply periodical lists of books and journals published within their jurisdiction, with, as far as possible, copies of the publications.

A Committee has been appointed by the Asiatic Society to control the work of this Regional Bureau, and each subject defined by the Royal Society is represented on the Committee by a specialist, who will be responsible for checking or supplementing the primary slips relating to publications in his particular subject.

To Authors:—But as there are some fifty periodicals to be examined, besides independently published works, the Committee feels that its self-imposed task will not be adequately carried out without the loyal assistance of authors themselves, who, naturally, can most rapidly and most accurately indicate the scope of their essays.

The working of this scheme will, moreover, be attended with certain advantages to the authors themselves; for the catalogues will be regularly printed and issued by the Royal Society to the subscribers, who will include, besides many of the chief workers in each science, the principal scientific institutions and libraries in the world. In this way all scientific papers and books published in India will be brought to the notice of the scientific world and the present partial and unavoidable neglect of Indian publications will consequently no longer be possible. In fact, as far as the scientific world is concerned, work published in India will now receive, as it should do, exactly the same notice as it would if published by a leading society in Europe.

The assistance which the Committee ask of authors of papers coming within the scope of the catalogue is the preparation of a "primary slip" for each paper, prepared as already indicated and in a form similar to the two samples given above.

It is important to observe that what is required is not an index to the paper or book, but an index to the subjects treated, and the entries for these should be as brief and as few as is consistent with the scope of the paper. The author is not asked to enter the registration letters and numbers; that will be done by the Bureau, but he is requested to make the subject-entries, and these should only be prepared for subjects which are so treated as to contain an addition or alteration to existing knowledge; subjects referred to merely as illustrations of the matters dealt with in the paper should not be indexed.

In the case of papers dealing with Palæontology, Zoology or Botany the Primary Slip should contain a classified list of all new species described. If no new species are described the subject-entries should indicate the natural orders, families, or genera dealt with, and the subject dealt with in relation to them.

Books or papers whose scope is completely or sufficiently indicated by the title will require no further subject-entries. Text-books and educational works whose scope is sufficiently indicated by their title, require no subject-entries, except where they may contain additions to

the existing knowledge of science, when subject-entries should be prepared for these parts only.

The Committee of the Regional Bureau have drawn up a list of periodicals which are known by them to publish scientific papers, and which are received in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; but they have to trust to the quarterly reports from Local Governments for intimation of the publication of independent books and pamphlets. As these quarterly reports may appear some considerable time after the publication of a book, it is desirable for Authors, to ensure immediate record being made of their work, to send a copy to the Asiatic Society, accompanied by a primary slip containing title and subject-entries. Societies and Editors are similarly recommended to adopt the very useful practice now being followed by many scientific societies in Europe of issuing primary slips with each "part" of a journal. Such slips can best be prepared by the authors themselves, and sent to the editor of the journal in which his paper appears for transmission with the journal to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

IV. CENTRAL ORGANISATION.

For the continuation and proper development of the work the Royal Society recommended, and the Conference held last October approved of, the organisation of *International Conventions* to be held in London in 1905, 1910 and every tenth year afterwards. Such International Conventions will consist of delegates appointed to represent the various Regional Bureaux, for the purpose of revising as may be necessary the regulations for carrying out the work of the catalogue authorised by the International Conference of 1898.

It is also proposed to form an *International Council* composed of one member from each of the Regional Bureaux to act as a governing body of the catalogue. The reports of this Council, giving an account of the expenses of the scheme, will be distributed to the several Regional Bureaux and will be published in recognised local periodicals.

The International Council will appoint for each science an *International Committee of Referees* to decide on questions of classification not provided for by the catalogue regulations, or in cases of doubt to pronounce an opinion as to the meaning of the regulations.

The actual routine work connected with the classification of primary slips received from the different regions and the printing and issue of the catalogues will be carried on in London by the *Central Bureau*, which will consist of a Director and staff of expert Assistants.

It is impossible yet to fix the rates of subscription to the catalogues, but the scheme drawn up by the Royal Society's Committee provides for subscription to the Slip Catalogue and the Book Catalogue separately, both of which will be issued in parts devoted to the whole of a registered science when its literature is limited in amount, or to a special section of a science when its literature is extensive and capable of convenient subdivision. The Regional Bureaux will, later on, be provided with the scale of subscription, when steps will be taken to inform individuals or institutions likely to subscribe.

The preparation of the catalogue will date from the 1st of January, 1900.

Abridged Schedule of Classification for Chemistry.¹

Chemical Bibliography.

- 0000 Philosophy.
- 0010 History.
- 0020 Biography.
- 0030 Dictionaries, collected works, text-books.
- 0040 Pedagogy.
- 0050 Addresses, lectures, essays and theses.
- 0100 Chemistry (Specific) of the elements, to include all entries relating to the elements generally, or which cannot be referred to any one of the known elements.
- 0110 Aluminium.
- 0120 Antimony.
- 0130 Argon, followed by the other known elements at similar numerical intervals and arranged in alphabetical order up to—
- 0840 Zirconium.

Entries made under any element may be further sub-divided according to the nature of the compounds in which they occur, and are arranged into five further sections in such order that the entries relating, α , to the history or origin of the substance shall come first, followed by, β , its preparation or manufacture; γ , its structure, or theoretical nature; δ , its interactions or use; and ϵ , its compounds.

- 0900 Laboratory Procedure.
- 1000 Organic (Carbon) Chemistry (Specific).
- 1010 Hydrocarbons generally with the following recognised groups—
- 1020 Paraffins.
- 1030 Unsaturated open chain hydrocarbons.
- 1040 Benzenoid hydrocarbons.
- 1050 Reduced benzenoid hydrocarbons (terpenes, &c.).
- 1060 Unclassified hydrocarbons.

When necessary these groups of hydrocarbons are further sub-divided into isologous groups, in each of which the compounds are entered in homologous order.

¹ From the Report of the Royal Society Committee, March 30th, 1898. The numbers employed to distinguish the sub-divisions are sufficiently separated to admit the interpolation of new sub-divisions as the subject expands.

- 1010 Alcohols and Ethers with sub-divisions as in the case of hydrocarbons ranging from 1110 to 1150.
- 1200 Acids.
- 1300 Aldehydes and Ketones.
- 1400 Carbohydrates ; Glucosides ; Resins.
- 1500 Amino- and Azo-compounds.
- 1600 Mixed Cycloids.
- 1700 Organo-metallic and allied compounds.
- 1800 Alkaloids.
- 1900 Proteids.
- 2000 Coloured compounds.
- 2500 Operations in Organic Chemistry.
- 3000 Analytical Chemistry.
- 3500 Theoretical and Physical Chemistry.
- 4000 Physiological Chemistry.

The above are only the main sections proposed by the Committee ; the sub-divisions between Nos. 1500 and 1600 (*Amino- and Azo- compounds*) will serve to exemplify the next stage of sub-division in the schedule—

- 1510 Amino-paraffins.
- 1520 Amino-derivatives of unsaturated open chain hydrocarbons.
- 1530 Amino-derivatives of benzenoid hydrocarbons.
- 1535 Amino-derivatives of reduced benzenoid hydrocarbons.
- 1540 Acid amides and allied compounds.
- 1545 Imides, imido-ethers, &c.
- 1550 Azo-compounds (open chain).
- 1560 Azo-compounds (closed chain).
- 1570 Diazo-compounds (open chain).
- 1580 Diazo-compounds (closed chain).
- 1590 Unclassified amino- and azo-compounds.

Each of the divisions 1510—1540 are sub-divided again into mono-amino-, diamino-, &c., derivatives, which are arranged as in other series.

The following is given as a specimen page of the subject-catalogue in Chemistry :—

Specimen Page of Subject Catalogue.

F. Chemistry.

0020 Chemical Bibliography.

Biography.

- Baumann, Eugen, mit Bildniss and Verzeichniss seiner Schriften. *Kossel*, A. B. 1897, 3197-3209.
 Blomstrand, Christian. Wilhelm, *Klason Peter*, B., 1897, 3227-3241.
 Kekulé memorial lecture, with portrait. *Japp*, F. R. Soc., 1898, 97-131.
 Stohman, Friedrich, mit Verzeichniss seiner Schriften. *Ostwald W.*, B., 1897, 3214-3222.

0040 Pedagogy.

- Chapters on the aims and practice of teaching, edited by *Frederic Spencer*. Cambridge (England). At the University Press, 1897. Chap. X., Chemistry, by *Armstrong, H. E.*, 222-259.

0100 Elements.

- a Sur un nouvel extrait de la bauxite française. *Bayer, R. S.*, Bl., 1894, 11, 1155.
 Argon, a new constituent of the atmosphere. β *Rayleigh Lord*, and *Ramsay, W.*, Phil. Trans., 1895, 187-241.

0100 Aluminium.

- δ Amalgamirtes mit Wasser als neutralis Reductionsmittel. *Wislicenus, H.*, and *Kaufmann, L. B.*, 1895, 1323, 1983.
 —Cohen *J. B.*, and *Ormandy, R.*, Ibid., 1505.
 Use of amalgamated, in preparing benzenoid hydrocarbons. *Hirst, H. R.*, and *Cohen, J. B.*, Soc., Pr., 1895, 148.
 Action sur le carbone et ses composés. *Frank L.*, Bl. 1894, 439.

C. Carbure. *Frank L.*, Bl. 1894, 445.

Cl. Krystallisirtes. κ . *Dennis, L. M.*, β Z. a. Ch., 1894, 339.

- e Avec du borneol, dum camphre, et du camphre monochloré. *Perrier, G.*, C. r., 1894, 119, 276.
 Avec les composés nitrés aromatique. *Perrier G.*, C. r., 1895, 120, 930.

O. Sur les carbonates, less hydrates et β les phosphates. *Schlumberger, E.*, Bl., 1895, 41.

δ Réduction par le charbon. *Moissan, H.*, C. r., 1894, 119, 260.

Si. Zur Chemie einiger Aluminosilicate.

γ Einwirkung der Alkalien. *Thugutt, S. J.*, Jahrb. f. Min. Beil., 9, 554.

0390 Iodine.

- β Pure from Cuprous iodide. *Lean, Bevan*, and *Whatmough, W. H.*, Soc., 1898, 148-157.

Cu. Cuprous iodide from iodoform. *Lean β Bevan*, and *Whatmough, W. H.*, Soc., 1898, 153.

0510 Nitrogen.

- Density of, from various sources. *Rayleigh, Lord*, and *Ramsay, W.*, Phil. Trans., 1895, 187.

O Nitrosoverbindungen, Aliphatische δ .

β *Piloty, O.*, B., 1898, 452.

P Polymeric chloronitrides orphosphorus. β *Stokes, N. H.*, Am. Chem. Journ., 1897, 782-795.

1010 Hydrocarbons.

- Petroleum, Composition of Californian. *Maybery, C. F.*, Am. Chem. Journ., 1897, 796.

1020 Paraffins.

- β propan, Brom-2-nitroso-2-, aus Acetoxim und Brom. Identisch mit Brompropylpsendonitrol. *Piloty, O.*, B., 1898, 454.
 Octan-Ueber ein Nitroso-. Dimethyl-2-5-nitroso-2-hexan. *Piloty, O.*, und *Ruff, O.*, B., 1898, 467.

1130 Benzenoid-ols.

- δ phenol, *p*-Amido-, und dessen Aether. Einwirkung des Oxalesters auf *Piutti, A.*, und *Piccoli, R.*, B., 1898, 330.

1230 Benzenoid Acids.

- Cinnamic and allied acids as a criterion of structure, Etherification of. *Sudborough, J. J.*, and *Lloyd, L. L.*, Soc., 1898, 81-96.

1340 Closed chain ons.

- β Sulfonale cyclischer Ketone. Pentanon-Methylpentanon-, Methylhexanon-, und Heptanonsulfonal. *Wallach, O.*, und *Borsche, W. B.*, 1898, 338.

3500 Theoretical Chemistry.

- Stereoisomerism as affecting formation of ethereal salts from unsaturated acids. *Sudborough, J. J.*, and *Lloyd, L. L.*, Soc., 1898, 81-96.

3550 Conditions of Chemical Change. Moisture, Influence on production and stability of ozone, and on interaction of mercury and halogens of. *Shenstone, W. A.*, Soc., 1897, 71, 477-488.

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ART. XVII.—*A Kushana stone-inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka era.* By Devadatta Ramkrishna BHANDARKAR, B.A.

[Read 19th October 1899.]

TEXT.

- १ [महाराजस्य] हूविष्कस्य देवपुत्रस्य स^१ ४० ५ व^१ ३ दि १० ५ एतस्य पूर्व(र)-
य उपासिकाये
२ खुसिचाये भगवतो श(शा) क्यमुने अप्रतिमस्य प्रतिमा प्रतिस्थापिता आ-
न्त्रिकायां रोशिकविहारे
३ आत्मनस्य आरोग्यदक्षिण^२ मात[र]दितिनं भदारिकाये शमणिक(का)मातरे
शमणिकाये जीवकस्य जीवकमातु
४ सर्वसत्त्वानं च हितसुखार्थं(॥)

TRANSLATION.

In the year 45 of the great king Devaputra Hūvishka, in the third (month) of the rainy season, on the fifteenth day—on this (date specified as) above, an image of the blessed incomparable Śākya Muni was installed in the Rośikavihāra in Āṭikā, by the female lay-worshipper Khvasichā for the gift of health for herself and for the welfare and happiness of her parents, her worshipful mistress, of the mother of Samanikā, of Samanikā, of Jīvaka, of the mother of Jīvaka and of all creatures.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved, was found by me in the library of the Bombay University. It originally belonged, I

¹ That here the month and not the fortnight of the rainy season is to be understood after the numeral 3, will be seen from Ep. Ind. I, pp. 384 and 386. See also J.R.A.S. (N.S.) VI, 184, where the sixteenth day clearly shows that the second month and not fortnight of summer is intended.

² 'Ārogyadakhina' is here identical with 'Ārogyadakhināye'. This is an instance of the crude form taking the place of an inflected form; for further instances, vide Ep. Ind., I, 375. The expression 'ārogyadakhinā' occurs in one of the Mathura inscriptions published by Dowson (J.R.A.S. [N.S.] VI, 187, No. 23) and Growse (Ind. Ant. VI, 218, No. 3). As they have misread the whole inscription, I submit my transcript of it: [L. 1] अयं कभको दानं भिक्षुनं शरीय-
स्य बुधरक्षितस्य च प्रहणीकानं (?) अनेन [L. 2] देयधर्मपरित्यागेन सर्वेषां प्रहणीका-
नं (?) आरोग्यदक्षिणये भवतु. A similar phrase 'arogadachhināe' is to be found in the inscription on the Wardak vase.

am told, to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. But no information as regards the place where it was discovered is forthcoming.

The inscription contains four lines of writing which covers a space of about $2' 5\frac{1}{4}''$ broad by $4''$ high and is in a state of almost perfect preservation. Immediately above the pedestal on which it is incised are visible vestiges of the feet only, undoubtedly, of an image of Buddha the gift of which the inscription purports to mention. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{4}''$ in the first three lines, and is $\frac{1}{2}''$ in the fourth. The type of characters agrees fully with that of the votive inscriptions of the Kushana period discovered at Mathura.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kushana king Hūvishka, with whose name is coupled the title of Mahārāja only, without the usual additional title Rājātirāja. It is a Buddhist inscription and the object thereof is to record the installation, by the female lay-worshipper Khvasichā, of the statue of Śākya Muni on the pedestal of which it is engraved. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year forty-five, on the fifteenth day of the third month of the rainy season.

This year forty-five is one of a series of dates occurring in inscriptions of the Kushana kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, and ranging from the year 4 to 98. In order to determine the English equivalent of the date of this as well as other inscriptions of the Kushana period, we have first to settle to what era they refer. It was Fergusson who first started the theory that Kanishka was the originator of the Śaka era, and that the dates of Kanishka and his successors are therefore years of that era. This view has been adopted by most antiquarians, but so far as my knowledge goes, it is only Fergusson and Prof. Oldenberg who give any reasons in favour of their thesis, and the rest simply assume it as proved. We shall first examine the arguments of Fergusson.³ He begins by saying that as worn out coins of the Roman Consular period (43 B. C.) were found in conjunction with those of Kanishka in the Manikyāl tope supposed to have been built by him, it shows that Kanishka flourished after that date *i.e.* 43 B. C. But how many years after that date Kanishka lived cannot, as Fergusson himself acknowledges, be determined. This, therefore, can hardly be called an argument. Secondly, he asserts that in the Ahin Posh Tope near Jelalabad, coins of Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka were obtained together with the Roman coins of Domitian,

³ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) 1880, pp. 264-267.

Trajan, and the empress Sabina. The coin of this last-named person shows that the erection of the tope cannot be earlier than 120 A. D. and may be as late as 140 or even 150 A. D. And if it is supposed, says Fergusson, that the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors are years of the Śaka era, the date 48 of Huvishka (taking this for our present purpose) corresponds to 126-127 A. D. which accords perfectly with the date arrived at from the Roman coins—130-140 A. D. This, I think, is the only argument on which Fergusson's theory is based. Now the only thing that may be called certain is that Huvishka cannot be earlier than 120 A. D. But that he lived about this time is an assumption that requires to be proved.* And Fergusson's argument does not prevent us from assigning him a later period. Nay, he himself owns the difficulty of placing his successor Vāsudeva so early as 177 A. D. if his latest date 98 is supposed to be a Śaka year. For the architecture and the sculptures of the Ali Masjid Tope which he thinks to have been built in the time of Vāsudeva, since he is the latest of the princes whose coins are found there, represent the doctrine of an advanced Mahāyāna school and the erection thereof, cannot in his opinion, be anterior to the fourth or the fifth century. This means that according to Fergusson, from the available architectural evidence, the dates of Vāsudeva cannot refer to the Śaka era, but must correspond to some years in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era which is the conclusion our investigation will ultimately lead us to.

We shall now test the line of reasoning which brings Prof. Oldenberg⁵ to the conclusion that Kanishka started the Śaka era. He first shows that the word *Korano* occurring on coins with barbaric legends of Kanishka, corresponds to the Kushana of the coins of his predecessors, and the *Gushana* of the Manikyāl inscription to which it tells us that that king belonged. Then the Professor refers us to a tetradrachm in the British museum, the legend on which reads according to him ΤΥΙΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΗΑΝΟΥ. Since

* In the N. Chr. (Numismatic Chronicle) for 1889, pp 274-275 Cunningham after referring the dates of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva to the Seleukidan era with four hundreds omitted, brings in confirmation thereof the argument that Huvishka was a contemporary of the empress Sabina as their coins were found together in the Ahin Posh Tope. My refutation of Fergusson's argument holds equally good in this case.

⁵ Ind. Ant. X, 214-215.

here the word Śaka is associated with the word Korano, the Professor argues that the Kushanas were Śakas, and that Kanishka was therefore of the Śaka nationality. Further, he observes that as from the evidence of his coins Kanishka appears to have reigned about the close of the first century A.D. and there was no other Indian Prince at this time so famous as Kanishka, and as we find an era with reference to which the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors appear to have been dated, Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era. Now, when Percy Gardner first published his notice of the coin just referred to, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,⁶ he read the third word ΣΑΚΑ. And his reading was no doubt accepted by E. Thomas for some time,⁷ but he soon pointed out (correctly as will be shown) when he found another coin of the same type that the letters between the horse's legs were ΣΑΝ followed by ΑΒ in the field in front.⁸ But in his *British Museum Catalogue of Greek and Scythian kings of India*, Percy Gardner rejects this reading as unintelligible and sticks to that first proposed by him.⁹ He further affirms that the third letter of this word is like a retrograde Ν (Λ), which on later Parthian and Bactrian coins is engraved for Κ. But Cunningham, who carefully examined the legends on the diverse coins of this king arrived at the conclusion that with Thomas the third word in the legend must be read Sanab.¹⁰ In the first place he points out that there is a fifth letter Β, which is distinct even on the aforesaid tetradrachm but which Gardner and, it may be added, Prof. Oldenberg pass unnoticed. Next, he tells us that the legend on a similar coin noticed by Gardner in a footnote contains the word ΚΟΠΑΝΟΥ which he rightly reads as ΚΟΠΑΝΟΥ and not ΚΟΠΑΚΟΥ, although here there is a retrograde Ν which according to him should have been read Κ. Lastly, Cunningham says that on one of the tetradrachms of this king this Ν of ΣΑΝΑΒ is properly formed. The correct reading therefore is Sanab and not Śaka. The Śaka extraction of Kanishka thus remains unproved since the reading of the legend on the tetradrachm in the *British Museum* from which it is inferred, has been shown to be erroneous. Prof. Oldenberg's theory of Kanishka being the founder of the Śaka era has therefore no ground to stand upon.

To my mind it appears that unless the Śaka nationality of Kanishka is established, all attempts to show that he was the originator of the

⁶ *N. Chr.* (1874), XIV. N. S., p. 161. ⁷ *Arch. Sur. West. Ind. II.*, p. 60 ff.

⁸ *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)*, 1883, pp. 75-76. ⁹ *Gard.*, Intro, p. xlvii.

¹⁰ *N. Chr.* 1890, pp. 111-112.

Śaka era must be futile. But, on the contrary, evidence of a cogent nature can be adduced, looking quite the other way. Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹¹ speaks of Kanishka as sprung from the Turushka race which corresponds to the modern Turks. Again, Al Bīrūnī¹² tells us a legend which makes Kanika, *i. e.* Kanishka, a descendant of the Turk family called Shāhiya, founded by Barhatakin, whom it describes as wearing "Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boots and arms." And this is clearly attested by the royal figures on the coins, notably of Wema-Kadphises and Kanishka. About the costume and features of Wema-Kadphises, Kanishka's predecessor, H. H. Wilson makes the following remarks: "He wears a conical cap turned up at the sides, a tunic close to the body over which is a sort of strait coat: boots are invariably worn. The features are not those of the Mongal but of the Turk tribe."¹³ Thus Kalhana's statement, the legend mentioned by Al Bīrūnī and the figures on the coins of Wema-Kadphises and Kanishka so thoroughly corroborate one another as to leave no doubt in regard to the Turk extraction of Kanishka.¹⁴ Further, among the foreign powers with which Samudragupta entered into alliance, are mentioned in his Allahabad pillar inscription Daivaputrashābishāhānushāhi-Śaka-Murunda.¹⁵ There is some difference of opinion with respect to the first three words of this long Sanskrit compound. Cunningham takes them all as a single compound title referring to a Kushana prince.¹⁶ Mr. V. A. Smith however like Dr. Fleet proposes to take them separately, each designating a different king.¹⁷ But whatever may be the explanation of the first three components of the compound, this is incontrovertible that the Śakas are distinguished from the Devaputra kings of whom Kanishka was one. Kanishka therefore was not a Śaka prince, and hence cannot be the founder of the Śaka era.

¹¹ I, 170.¹² Sachan's Al Bīrūnī II, 11.¹³ Ar. Ant. 349.

¹⁴ These arguments occurred to me long before I read Cunningham's remarks regarding this point, at N. Chr. 1892, pp. 42-43. In addition to those which I have set forth, Cunningham has adduced other cogent arguments which in my opinion leave not even the shadow of a doubt as to the Śakas and the Kushanas being altogether separate races.

¹⁵ Fleet, Cor. Ins. Ind. III, 8.¹⁶ N. Chr. 1893, p. 118; Arch. Sur. Reports. III, 42.¹⁷ J. R. A. S. 1897, p. 902; Cor. Ins. Ind. III, 14.

There is one other line of argument that leads us to the same conclusion. It can scarcely be doubted that the Northern and the Western Kshatrapas were of Śaka origin.¹⁸ The presumption therefore naturally arises that the dates of their inscriptions and coins are years of the Śaka era. Secondly,¹⁹ it has been maintained by most scholars that the latest Kshatrapa date 310 furnished by Kshatrapa Rudrasinha's coin, if referred to the Śaka era is equivalent to 388-389 A. D. and that this date so much approximates to 82 G. E. i. e. 401-402 A.D., the earliest date in Malwa of the Guptas the successors of the Kshatrapas, that it is almost certain that the Kshatrapas dated their inscriptions and coins according to the Śaka era. Thirdly, Ptolemy, the well-known Greek geographer, writing shortly after 150 A. D. speaks of Puṣumāyi as king of the Dekkan reigning at Paithāṇ.

¹⁸ In a rather mutilated Nasik inscription, Ushavadāta calls himself a Śaka. And the title of Gotamiputra Śatakarni, viz., 'Śaka-Yavana-Pahlavanishūdana' seems to support it. Prof. Oldenberg, however (Ind. Ant. X, p. 233, note 54), doubts the correctness of the reading 'Śakasa' before 'Ushavadātasa' as the letters preceding it have peeled off. But this does not appear to be plausible, for the number of the letters that are lost before 'Śakasa' can be accurately determined, and they can very well be restored from the other inscriptions of Ushavadāta. It is gratifying to see that both Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji take 'Śakasa' as a word by itself, connect it with 'Ushavadātasa' and thus make Ushavadāta a Śaka (Arch. Sur. West. Ind. IV, 101, note 3; Bomb. Gaz., XIV, 577-8). Mr. Rapson is inclined to suppose that the Kshatrapas were Pahlavas and the principal argument he relies upon, is that from the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman it appears that he had appointed a Pahlava named Suvisākhā as his viceroy, implying thereby that the work of administration could not have been entrusted to any other than a person of the same tribe or race as that of Rudradāman (J. R. A. S. 1899, p. 377). But this implication has little weight, for we shall have then to suppose that Nahapāna was a Hindu, since from a Junnar inscription, we learn that he had a viceroy named Ayama who was certainly a Hindu as he belonged to the Vatsagotra. For the grounds on which I hold that the Northern Kshatrapas were Śakas, see note 41 below.

¹⁹ This form of the argument appears to have first suggested itself to Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji (Arch. Sur. West. Ind. V, 73; Bom. Gaz. XIV, 620) but they missed the true conclusion, as they were mistaken with regard to the initial year of the Gupta era. But it seems to have been successfully applied to determine the epoch of the Gupta era in the Early Hist. of the Dekk. pp. 130-31. When, however, the initial point of the Gupta era was known beyond all doubt, this reasoning was used by Bühler to show that the Kshatrapa dates are Śaka years (Die Indischen Inschriften, &c., p. 47). See also Rapson on Indian Coins, p. 22.

Puḷumāyi was therefore not much prior to 150 A. D. The latest date of Nahapāna is 46, known from the Junnar inscription of his minister Ayama. Not long after this date, Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi exterminated the Kshaharāta dynasty, to which Nahapāna belonged. So that shortly after 124 A. D., supposing the date 46 to be a Śaka year, Puḷumāyi became king. This brings Puḷumāyi sufficiently close to the time of Ptolemy so as to leave little doubt that the Kshatrapa dates refer to the Śaka era. Let us now proceed a step further. Almost all antiquarians concur in placing Kanishka posterior to Śoḍāsa, a northern Kshatrapa, on paleographic evidence. Further, I maintain that on similar paleographic grounds Nahapāna must be supposed to be prior to Śoḍāsa. Three inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Śoḍāsa have been published—one found at Mora and the other two at Mathurā.²⁰ If we compare the characters of those inscriptions with those of the Nasik, Karle, and Junnar inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna, we shall find that the former, although agreeing with the latter in many respects, yet occasionally have later forms, which show that they belong to a later period, but a period not very distant from that of the characters of Ushavadāta's inscriptions. The lower part of their *ya* (𑀭) is more rounded, and the strokes go up equally high in a good many cases, and sometimes the character (𑀮) has a loop to the left in almost the Kushana fashion. The lower horizontal base-line of *na* (𑀵) and *ṇa* (𑀶) bends slightly lower down on either side in most cases, while in almost all cases, it is perfectly straight in Ushavadāta's inscriptions. There are two instances of *bha* (𑀧𑀲) agreeing with those of the Kushana period. The nether part of the letter *ra* (𑀲) is a curve open to the left and the subscript *ra* (𑀳) is similarly denoted by a curve turning to the left. These differences of characters cannot be ascribed to the influence of locality. For, in the first place,

²⁰ Arch. Sur. Reports, XX., pl. V., ins. No. 4; *Ibid.* III., pl. XIII., ins. No. 1; Ep. Ind. II., 199; Vienna Ori. Jour. V. 177: Here Bühler reads the date 42 with hesitation, as the signs for 40 and 70 are almost alike. See also J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 531. But the date is certainly 72, as has subsequently been corrected by Bühler himself (Ep. Ind. IV., 55, and note 2). The date of an inscription of Vāsudeva had similarly been wrongly read by Cunningham as 44 (Arch. Sur. Reports III., 32, No. 8), and his reading of the date was adopted by Bhagwanlal Indrajī, who was puzzled thereby (Ind. Ant. XI., 129). Cunningham, however, subsequently showed the correct reading of the date to be 74 and not 44 (N. Chr. 1892, p. 50, note 6).

they do not occur in earlier inscriptions at Mathura itself, *e.g.* No. 5, Ep. Ind. Vol. II., Pt. XII. Secondly, they are to be met with in other inscriptions of the same period at different places,—*cf.* the Nasik and Kanheri inscriptions of Gotamiputra Yājña Śrī Śātakarṇi and the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman. In the Nasik inscription, *ya* presents the first variety, *i.e.* its strokes go up almost equally high. But in the Kanheri inscription, *ya* is engraved with a loop towards the left. 'Ya' of this second type may also be noted in the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman, a contemporary of Yājña Śrī Śātakarṇi. The developed form of 'bha' of the time of Soḍāsa is noticeable in these inscriptions of Yājña Śrī Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman. The curvature in the base-line of *na* and *ṇa* is also to be seen in these inscriptions, though it is more distinct in the Girnar than in the Nasik or Kanheri inscription. Likewise, 'ra' whether medial or otherwise, terminates in a curve to the left in all these inscriptions. These characteristics cannot thus be said to be local divergences. The conclusion may therefore be safely drawn that Soḍāsa was later than Nahapāna, but as the transitional state of the characters of his inscriptions shows, there was no very great interval between them. Now, there is a general consensus of opinion on the point that Soḍāsa was earlier than Kanishka; and we have just seen that Nahapāna was anterior to Soḍāsa. *A fortiori*, Nahapāna was prior to Kanishka. But as the inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna are dated, as has just been shown, in the Saka era, Kanishka could not possibly have started that era.

Some scholars have argued on the data furnished by Buddhist legends that Kanishka flourished in the latter part of the first century A.D. The northern Buddhists place Kanishka 400 years after the Parinirvāṇa, and as Aśoka is placed by Hiuen Tsiang only a hundred years after Buddha, it is contended that the mistake lies with the exact date when the Nirvāṇa came off, but that it is certain that Aśoka was chronologically prior to Kanishka by 300 years, and that therefore Kanishka lived towards the middle of the first century. And as it is clear that some era dates from the time of Kanishka, who lived about 50 A.D., it is maintained that he started the Saka era.²¹ Even conceding for the moment that Kanishka flourished as early as the epoch of the Saka era, he can by no means be regarded as the founder of that era, unless it is proved that he was a Saka. Further, in my

²¹ Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., p. 56, note 200.

humble opinion mere legends afford a very frail foundation on which to base a theory especially when they conflict with established propositions, and even contradict one another. Thus, the northern Buddhists fix the date of the Greek king Menander, or Milinda as the Indians called him, to be five centuries after the Parinirvâṇa. This would seem to point to the priority of Kanishka over Menander by one century—a conclusion which no student of ancient Indian History will admit. Nay, the legend about Kanishka just stated is incompatible with other legends about the same king. Sung-yun mentions a tradition according to which Buddha predicted that three hundred years after his Nirvâṇa, Kanishka would rule over the country of Gandhâra, and the prophecy literally came to pass.²² Again, there is one legend of an Arhat, who lived 500 years after the Nirvâṇa, and who, in his short autobiographical description, states that in his previous life he was a bat, and by listening to the words of Buddhist Scriptures in that life he became an ascetic in his present life, and was one of the five hundred monks whom Kanishka with Pârsvika summoned to draw up the Vibhâṣhâ Śāstra.²³ This implies that Kanishka reigned 500 years after the Nirvâṇa. In short, as the different legends about Kanishka assign him different dates, none of these can be utilised for the purpose of determining the period when he lived. The theory of Kanishka being the founder of the Śaka era on the ground of Buddhist legends thus rests on a very unstable basis.

We have thus seen that Kanishka cannot be the founder of the Śaka era, and that the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva cannot therefore refer to that era. In order to determine their English equivalent, it is essential first to settle who was the founder of the Śaka era. Three different views have been held by scholars in respect of the origin of that era. Of these, the theory started by Fergusson and upheld by Prof. Oldenberg, *viz.*, that Kanishka originated that era, has just been examined, and shown to be untenable. We shall now consider the other two theories suggested by Cunningham and Bhagwanlal Indraji respectively. Cunningham regards Chastāna to be the founder of the Śaka era, as the dates on the coins and inscriptions of his successors are undoubtedly Śaka years.²⁴ The dates of Nahapāna, he says, must be reckoned

²² Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., intro. ciii.

²³ *Ibid.* Vol. I., pp. 116 and 117.

²⁴ N. Chr. 1888, pp. 232 and 233; *Ibid.* 1892, p. 44.

from the time of Maues (100 B. C.).²⁵ Nahapâna thus flourished about the middle of the first century B. C. He places Gotamîputra Śātakarṇi about 78 A. D., and the Khakharâtas, who are said in Nasik Inscription No. 18 to have been exterminated by Gotamîputra Śātakarṇi, are, in his opinion, the descendants of Nahapâna. He thus makes the former a contemporary of Chashtāna, maintaining that the mention of Chashtāna and Puṣumāyi by Ptolemy proves neither that the two kings were contemporaries nor that they were not far removed in time from the Greek geographer (150 A.D.). Similarly, he makes contemporaries, Puṣumāyi and Jayadāman the sons of Gotamîputra Śātakarṇi and Chashtāna respectively. He further assigns a reign of twenty-five years to Jayadāman (100-125 A.D.) and also to his son Rudradāman (125-150 A.D.). This is in short the view of Cunningham regarding the chronology of the Andhrabhṛityas and the Kshatrapas which he could not but adopt to support his theory that Chashtāna started the Śaka era. The chief characteristic of this view is that it is based on a number of improbable suppositions. The foremost of these is the thesis that the way in which Ptolemy speaks of Chashtāna and Puṣumāyi does not in the least indicate that they were contemporaries or were not separated by a long interval from the former. The most staunch advocate of this opinion was Dr. Bühler himself.²⁶ But when it was ably contested and refuted by Dr. Bhandarkar²⁷ and M. Senart, he was forced to give it up,²⁸ and so far as my knowledge goes, no scholar of any repute now lends any countenance to it. Similarly, Cunningham insinuates that the Khakharâtas, the descendants of Nahapâna reigned upwards of a century before they were uprooted by Gotamîputra Śātakarṇi but almost all scholars are now agreed on the point,²⁹ that there was no great interval between Nahapâna and Śātakarṇi, since no Khakharâta prince places himself between them in any inscriptions in Western India and since a grant is made by Śātakarṇi of a piece of land till

²⁵ For Cunningham's view of the chronology of the Andhras and the Kshatrapas, see *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 104 ff. In N. Chr. 1888, pp. 232 and 233, however, Cunningham refers the dates of Nahapâna to the fourth Seleukidan century commencing with 12 B. C.

²⁶ *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* V., 72; *Ind. Ant.* XII., 273-4.

²⁷ *Dek. His.*, pp. 130, 131; *Ind. Ant.* XXI., 205-206.

²⁸ *Die Indischen Inschriften*, &c., pp. 56-57.

²⁹ *Ind. Ant.* X., 225; *Die Indischen Inschriften &c.*, p. 57 and note 2; *Jour. Asia.* 1897, pp. 124-125.

then in the possession of Usabhadâta who it is alleged can be no other than Usabhadâta of the Karli and Ushavadâta of the Nasik inscription, the well-known son-in-law of Nahapâna. If we set aside these suppositions, the weakness of Cunningham's theory is at once obvious. For then the combination that can be brought forward and has actually been brought forward³⁰ by scholars is as follows: Shortly after 46 the latest date of Nahapâna, followed a war with Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi who destroyed the Khakharâta race. Śâtakarṇi reigned at least 24 years according to the Nasik inscription No. 14. Now, Nasik inscription No. 13, dated in his 18th year records the donation of a village in the district of Govardhana which was formerly included in the dominions of Nahapâna, so that the victory of Śâtakarṇi occurred before the 18th year of his reign. Let us suppose that the event came off in the 15th regnal year of Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi. He was succeeded to the throne by his son Puṣumâyi. Since Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi reigned for at least 24 years (Nasik inscription No. 14), his reign comes to a close nine years after the date of his conquest of Nahapâna *i. e.* the year 47, so that about the year 57 of the era which Nahapâna employed, may be placed the accession of Puṣumâyi who was contemporary with Chashtana. Now, if the dates of Nahapâna are to be reckoned from the time of Maues as Cunningham tells us, Puṣumâyi lived in the middle of the first century B.C. He cannot thus be made a contemporary of Chashtana who reigned according to Cunningham from 78 to 100 A.D. Both of them, again, are separated from Ptolemy by a much greater interval than is probable, on the view that the Greek geographer's information was not of a much earlier date than when he wrote about the princes. If on the contrary, the dates of Nahapâna are referred to the Śaka era, Puṣumâyi came to the throne about 135 A.D. and this brings him sufficiently close to the time of Ptolemy. But if Nahapâna is supposed to have employed the Śaka era as is generally accepted, Cunningham's theory of Chashtana being the originator of that era falls to the ground.

³⁰ The view stated here is that held by Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* XII., 273; *Die Indischen Inschriften &c.* pp. 57-58). This view has no doubt been adopted by most scholars (*Ind. Ant.* XXI, 204; *Jour. Asia.* 1897 tome X., p. 124 and ff); but I cannot agree with Bühler in regard to the order of succession of the Andhrabhritya kings determined by him, as well as with respect to his opinion that Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi reigned in the Dekkan. For the grounds on which my dissent is based, see *Dek. His.*, p. 19, and note 1 and ff.

Similarly, there is a general consensus of opinion amongst scholars that the duration of Jayadâman's reign was a very short one on account of the extreme rareness of his coins. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, his reign lasted for three years.³¹ Whatever the short period may be which is to be ascribed to Jayadâman, the period of twenty-five years which Cunningham has assigned to him is in every way improbable. Next, it is curious that Cunningham makes the reign of Rudradâman extend from 125 to 150 A. D., because the date which his Girnar inscription bears is 72 which, as Cunningham rightly considers it to be a Śaka year, answers to 150 A. D. But this date is the date of the bursting of the embankment of the Sudarśana lake and not of the incision of the inscription. There is therefore good reason to suppose that Rudradâman's reign did not come to a close in 72 Śaka, *i. e.*, 150 A. D. as Cunningham thinks. Further, his next two successors were Dâmaghsada and Rudrasimha.³² The earliest and latest dates of the latter are 102 and 108 respectively. In all likelihood therefore, Rudrasimha began to reign not earlier than 102. The scarcity of Dâmaghsada's coins points to his having reigned not more than ten years, so that we get 92 as the approximate year when Rudradâman ceased to reign. Rudradâman therefore appears to have continued to reign long after 72 Śaka. If we reject as improbable the suppositions to which Cunningham has resorted, the conclusion we come to is as follows: since Rudradâman reigned up to 92 Śaka, in all probability his reign did not commence before 61 Śaka; and making an allowance of ten years for his father Jayadâman, which can scarcely be exceeded since his coins are very rare we have fifty years as the duration of Chashtâna's reign, if we hold with Cunningham that Chashtâna started the Śaka era. It is true that a period of fifty years is in itself not impossible, but is extremely improbable unless the contrary is proved. And as a matter of fact, the coins of Chashtâna that have been found are very few, and this points to a much shorter period than that of fifty years. We thus find that in order to maintain his theory, Cunningham had to make a number of improbable suppositions and bring to his aid these no longer upheld.

According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, the Śaka era dates from the coronation of Nahapâna and marks his conquest of Gujarat and

³¹ History of Gujarat (Bom. Gazet. Vol. I, Pt. I.) pp. 33-34.

³² Dâmaghsada is supposed by Pandit Bhagwanlal to have been succeeded by his son Jivâdaman. But Mr. Rapson has shown that Dâmaghsada was succeeded by his brother Rudrasimha (J. R. A. S., 1899, p. 375).

Western Dekkan.³³ The latest known date 46 of Nahapâna is therefore the 46th year of his reign as well as of the Śaka era. And the Pandit finds a confirmation of this in the effigy of Nahapâna on his coins the type of which passes from his youth to his old age. Now, in the first place this theory cannot be entitled to our confidence unless it is shown beyond all doubt that Nahapâna was an independent sovereign. I think, we may safely hold that the very title Kshatrapa points to the subordinate position of the person who assumes it unless the contrary is proved. So that Nahapâna's title Kshatrapa makes it highly probable that he was a dependent prince. Secondly, as Dr. Bühler has pointed out, the circumstance that on his coins his name is given in the Kharoshthî character as well as in the southern alphabet is an indication of his connection with the north and northwest where the Indo-Scythians ruled.³⁴ It is therefore almost certain that Nahapâna was not an independent ruler. Precisely the same line of reasoning holds good in the case of Chashtana.³⁵ Neither Nahapâna nor Chashtana can therefore be the founder of any era, and the originator thereof must naturally be looked for in the imperial Śaka dynasty, whose might overshadowed the north and northwest of India. Again on the theory that Nahapâna founded the era we shall have to suppose that he reigned for 46 years at least, his latest recorded date being as stated above 46. Whatever support this supposition may derive from the look of effigy of Nahapâna on his coins, young and old, the improbability of it is evident, as the coins of Nahapâna have rarely

³³ History of Gujarat, pp. 26-27. ³⁴ Die Indischen Inschriften, &c., p. 57.

³⁵ I cannot but think that the assumption of the title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa by these Western Satraps at any rate is not without significance. Those who were Kshatrapas were subordinate to the Mahākshatrapas or some foreign kings who conquered them. Those who are styled Mahākshatrapas were independent and owed fealty to none. Nahapâna on his coins and in his son-in-law Ushavadâta's inscriptions (dated 41, 42 and 45) is called simply Kshatrapa. It is in the Junnar inscription of his minister Ayama (dated 46) that the title Mahākshatrapa is first conjoined to his name. This shows that before the year 46 Nahapâna was only a Kshatrapa and occupied a subordinate position. Now, if the dates of Nahapâna are to be referred to the Śaka era as held by most antiquarians and even by Pandit Bhagwanlal, he cannot be the founder of the Śaka era, inasmuch as in the years 41, 42, and 45 which are thus Śaka years, he was not an independent ruler. Similarly on some of his coins Chashtana is styled Kshatrapa and on some Mahākshatrapa. This also indicates that at the beginning he was like Nahapâna a dependent prince, though afterwards he rose to independent power.

been found. And if the Pandit assigns a reign of three years only to Jayadâman, father of Rudradâman, because of the rareness of his coins, it is inexplicable why he should regard Nahapâna as having reigned for 46 years at least when the coins of the latter also are rare. Thirdly, if the 'Saka era' had been instituted by Nahapâna, it would have died with his death or with that of his successor, whosoever the Khakharâta prince may be whom Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi vanquished. There is no reason why the princes of Chashtâna's family should have dated their coins and inscriptions in Nahapâna's era, because, first, they did not belong, like the latter, to the Khakharâta race, of which, Nasik inscription No. 18 informs us, Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi left no remnant; secondly, Nahapâna's dynasty was by no means politically superior to Chashtâna's; and, thirdly, Nahapâna's era had a standing of scarcely above half a century. I hold that Nahapâna's and Chashtâna's family both used the 'Saka era' because they derived their power from and represented in the south the imperial Saka dynasty, whence the Saka era originated.³⁶

It was shown before that Kanishka cannot be the founder of the Saka era, and we have now shown that Cunningham's conjecture that Chashtâna started the era is highly improbable, and that Pandit Bhagwanlal's theory that the era was instituted by Nahapâna is also untenable. Let us now proceed to determine the question: who was, then, the originator of the Saka era? One of the inscriptions on the

³⁶ In his 'Nasik: Pāṇḍu Leṇa Caves' (Bom. Gaz. XIV., 617), Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī makes the following most learned remarks: "This era (*i.e.* the era used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions and coins) cannot have been started by Nahapâna, as it is improbable that Chashtâna would have adopted an era begun by another Kshatrapa of a different family. The era must therefore belong to their common overlord. Who this overlord was cannot be settled until coins of Nahapâna and Chashtâna are found with the Greek legend clear and entire. But all the Kathiawar Kshatrapas have adopted on their coins the Greek legend which appears on the obverse of Nahapâna's coins, and this seems to be the name Vonones differently spelt." I am perfectly at one with Pandit Bhagwanlal here in maintaining that the era employed by the Kshatrapas, which is identical with the Śaka era, must have been originated by their overlord, who as I have shown further, is no other than Vonones, though the grounds on which the Pandit bases his conclusion are not sound, inasmuch as the Greek legend on the obverse of Nahapâna and Chashtâna's coins, as has recently been shown by Mr. Rapson, is a mere transliteration of the Indian legend on the reverse (J. R. A. S., 1899, pp. 359-60), and does not contain the name of Vonones. But the Pandit gave up this correct view, and held in his History of Gujarat that the Śaka era was started by Nahapâna.

Mathura Lion Capital³⁷ makes an honorific mention of the Mahāchhatrava Kusulā Patika. They were all engraved in the time of Rājula or Rājubula and his son Sudāsa or Soḍāsa.³⁸ The Taxila copper-plate grant,³⁹ which bears the date 78 and refers itself to the reign of Moga, was issued by Patika, son of Chhatrapa Liaka Kusulaka. The identification of Patika of the Mathura inscription with Patika of the Taxila plate is scarcely subject to doubt especially on account of the tribal name Kusulaka. It also follows that Rājubula and Liaka on the one hand, and Soḍāsa and Patika on the other, were contemporaries. There is a Mathura inscription which is dated in the year 72 in the reign of Soḍāsa.⁴⁰ This year 72 of the time of Soḍāsa and the year 78 of the time of Patika must therefore belong to one and the same era since the two Kshatrapas were contemporaries.

It has been shown that the dates of the Western Kshatrapa inscriptions refer to the Saka era. Nahapāna's latest date is 46, which is therefore a Saka year. Soḍāsa's date is 72. I have indicated above that Soḍāsa was undoubtedly posterior to Nahapāna, but that they were not far removed in time from one another. So that the date 72 of Soḍāsa in all likelihood belongs to the Saka era equally with the date 46 of Nahapāna, especially as, like the latter, the former was a Kshatrapa and a Saka.⁴¹ And, further, Patika was a contemporary of Soḍāsa. His date 78 must also therefore be supposed to be a Saka year. Again, the Taxila plate refers itself to the reign of Moga, who has been identified with Maues of the coins. Maues was thus the overlord of Chhatrapa Liaka, father of Patika. The wording of the Taxila plate is ["Sāmvatsa"]raye aṭhasatātimaē 20 20 20 10 4 4 maharayasa mahāntasa [Mo]gasa," &c. Some scholars have held that the year 78 refers to an era founded by Moga.⁴² But Dr. Bühler has pointed out that the year 78 is not of any era started

³⁷ J. R. A. S. (N. S.), 1894, p. 537.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 530.

³⁹ Ep. Ind. IV., p. 54 and ff.

⁴⁰ See note 18 *supra*.

⁴¹ One inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital is engraved in honour of the whole Sakastana (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 540). Sakastana is Śakasthāna, i.e., the land of the Śakas, and corresponds to the Sakastene of Isidorus, the Sejistān of the early Muhammadan writers, and the Sistān of the present day. The name clearly implies that the Śakas had occupied and permanently settled in that province. And unless we suppose Rājubula and Soḍāsa to be Śakas, it is inconceivable why there should be an honorific mention of Sakastana in one of the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions which record the gifts of the members of their dynasty.

⁴² J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 553.

by Moga, but of the era used in his time."⁴³ This appears to be the correct explanation and similar wording from other inscriptions might be quoted in support of it.⁴⁴ It is thus clear that the year 78 of the Taxila plate refers to the Śaka era, and that this era was in vogue in the time of Moga or Maues, a prince of the Śaka dynasty which held direct sway over the north and the northwest of the country. And if our object is to find out who was the originator of the Śaka era, we must fix upon the first Śaka sovereign of this dynasty to which Maues belonged.

Various coins bearing bi-lingual legends, of kings such as Vonones, Spalirises, Azas, &c., whose Śaka nationality is unquestionable, have been found, but the order of their succession has not yet been satisfactorily determined, although the legends enable us to do so. Not a single coin of Vonones has yet been discovered whereon both the Greek and Kharoshthī legends give his name. But the coins, the Greek legends of which mention the name of Vonones, and the Kharoshthī, those of other personages, are not few. Now, I believe that the prince whose name occurs in the Greek legend on the obverse is the paramount ruler, and the personage whose name is mentioned in the Kharoshthī legend on the reverse is a viceroy appointed by that sovereign, especially as we find that while certain coins bear the names of different persons on the reverses, they have the name of one and the same king on all the obverses. The titles affixed to the name of Vonones are Basileus Basileon Megas which unmistakably point to his supreme power. The different personages whose names are mentioned in the Kharoshthī legends are — (i) Spalahores, who is said to be Mahārāja-bhrātā, (ii) Spalgadames, son of Spalahores, and (iii) Azas.⁴⁵ Spalahores, Spalgadames and Azas were, therefore, subordinate to Vonones. It is also plain that during the life-time of Vonones, Spalahores died and his son Spalgadames succeeded him to his viceroyalty, since in addition to the coins which bear the father's name, there are others, the reverses of which give the son's name, with the name of the same overlord Vonones on the obverses of the coins of both. Next come the

⁴³ Ep. Ind. IV., 56, remark 1.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Śodāsa's inscription (Ep. Ind. II., 199); Rudrasimha's inscription (Ind. Ant. X., 157); and Rudrasena's inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S. VIII., 234 ff.; Ind. Ant. XII., 32). In all these inscriptions the genitive of the name of the prince is connected with the year sometimes preceding it and sometimes following it as in the above.

⁴⁵ N. Chr. 1890, pp. 136-138; Gard., pp. 98-99.

coins of Spalirises which present two varieties: (i) coins bearing his name alone in both the legends and (ii) coins on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and those of others on the reverse in the Kharoshthi. The names on the reverse are — (i) Spalgadames and (ii) Azas.⁴⁶ These last were, therefore, the viceroys of Spalirises. It has just been stated that Spalahores died when his overlord Vonones was alive, and that after him the viceroyship was held by his son Spalgadames. And no coins on which the name of Spalahores is associated with that of Spalirises have been obtained. Vonones, therefore, as having the father and the son for his viceroys, must be the earlier prince, while Spalirises, who had the son only for his viceroy, must be the later. Spalirises was, therefore, the successor of Vonones. Similarly, the coins of Azas may be distinguished into three classes: (i) those in which his name is found in the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse in conjunction with those of Vonones and Spalirises in the Greek on the obverse; (ii) those which contain his name in both the legends with titles indicative of supreme power; and (iii) those which bear his name in the Greek legend on the obverse and mention the names of Azilises and Aspavarmā in the Kharoshthi on the reverse.⁴⁷ The first class was issued when he was in a subordinate position with reference to Vonones and Spalirises, and the last two indicate that Azas was a paramount sovereign when they were struck. Azas therefore could not have been a supreme ruler during the time of Vonones and Spalirises, but came to the throne after them and then became an overlord. The coins of Azilises are likewise of three distinct classes: (i) coins whereon his name is restricted to the Kharoshthi reverse, and that of Azas mentioned in the Greek obverse; (ii) those in both the legends on which his name is given, and is coupled with the epithets of a paramount sovereign; and (iii) two coins at least on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and that of Azas on the reverse in the Kharoshthi.⁴⁸ The first class shows that Azilises was a governor, and hence subordinate to Azas, when the latter was alive, while the rest two classes point to his supreme power. Azilises was therefore the successor of Azas and became a sovereign after the death of the latter. I have just stated that on two coins

⁴⁶ N. Chr. 1890, pp. 138-139; in the notice of coin No. 7 on p. 138, the heading given is 'Spalahores and Spalgadames,' but instead of Spalahores, Spalirises is wanted; Gard. pp. 100 and 102.

⁴⁷ N. Chr. 1890, pp. 140-152 and 170; Gard. pp. 73-92 and 173.

⁴⁸ N. Chr. 1890, pp. 153-155 and 149; Gard. pp. 93-97 and 92.

at least the names of Azilises and Azas are found on the Greek obverse and the Kharoshthi reverse respectively. This indicates that Azas was subordinate to Azilises. But this Azas must not be identified with the Azas just mentioned. We must suppose that there were two princes of that name, one the predecessor and the other the successor of Azilises, and it is not unlikely that some of the coins hitherto presumed to be issued by Azas I. were really struck by Azas II. Thus, the order of succession of these Śaka kings deduced from an examination of the legends on their coins is as follows : first comes Vonones, then Spalirises, then Azas I., after him Azilises and after him Azas II. There remains one more Śaka prince named Maues whose coins also have been discovered. And now the question arises: where to place him? whether to place him before Vonones or after Azas II.?

Before we proceed to decide this point, it is of vital importance to consider the views of Percy Gardner and Cunningham in respect of the succession of these Śaka rulers. Percy Gardner places Maues earlier than any other of these Śaka princes and remarks that "he ruled some Scythic invaders who had entered India not through the Kabul valley" but by the Karakoram pass. Azas, according to him, was the immediate successor of Maues. He further observes that Vonones and Spalirises, "who from the find-spots of their coins seem to have reigned in Kabul," may have been tributary to Azas.⁴⁹ Various other remarks have been made by him regarding the relationship of these kings, but with these we are not concerned.⁵⁰ Now,

⁴⁹ Gard. Intro. XI. ff.

⁵⁰ Spalahores on his coins calls himself *Mahārādīabhrātā*. Who this mahārāja was Percy Gardner is unable to determine. But I think that almost certainly, Spalahore was a brother of Vonones, as the latter clearly appears to be his overlord, and therefore the king whose brother Spalahores was, can be no other than Vonones. Similarly, one class of Spalirises' coins bears on the Greek obverse the legend *Basileus Adelfhos Spalirises*, and on the Kharoshthi reverse *Mahārāja bhṛāta Dhramiasa Spalirisasa*. This, in my opinion, is indicative of his inferior position at the time when they were struck. And as we have seen that before Spalirises became a sovereign, Vonones was the paramount ruler, it can scarcely be seriously doubted that he too like Spalahores was a viceroy appointed by and a brother of Vonones. Vonones was thus the supreme ruler, and appointed his brothers Spalirises and Spalahores viceroys to govern the provinces conquered by him, and after the death of the latter, conferred the viceroyalty on his nephew, i.e. Spalahores' son, Spalgadames. This seems to my mind the relationship in which they stood to one another. But how Azilises, Vonones, Spalirises and Spalahores were the sons of Azas as Gardner maintains is quite inexplicable to me.

first, do the coins show that Vonones and Spalirises were tributary to Azas? Whenever Azas strikes coins together with Vonones and Spalirises, the names of the last two kings occur in the Greek and that of Azas in the Kharoshthî legend. *Primâ facie*, when the name of one prince is in the Greek legend and of another in the Kharoshthî, the latter must be looked upon as tributary to the former. The Kharoshthî legend on the coins was obviously meant for the Indian subjects of the province where they were current. When both the Greek and Kharoshthî legends contain the name of one king only, it must be supposed that he was the sole as well as the direct ruler of the territory. But when these legends give different names, it is natural to infer that the personage whose name is found in the Kharoshthî governed the province directly, and the prince whose name is placed in the Greek was the sovereign under whom he held the office of viceroy. On all the coins whereon the names of Azas and Vonones or Spalirises are associated, that of the first is invariably restricted to the Kharoshthî, and those of the last two to the Greek legend. Azas, therefore, far from being the overlord of Vonones or Spalirises, was himself their viceroy during their life-time. If it is, however, supposed for the moment that the prince, whose name is found in the Kharoshthî legend, must be considered paramount, then Aspavarma who strikes in conjunction with Azas and whose name is mentioned in the Kharoshthî, whereas that of Azas is confined to the Greek legend, must be regarded as the overlord of Azas. Nevertheless, Gardner thinks him to be a subordinate of Azas.⁵¹ Again, we know that Spalahores, Spalgadames and Azas strike coins together with Vonones, the names of the first three being restricted to the Kharoshthî legends. If we now suppose for the sake of argument that princes whose names occur in the Kharoshthî legends are sovereigns, we shall have to infer that Vonones was tributary also to Spalahores and Spalgadames, when, as a matter of fact, the titles *Basileus Basileon Mages* are conjoined with the name of Vonones and the epithet *Dharmika* only with the names of Spalahores and Spalgadames. The fact, therefore, of Azas' name being confined to the Kharoshthî, while those of Vonones and Spalirises are mentioned in the Greek legend, clearly shows that Vonones and Spalirises, far from being tributary to Azas, were each in his turn the overlord of Azas. Again, as I have said above, when certain coins give the names of

⁵¹ Gard. Intro. XLIII.

different persons on the reverses, but bear the name of one and the same prince on the obverses, the latter must evidently be considered to be the supreme lord of the former. We have seen that there are coins which contain the names of Spalahores, Spalgadames and Azas on the reverses, but have the name of one and the same prince Vonones on the obverses. Vonones was therefore the overlord not only of Spalahores and Spalgadames, but of Azas also. Likewise, coins have been found, as stated heretofore, the reverses of which give the names of Spalgadames and Azas and the obverses of which bear the name of Spalirises only. This shows that not only Spalgadames, but Azas also, acknowledged the supremacy of Spalirises. In short, the statement that Vonones and Spalirises were tributary to Azas has no ground to stand upon. On the contrary, the assertion that Vonones and Spalirises were the overlords of Azas is in every way entitled to our confidence. Whether or not Maues was the first Śaka prince, as Gardner supposes, will shortly be considered, but with regard to his remark about the route by which the Seythic invaders, headed by Maues, poured into India, we may at this stage draw attention to the refutation thereof by Cunningham, who says: "I feel quite certain that they could not have come through Kashmir by the Kharakoram pass, as suggested by Professor Gardner, as that pass, instead of being open all the year round, is closed during winter and could *never* be traversed by an army even in summer."⁵² Cunningham further holds, and rightly, I think, that they first occupied Arachosia and Drangiana and thence spread eastward to the valley of the Indus. The Chinese authorities, as he himself says, are in favour of this view. And further, I may remark that Sakastana, which designates modern Sistan, doubtless shows that the Śakas first occupied and settled in that province and that this country appears afterwards to have been looked up to by the Śakas with patriotic feelings, since, as mentioned above, there is an honorific mention of Sakastana in the celebrated Mathura Lion Pillar Capital.⁵³

Although I express my full concurrence in these remarks of

⁵² N. Chr. 1890, p. 104.

⁵³ See note 41 *supra*; similarly Khorasān was called after the Korsan or Kushana tribe, Zabulistan after the Jābuli tribe of the Ephthalites, and Sogdiana after the Sughdi tribe. I think these provinces received the names of the tribes, as it was in these that they first gained a firm footing and established themselves permanently in their conquests southwards.

Cunningham, I must express my dissent from his view which distinguishes the family of Maues from that of Vonones and makes the former rulers of the Punjab, and the latter, of the country around Kandahar and Ghazni.⁵⁴ According to him, Maues at the head of a Saka horde first conquered Sakastana and then advanced further into the east and occupied the Punjab, leaving behind him Vonones who afterwards either rebelled or was himself made the ruler of Sakastana by Maues who was content with his Indian dominions. On the death of Maues, Vonones and Azas disputed each the claim of the other to the throne, and it was settled by both maintaining their equal authority. And, further, as the coins of Maues are found only in the Punjab, and of Azas and Azilises little beyond Jelalabad, whereas the money of Vonones and Spalirises is confined to the country around Kandahar and Ghazni, Cunningham holds that Azas and Azilises were the successors of Maues. Now, in the first place, I cannot but feel certain that the sequence of the reigns of Vonones, Spalirises, Azas I., Azilises and Azas II. deduced from the legends of their coins is indisputable. Why then should we not regard these princes as members of one and the same dynasty? Again, Cunningham maintains that the claim to the throne of Maues, contested by Vonones and Azas, was "adjusted by admitting the equal authority of Azas." But we have seen that on coins which he strikes together with Vonones and Spalirises, the name of Azas is restricted to the reverse. This shows that he was tributary to Vonones and Spalirises. This conclusion is assented to by Cunningham himself, who says that "politically they were certainly connected, as Azas acknowledged the supremacy of Vonones and afterwards of Spalirises by placing their names on the obverse on his coins."⁵⁵ It is therefore evident that during the life-time of Vonones and Spalirises, Azas was their subordinate. Further, according to Cunningham, Azas succeeded Maues, but I cannot comprehend how this can be so, when the legends on his coins distinctly and unmistakably connect him with Vonones and Spalirises and show him to be the successor of the latter, whereas no such connection with Maues is at all discernible.

We shall now examine the argument often adduced in favour of the first place in the dynastic list assigned to Maues. Such numismatists as Wilson, Von Sallet, Percy Gardner and Cunningham⁵⁶

⁵⁴ N. Chr. 1890, pp. 103 ff.

⁵⁵ N. Chr. 1890, p. 107.

⁵⁶ Ar. Ant. p. 313; Gard. Intro., p. xl.; N. Chr. 1890, p. 110; *Ibid.* 1888, p. 242.

have maintained that since there are two types of Maues' coins which are identical with those of Demetrius and Apollodotus, he was not much posterior to these Greek princes and must therefore be regarded as the earliest prince of the Saka dynasty. Accordingly he has been placed about 70 B. C. by Gardner and about 100 B. C. by Cunningham. The question that we have now to consider is: 'Is identity of type a sure mark of contemporaneity?' I believe that when the type of any two kings' coins is alike or even identical, it does not *necessarily* follow that they were contemporary or even nearly contemporary to each other. It is not unlikely that the coinage of one of these kings was in circulation in the time of the other to whom it might have suggested types for his coinage. And this in fact appears to be the case from the coins of Maues himself. For one type of his coins is a close imitation of a coin of Apollodotus, and another an exact copy of a coin of Demetrius. And if we availed ourselves for the moment of the dates assigned by Gardner⁵⁷ to the Greek and the Indo-Scythian princes, there would be an interval of ninety years between Demetrius and Apollodotus and of thirty years between Apollodotus and Maues. Demetrius is thus anterior to Maues by one hundred and twenty years. This chronological difference between the Greek and the Indo-Scythian king is, in my opinion, much less than it most probably is.⁵⁸ However, even if we accept it, it can scarcely be reasonably maintained that Maues was contemporary or even nearly contemporary with Demetrius. Identity of type is therefore not a sure proof of contemporaneity, and, in particular, in the case of Maues we have just seen that he cannot possibly be contemporaneous with Demetrius and Apollodotus at the same time, seeing that they were removed from each other by ninety years, and from Maues by one hundred and twenty, and thirty years at least respectively. The assertion that Maues was the first Saka ruler, entirely based on the argument of the identity of type, thus falls to the ground.

Again, the fact that Maues' coins are confined to the Punjab⁵⁹ militates against the supposition that he was the first Saka prince. For one would expect to find the coins of the first Saka prince in countries to the west and north-west of the Punjab, and not in the

⁵⁷ Gard. Intro. p. xxxiii.

⁵⁸ Prof. Gardner allots an average of ten years only to every one of the Greek and Scythian kings. But I think that ordinarily an average of at least fifteen years should be assigned to each reign.

⁵⁹ N. Chr. 1890, p. 106.

Punjab only.⁶⁰ Therefore it is again supposed that Maues and his horde came into the Punjab by the Karakoram pass.⁶¹ But the improbability or even the impossibility of its being used we have already shown on the authority of General Cunningham himself. Besides, the theory itself to support which this supposition is made, we have shown to be groundless, as it makes Maues a contemporary of two princes removed from each other by an interval of ninety years at least. The plain conclusion, therefore, from the fact that Maues' coins are confined to the Punjab, that he was the last of the Śaka princes must be accepted. Further, it is worthy of note that during the reigns of Vonones, Spalirises, Azas and Azilises, we find powerful viceroys ruling under their authority over different provinces. But the reign of Maues is conspicuous by the absence of viceroys, such as Azas was in the time of Vonones and Spalirises, or Azilises during the reign of Azas himself. This also shows the curtailment of the Śaka power in Maues' time, and therefore points to his being the last Śaka ruler. Again, it is morally certain and I think that unless the contrary is proved, we may hold that the Mathura date 72 of Śodāsa, the Taxila date 78 of Patika, the Takht-i-Bahi date 103 of the Indo-Parthian prince Gondophares, the Panjtar date 123 of a Gushana prince (whose name is lost), &c., are years of one and the same era.⁶² But the year 103 was the 26th year of the reign of Gondophares, who thus seems to have come to the throne in 78. The Taxila copper-plate charter was issued in the year 78. Maues and Gondophares were therefore contemporaries. And we know that the Śaka power

⁶⁰ I have mentioned heretofore that the name Sakastene shows that the Sakas first occupied and settled in that province, and thence penetrated eastward into the Punjab. Hence, if Maues had been the first Śaka sovereign, his coins would have been found to the West of the Punjab; but since they are not, it is highly improbable that Maues was the earliest of the Śaka rulers.

⁶¹ Gard. Intro. XL.

⁶² Dr. Büfher was inclined to the same view (Vienna Ori. Jour. Vol. X., p. 173). I shall show the extremely great probability of the correctness of his view further in the sequel. It is interesting to find that in M. Senart's opinion the Taxila date of Moga and the Takht-i-Bahi date of Gondophares are links of the same chain and refer to the Śaka era (Ind. Ant. XXI., 207). In my humble opinion, all the dates mentioned above, including those given by M. Senart, are years of the Śaka era. And the numismatic difficulty in accepting this view, to which he has adverted, if we hold Kanishka to be the founder of the Śaka era, disappears when it is held that the era was not instituted by Kanishka, and that he flourished a century at least after Gondophares, as I shall attempt to show further on.

was overthrown by Gondophares, whose coins found all over the Punjab, as well as at Kandahar, Sistan, Jelalabad and Begram,⁶³ doubtless prove that his sway was established over all the territories formerly held by the Sakas. Maues is therefore the last prince of the Saka dynasty. According to our view, Vonones, the earliest, first conquered Arachosia and Drangiana, and thence pressed his victories further into the Punjab. And in all these districts the coins of Vonones' viceroys are found. We therefore hold that, like almost all invaders, Vonones entered into the Punjab from the west and not through Kashmir. From the find-spots of their coins, Vonones and Spalirises appear to have ruled over Arachosia, Drangiana, the lower Kabul valley, and the Western Punjab.⁶⁴ But after the death of the latter, Azas I. seems to have lost many of the Saka possessions in Afghanistan, his rule being confined only to the lower Kabul valley and the Punjab, where his coins have been found in abundance.⁶⁵ The dominions of Azilises and Azas II. were much the same as those of Azas I. It thus appears that after Spalirises, the diminution of the extent of the Saka kingdom had set in Afghanistan till the whole was lost in the reign of Maues, whose sway, as we have seen, was restricted to the Punjab only. We know that the Saka dynasty was supplanted by the Indo-Parthians. When they commenced their inroads and pressed upon the Sakas, the latter had naturally to leave their possessions in Afghanistan and the west more and more into the hands of their conquerors and remain content with their Indian dominions; and finally the Western Punjab also was wrested from them by Gondophares.

It has been observed above that it is natural to suppose the date 78 of the Taxila plate as a year of the era not started by Moga or Maues, but used in his time, that this era is in all likelihood the Saka era, and that if we could fix upon the first Saka prince of the imperial dynasty to which Maues belonged, we should find the originator of the Saka era. With this end in view, we have determined the following order of succession of these Saka rulers, *viz.*, (i) Vonones, (ii) Spalirises, (iii) Azas I., (iv) Azilises, (v) Azas II., and (vi) Maues. Vonones thus appears to be the first prince of the Saka dynasty, and

⁶³ N. Chr. 1890, pp. 122-123; Gardl. Intro. XLV.

⁶⁴ N. Chr. 1890, pp. 106-107; Gardl. Intro. XLI. Since the coins of Azas, when a viceroy of Vonones and Spalirises, are found in the Western Punjab, the latter appear to have had it under their sway.

⁶⁵ Ar. Ant., p. 321; N. Chr. 1890, p. 110.

hence the founder of the Saka era. And, further, if we assign an average duration of fifteen years to the reign of each one of these kings, our calculation gives the year 76 as the initial year of the reign of Maues, and the year 90 as the last year of that reign. This result fits excellently; for in the first place the initial year of his reign, according to our reckoning, is earlier than and hence not inconsistent with the date 78 of the Taxila plate of Patika, and, secondly, his reign closes before the date 103 of the Takht-i-Bah, inscription, when Gondophares was alive and ruling over the Punjab. For about thirteen years the dominions of Gondophares and Maues were conterminous with one another, and shortly before or after the year 90, Gondophares wrested the Punjab from the Sakas. If this line of reasoning has any weight, the Saka era originates from Vonones. The coins of Vonones have not yet been obtained, but those of his viceroys have been found in Arachosia, Sistan, the lower Kabul valley, and the Western Punjab. To my mind it appears that the seat of Vonones' government lay to the west or north-west of Sistan, and that he subjugated Sistan, Arachosia, and other districts in the neighbourhood and appointed viceroys to govern them. Vonones must therefore have been a powerful sovereign. It has been alleged that Vonones sounds an Indo-Parthian name. But we have seen that his successors were Azas, Azilises, and Maues—which names are unquestionably Indo-Scythian. We may therefore suppose either that some of the Saka kings assumed Indo-Parthian names as they did Indian, or that, as remarked by Mr. Rapson,⁶⁶ a strong Parthian element was existent among the Sakas of this period. Be that as it may, if Azas, Azilises, and Maues were Sakas, their predecessor Vonones must be of Saka origin.

We have thus determined that Vonones was the founder of the Saka era, or, what is the same thing, we have seen that the Imperial Saka supremacy is to be assigned to the second half of the first and the first half of the second century after Christ. And in order to find out the English equivalent of the dates in the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva—which is the principal topic of our discussion, we have to settle how many years after the extinction of the Saka sovereignty Kanishka and his successors flourished.

I have remarked above that the Mathura date 72 of Soḍāsa, the Taxila date 78 of Patika, the Takht-i-Bahi date 103 of Gondophares,

⁶⁶ Indian Coins, p. 8.

the Panjtar date 123 of a Gushana prince whose name is lost, &c., are all years of one and the same era. And, further, since the first two dates, as we have seen, must be Saka years, the other dates also must be referred to the Saka era. Now, if these dates belong to the same era, the Takht-i-Bahi date 103 is later than the Taxila date 78, and the Panjtar date 123 later than the Takht-i-Bahi date 103. And this result is quite in keeping with the generally accepted fact that the Saka rule over North-western India was overthrown by the Indo-Parthians and the Indo-Parthians by the Kushanas. Again, it might be objected that these dates cannot refer to the same era, as we have them to suppose that after the lapse of only twenty years the Kushanas succeeded the Indo-Parthians in the sovereignty over Gandhâra and the Punjab. But it must be borne in mind that the coins of Gondophares have come from the lower Kabul valley, the upper and the lower Indus valley, Sistan and Kandahar, but those of his successors Orthagnes, Abdgases, Pakores, &c., have been obtained all over these regions, except the lower Kabul and the upper Indus valley.⁶⁷ These last-mentioned territories were not therefore after Gondophares in the possession of his successors, and must therefore have been seized by the Kushanas. The difference of only twenty years between the Takht-i-Bahi and Panjtar dates is thus explained not by the supposition that the Indo-Parthian power became extinct in that short period, but by the inference from the find-spots of coins that the lower Kabul and the upper Indus valley were lost to the Indo-Parthians soon after the death of Gondophares and occupied by the Kushanas.

Now, I cannot but think that there are no cogent reasons to hold that Kanishka was the originator of any era. Certainly he was not the king who first established the independence of the Kushana dynasty. For so far as our knowledge goes, the real founder of this dynasty was Kujula-Kadphises. Nor was he the first Kushana sovereign who struck gold coins, if they are to be supposed as an indication of the extension of power and prosperity. For the gold coinage was first issued by his predecessor Wema-Kadphises. Nor does he appear to be a great conqueror who extended the dominions inherited by him. The coins of his predecessor were collected along the Kabul valley and were found all over the Punjab and the North-western provinces as far eastward as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Gard. Intro. xlv. ; N. Chr. 1890, pp. 122-123.

⁶⁸ N. Chr. 1889, p. 277 ; Ar. Ant. pp. 353 and 358. It deserves to be noticed that the coins of Wema-Kadphises have not been found in abundance only at

And Kanishka, to judge from the find-spots of his coins, does not seem to have added to these vast dominions. Perhaps, it may be argued that from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we learn that Kanishka and his successors ruled over Kashmir, whereas we have no evidence to hold that Wema-Kadphises ever possessed that province. But I think that since Kanishka and his successors are mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī only as the founders of new cities, the omission of the name of Wema-Kadphises may be explained away by the fact that he did not found any new town. Even granting that Kanishka first subjugated Kashmir, the mere conquest of such a small and not an important province as Kashmir would not entitle him to be called a great conqueror. It is therefore inconceivable why Kanishka should be considered as the originator of any era.⁶⁹ The principal thing that has immortalized his name is his conversion to Buddhism and the assembly of Buddhist monks convened under his patronage. But I cannot understand how this fact can be sufficient to make him the founder of an era. I am therefore strongly inclined to hold with Cunningham⁷⁰ that the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva are abbreviated by the omission of hundreds. The questions that now arise are : how many hundreds have been omitted and to what era are the full dates to be referred ?

Four kings at the most appear to have reigned before Kanishka, *viz.* Kujula-Kadphises, Kujula-Kara-Kadphises, the Nameless King and Wema-Kadphises. With the question whether or not the Nameless King was a Kushana prince we are not concerned. For anyhow

a few specific places or scattered sparsely over many places, but that they have been obtained in plenty and over almost the whole of the Kabul valley, the Punjab and the North-western provinces as far as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur. The inference from the find-spots of his coins, as regards the extent of his dominions, is almost certain, and not overshadowed by doubt as in most cases where this form of argument is utilised.

⁶⁹ Gardner thinks that the Saka era was perhaps started by Kadphises II., *i.e.* Wema-Kadphises, since he "begins the issue of Indo-Scythian gold coins : and Kanerki's earliest date is the year 9" (Gard. Intro. li., note *). Since the above was written by Gardner, an inscription has been discovered which is dated in the year 5 in the reign of Kanishka (Ep. Ind. I., 381). Conceding however that the year 9 is the earliest date of Kanishka, it is next to impossible that Wema-Kadphises should have reigned only for eight years, as his coins have been collected in vast numbers over a very wide region.

⁷⁰ Book of Indian Eras, p. 41; N. Chr. 1892, pp. 44-45; but I do not agree with him in referring the dates of Kanishka and his successors to the Seleukidan era, as will be noticed further on.

we have to take the period of his reign into consideration. That he reigned after Kujula-Kadphises and before Kanishka and over the Kushana dominions can easily be shown. The find-spots of his coins⁷¹ show that the extent of his kingdom was almost the same as that of Wema-Kadphises—which means that he ruled over the Kushana territories. A coin has been noticed by Cunningham⁷² which bears on the reverse the faces of the Nameless King and Wema-Kadphises with their peculiar symbols in front of them. On his copper coins Wema-Kadphises assumes the titles that are found on the coinage of the Nameless King only. Various other similarities have been mentioned by Cunningham, which indubitably indicate that he was not far removed in time from Wema-Kadphises, and that for some time and over some region at least, as can be inferred from that peculiar coin, they were contemporaries reigning together. We must not however suppose that for long they were ruling together over the same territories or were intimately connected with each other. For the coins of the Nameless King are mostly of copper and rarely of silver, while those of Wema-Kadphises are of copper and gold, and not a single specimen of silver has hitherto been discovered. The Nameless King therefore ruled over the Kushana territories after Kujula-Kadphises and before Kanishka, and had an altogether separate reign, at any rate for a long time.⁷³ Now, each one of these kings seems to have had a long reign as appears from the vast number of coins found.⁷⁴ Assuming that the Kushana ruler, whose name is lost in the Panjar inscription, is Kujula-Kadphises, and that he began to reign independently in 120, *i.e.* three years before 123, the date of the inscription, an average period of twenty years to each

⁷¹ Ar. Ant., p. 332; N. Chr. 1890, p. 115; *Ibid.* 1892, p. 72.

⁷² N. Chr. 1892, p. 56.

⁷³ In my opinion, Wema-Kadphises came after the Nameless King. For if the Nameless King is placed between Wema-Kadphises and Kanishka, we should find his gold coins, but the Nameless King does not appear to have issued gold coinage.

⁷⁴ This, however, cannot be said of Kujula-Kara-Kadphises. In fact, the general current of opinion amongst numismatists is to regard the coins of this prince as different types of the coinage of Kujula-Kadphises (Rapson: *Indian Coins*, p. 17), so that before Kanishka there lived only three princes, *viz.* Kujula-Kadphises, the Nameless King, and Wema-Kadphises. We have thus three reigns covering a period of eighty years, or an average period of $26\frac{2}{3}$ years for each one of the three princes—a period which agrees with the abundance of their coins better than the period of twenty years which we have assigned to each.

one of these kings brings Wema-Kadphises' reign to a close in 200. And I have stated above that the Panjtar date is in all likelihood a Saka year. Wema-Kadphises therefore ceased to reign about 200 Saka, *i.e.* 278 A. D. The dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva are therefore recorded with two hundreds omitted, and refer to the Saka era.

According to this view, the following will be the dates of the Kushana princes Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva:—

For Kanishka, we have inscriptions with the years 5-28, *i. e.*

[20]5—[2]28 S. E., *i. e.* 283-306 A. D.

For Huvishka, we have inscriptions with the years 29-60, *i. e.*

[2]29—[2]60 S. E., *i. e.* 307-338 A. D.

For Vāsudeva, we have inscriptions with the years 74-98, *i. e.*

[2]74—[2]98 S. E., *i. e.* 352-376 A. D.

We have thus come to the conclusion that the dates in the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva are to be explained by the omission of two hundreds of the Saka era. This result agrees with the Mathura date 29 (9 ?) of a king whose titles are given but whose name is not specified. For, as Dr. Bühler has remarked, the type of characters of the Mathura inscription, which bears this date, points to the time of one of these three princes,⁷⁵ and I may add that the titles mentioned, especially the expression Rājâtirāja, are those which are peculiar to these Kushana kings. If the date 29 (9 ?) of this Mathura inscription thus in all likelihood belongs to the time of these princes, our view that in other Kushana documents the dates are recorded by leaving out two hundreds is confirmed. The date 29 (9 ?) must thus belong to the reign of Vāsudeva.

It will be seen that by holding that Vonones was the founder of the Saka era, and that the dates of Kanishka and his successors are Saka years abbreviated by the omission of two hundreds, we have placed these Indo-Scythian princes much later than almost all antiquarians have done. I shall therefore now proceed to show that the periods which we have assigned to them alone are consistent with

⁷⁵ Vienna Ori. Jour. X., 172-173. Dr. Bühler thinks that this fact shows either that two eras were used in the time of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva or that the dates of their inscriptions are given with two hundreds omitted. The former alternative appears to me to be improbable, for if two eras had really been prevalent at the same time, of certainly the numerous records of the Kushana period hitherto discovered, we should have found some at least dated according to that era.

what we know as certain about Northern India during the early centuries of the Christian era. If we suppose with Fergusson and Prof. Oldenberg that Kanishka originated the Saka era, *i. e.* that the dates of Kanishka and his successors, as they stand, refer to the Saka era, or if we hold with Cunningham that these dates are years of the Seleukidan era with 400 omitted, the latest date 98 of Vāsudeva corresponds to 176 or 186 A. D. This gives us a blank of at least 132 years between the latest Kushana date and the initial year of the Gupta era, to fill up which researches hitherto made do not furnish us with the names of any princes or dynasties. It is no doubt maintained by some antiquarians that what are called the later Great Kushanas occupy this long period. But for howsoever long a period the later Great Kushanas may have flourished after Vāsudeva, this much is incontrovertible that the Kushana power remained unabated till the time of Vāsudeva, but appears to have declined after his death. For there is a great lack of variety in the type of the Kushana coins after Vāsudeva,⁷⁶ and the Greek legends used thereon are corrupt and seem to have been intended as mere ornamental borders. Again, no inscription of the time of any of these later Great Kushanas has yet been discovered; whereas those of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva have been found in numbers; and since all these numerous inscriptions take us only as far as the year 98, it is all but certain that not long after this date the Kushanas lost their supremacy. Further, the coinage of the later Great Kushanas appears to be restricted to the Kabul valley and the Punjab only, and is not found over the North-Western Provinces and Central India, where also the coins of Wema-Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva are abundant. This shows that after Vāsudeva the Kushana rule over the North-Western Provinces and Central India was overthrown. So that we may safely conclude that after the death of Vāsudeva the Kushanas ceased to be supreme rulers, and their sway was confined to a much smaller region. There is not the slightest indication whatever of any royal dynasty intervening between the death of Vāsudeva and the rise of the Guptas and supplanting the Kushana sovereignty. But if our theory is accepted, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva are brought sufficiently close to the Guptas, the blank of 132 years completely disappears, and the Guptas obviously appear to have brought about the downfall of the Kushanas, as is generally accepted. Nay, we can even determine

⁷⁶ N. Chr. 1893, pp. 115-116; Rapson: Indian Coins, p. 18, § 74; Jour. Ben. Asiatic Society, LXIII., pp. 179-181.

which Gupta prince in all probability conquered and reduced the Kushanas. For the date 98 of Vāsudeva, according to our mode of understanding it, is equivalent to 298 Śaka, *i.e.* 376 A.D. And certainly about this time the Guptas had secured independence and were fast rising in power, as will be seen from the Allahabad pillar inscription recording expeditions of conquest of Samudragupta. But Samudragupta does not appear to have subdued the Kushanas⁷⁷ In his inscription the expression Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi⁷⁸ occurs, and the language there used, when divested of its rhetorical

⁷⁷ When I say that Samudragupta did not subdue the Kushanas, I do not mean to hold that he never came in conflict with them. The reign of Samudragupta marks the first blow dealt to the Kushanas, as the eastern-most portion of the North-Western Provinces, which was undoubtedly once held and possessed by the Kushanas, appears to be included in his dominions. Though he perhaps acquired a victory or two over the Kushanas, he did not entirely subjugate them, and they seem to have then entered into a friendly alliance with Samudragupta and are spoken of as Shāhi Shāhānushāhi, *i.e.* Mahārāja Rājātirāja, in his inscription. But it was Chandragupta II, who successfully attacked, and overwhelmed the Kushanas, as will be shown in the text further.

⁷⁸ I take this to be one single compound title, designating the member of the imperial Kushana dynasty, contemporaneous with Samudragupta, when the Allahabad pillar inscription was incised. Mr. Smith, like Dr. Fleet, has split up this expression into three different titles, denoting three different princes. But I do not understand how the word Shāhi or Shāhānushāhi by itself can be supposed to have been used to designate particular princes, as the words are not certainly tribal names, at any rate were not so at that time, but are ordinary titles corresponding to Mahārāja or Rājātirāja. Shāhi and Shāhānushāhi cannot thus be either dynastic or proper names. The last evidently corresponds as stated in the text to the expression Shaonano Shao on the coins of the three Kushana princes, and when the distinctive appellation Devaputra is read before the titles, the doubt is almost wholly cleared and the expression must undoubtedly be taken to refer to the Kushanas, for we know that Devaputra was a specific name by which the Kushanas were known. I therefore take the whole expression Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi as equivalent to Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra and as alluding to one prince of the imperial Kushana family. By the bye, it may be mentioned that Mr. Smith, taking each one of the words of this compound to be a separate name denoting a distinct prince, identifies Shāhi with some prince of the Kidāra, *i.e.* the Little Kushana dynasty reigning about Kandahar. But Kidāra, the founder of this dynasty who has been identified with Kitolo of the Chinese writers, is supposed to have conquered Gandhāra about 428 A.D. and to have reigned previously to this date to the north of Caucasus until the time of the inroads of the Hūnas (J. R. A. S. 1897, pp. 905-907; N. Chr. 1893, pp. 184-185; Jour. Beng. Asia. Socie. LXIII., 188). How therefore any prince of the Kidāra dynasty can be a contemporary of Samudragupta, I cannot imagine.

hyperbole, clearly implies that the Kushanas had entered into a friendly alliance with Samudragupta and that they were practically independent. It may also be observed that the title *Shâhânushâhi*, which is identical with *Shaonano Shao*, occurring in the legends of the Kushana coins, and which is equivalent to the Sanskrit epithet *Râjâdhirâja* or the Greek expression *Basileus Basileon*, indicates that the prince who assumed it was a paramount sovereign, and that his supreme power was still unshaken, at any rate to any serious extent. Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II., who was the greatest and most powerful Gupta Prince. And it is he who seems to have eclipsed the glory of the Kushanas. For his coins have been found in Râmnagar in the Bareilly district, Soron in the Etâ district, Sunit near Ludiâna, Panipat and Alwar.⁷⁹ An inscription referring itself to his reign has also been discovered at Mathura.⁸⁰ But neither any coins nor any inscription of the reign of Samudragupta has been found in those regions. It is therefore almost certain that Chandragupta II. attacked and overwhelmed the Kushanas and brought the whole of the North-Western Provinces at least under his rule. The earliest known date of Chandragupta II. is 82 G. E., i.e. 400 A. D. In all probability he succeeded to the throne long before. The latest ascertained date of Vâsudeva is 98, i.e. 298, according to our theory, corresponding to 376 A. D. It was between 376 A. D. and 400 A. D. therefore that Vâsudeva was vanquished by Chandragupta. In all likelihood the event must have taken place soon after 298 S. E. or 376 A. D.; for in the inscription bearing that date Vâsudeva is called only a Râjan and the imperial titles are omitted. Already therefore he had been reduced to a subordinate position before 376 A. D.

We have thus made the Guptas the immediate successors of the Kushanas in the supremacy over the North-Western Provinces and Eastern Malwa. The only conceivable objection of any force that may be urged against this view is that paleographic evidence does not support it. But, in my opinion, paleographic evidence, far from contradicting this view, strengthens it. Dr. Bühler has noticed that *ka* of the Kushana inscriptions has occasionally the Gupta form, and that instances of *sa*, with its left limb turned into a loop such as is to be met with in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, are not

⁷⁹ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) 1889, p. 48; *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 104.

⁸⁰ Cor. Ins. Ind., III., pp. 25-28.

wanting.⁸¹ The letters *ra* and *ṇa* engraved in the well-known Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II. and Kumāragupta I.⁸² are also to be found in those of the Kushana period. But there may appear to be some difference regarding the character *ma*. But as Cunningham has assured us,⁸³ the so-called Gupta form of *ma* occurs in a Kushana inscription dated 98. The later form thus appears to have come into vogue about the close of the Kushana supremacy. He has also observed that the older form of *ma* which was almost invariably used in the time of the Kushanas was not unknown in the north during the reign of Samudragupta, and I may add, of Chandragupta II., as will be seen from the way in which the letter is incised in the words 'Parākrama' and 'Vikramāditya' in the legends of their coins respectively. It is thus plain that in the time of these Gupta princes at any rate, both the forms of *ma* were prevalent and the new form came to be used a little before the time of the overthrow of the Kushana power by Chandragupta II. Nor can it be said that in the Gupta period there is any marked permanent change in the form of the letter *na*; for though the loop form of that period may be seen in the word 'Kritānta'⁸⁴ in the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II., the usual form of it of the Kushana period is to be seen in the words 'utpannasya' and 'tatparigrihītena.' Further the loop-form is not peculiar to the Gupta period, since it may be noticed in the Kushana inscriptions⁸⁵ also and was not the only form used even after the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty as both occur in an inscription at Mathura dated 230 G. E.⁸⁶ The only notable difference that appears to me is with respect to the medial *i*. Excepting this, there are no characters in the Gupta inscriptions at Mathura which are not to be found in the epigraphical records of the time of the Kushanas. And no less an authority on paleography than Dr. Bühler bears testimony to this fact. In his work 'Indische Paleographie' ⁸⁷ he says: "All these peculiarities (of the Kushana period) as well the advanced forms of the medial vowel *ā* in *rā*, *u* in *ku* and in *stu* and *o* in *to* appear in the northern alphabets of the following period, that of the Gupta inscriptions and that of the Bower MS. either without change or are the prototypes of the forms there appearing. The literary alphabets in use at Mathura in the first and

⁸¹ Ep. Ind. I., 372-73.⁸² *Ibid.* II., 210, No. 39.⁸³ Arch. Sur. Reports III., 37-38.⁸⁴ *Vide* the preceding note.⁸⁵ *Vide* in the plates accompanying Bühler's Indische Paleographie, tafel III., 26-IV.⁸⁶ Cor. Ins. Ind. III., pl. xl. D.⁸⁷ Indischen Paleographie, p. 41.

second centuries after Christ were perhaps very nearly or altogether alike to the later ones, and the mixing up of the old forms is to be attributed only to the imitation of older votive inscriptions." As regards the fact that the type of characters of the Gupta period at Mathura almost fully agrees with that of the Kushana, we are quite at one with Dr. Bühler. But he ascribes this agreement of the form of the letters to an attempt at imitating the older votive inscriptions, because he sticks to the cherished belief that Kanishka lived in the first century A. D. and probably even earlier.^{ss} Any conscious attempt at imitating the letters of the older inscriptions is in itself improbable and on our view of the matter which we have developed so far it is quite unnecessary to make any such supposition, for we hold that Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva immediately preceded the Guptas and that the last prince at any rate was a contemporary of Chandragupta II. The close resemblance of alphabets is thus to be accounted for by the fact that the Kushana and the Gupta inscriptions at Mathura belong to almost the same period; and thus the paleographic evidence far from contradicting our view affords a strong confirmation thereof.

^{ss} Ind. Ant. XXVII, p. 49, note 4.

ART. XVIII.—*On the date of the poet Māgha.* By K. B. PATHAK, B. A.

(Read 19th October 1899.)

Māgha is one of the most distinguished Sanskrit poets. His fame rests entirely on the Śisūpālavadhā. This is the only production of his muse that has come down to us. It is considered a masterpiece of Sanskrit literature, and takes rank with the immortal productions of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. It is a great favourite with Sanskrit students in every part of India, and its immense popularity is attested by the existence of numerous commentaries on it, which belong to different parts of the country, though the one by Mallinātha is accorded the palm of excellence by universal consent. Vallabhadēva and Kshēmēndra quote some verses as those of Māgha¹. Since these are not found in the Śisūpālavadhā, it is conjectured by scholars that the poet gave to the world some other creations of his genius, which are now lost.

As a rule, Indian poets rarely give an account of themselves, or allude to contemporary men and events. To this rule Māgha is an exception. He tells² us that his father was Dattaka, and his grandfather, Suprabhadēva. Regarding the latter we are favoured with some interesting particulars. Suprabhadēva held the office of prime minister to a king who listened to his advice with as great respect as the enlightened public received the words of the revered Buddha. It may be easily inferred from this statement that in the days of our poet Buddhism counted among its votaries men of highly cultivated minds, and that the king also, to whom the poet's family owed so much, professed that faith. The poet naturally hoped that the king's name would descend to future ages. But this hope has not been realised. The royal patron of letters has narrowly escaped being immortalised. He has suffered so much from successive generations of scribes, through whose hands the Śisūpālavadhā has passed, that it is hard to determine what his name exactly was, since it occurs in manuscripts in a variety of forms.³ And we look in vain for any of the variants of the king's name in the numerous inscriptions, the publication of which we owe to the labours of scholars who have worked in the field of Indian archaeology. Thus it is obvious that the autobiographical stanzas with

¹ Durgāprasāda's edition of Śisūpālavadhā, introduction.

² Śisūpālavadhā, concluding verses.

³ Durgāprasāda's edition of Śisūpālavadhā, introduction.

which the author winds up his brilliant poem, throws no light on his age.

It is well-known that the chronology of Sanskrit literature remains yet to be settled ; and the date of Māgha, like that of many other Indian authors, has formed the subject of controversy among scholars. Prof. Jacobi assigns him to the middle of the sixth century, while Dr. Joh. Klatt places him at the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era.⁴ Mr. Datta in his excellent work on Civilization in Ancient India refers the poet⁵ to the twelfth century. A serious difficulty that we encounter in our attempt to determine the age of Māgha is found in the fact that the Bhôjaprabandha, the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi and the Prabhāvakacharita have put into circulation a number of traditionary stories concerning Māgha which make him contemporary with king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The authenticity of these stories has been discussed at length by the late Pundit Durgāprasāda in the introduction to his valuable edition of the Śiśupālavadhā, and the conclusion at which he arrives is that they cannot be received as matters of real history. One reason which he assigns for this view is that Māgha is quoted by Ānandavardhana who belongs to the latter half of the ninth century.

That these stories are wholly without foundation is also confirmed by many other facts. Māgha is mentioned in a Kanarese inscription⁶, dated Śaka 1102. The Śiśupālavadhā is quoted⁷ by king Bhôja himself in his Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa. Māgha is also mentioned in the Yaśastilaka⁸ by Sômadêva who finished his work in Śaka 881, when the Râshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇarāja III. was reigning. This last reference is ample to prove that Māgha was not contemporary with king Bhôja, as the latter's uncle Munja was taken prisoner by Tailapa II. who defeated Kakkal, the last of the Râshtrakûṭas, and revived the Châlukya empire.⁹

But the earliest and most interesting reference to Māgha occurs in the Kavirâjamārga which was composed by Nṛpatuṅga, the most accomplished prince of his age, shortly after his accession to the throne, which took place in A. D. 814. It is evident that in the first half of the ninth century Māgha was regarded by Nṛpatuṅga's

⁴ Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. IV., pp. 61 and 236.

⁵ Dutt. Book, V. Chapter XII.

⁶ Ind. Ant. V., p. 46.

⁷ Śiśupālavadhā, IX. 6 ; Anfrecht's catalogue (1891) 446.

⁸ Dr. Peterson's Report for 1883-84, p. 45.

⁹ Dynasties of the Kanarese country.

contemporaries as a classical author of acknowledged excellence as he is ranked in the last-named work¹⁰ with the immortal author of the *Śakuntalā*, and this judgment is ratified by succeeding ages. The inference that we can deduce from these facts is that Māgha must have lived before the ninth century.

The earliest limit to the age of the poet is furnished by a well-known verse¹¹ in the second canto of the *Śiśupālavadha* which distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the *Kāśikāvr̥tti* and its commentary called *Nyāsa*. These are the works composed by eminent Buddhist authors who adorn our literary annals. Māgha alludes to them as a flattering compliment to the followers of Śākyasiṃha, to whose sect, as we have seen, the royal patron of his family belonged. From a similar desire Māgha is led to compare Hari¹² to Bodhisattva, and the princes, who marched under the banner of Śiśupāla, to the host of Māra or the Satan of the Buddhistic legend.

The *Kāśikāvr̥tti* is the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana. As regards the former author the Chinese traveller I-tsing tells¹³ us that he was a follower of Gautama Buddha and that he died about A. D. 661-662. The *Kāśikāvr̥tti* is explained by Jinendra buddhi in his work entitled *Nyāsa*. Both these works are durable monuments of Buddhistic learning, and are so valuable as to make I-tsing's co-religionists of any age or country really proud of them. And yet while I-tsing gives us information about Jayāditya, he does not so much as mention his illustrious commentator; and his silence is highly significant.

We must bear in mind the fact that the sole object of I-tsing's travels in India was to collect literary and historical information concerning authors whose genius has shed an undying light over Buddhism. It is to the diligence of this enlightened traveller and his two eminent predecessors that we are indebted for the preservation of such information, which would have otherwise been lost to the world. We can therefore easily conclude from I-tsing's silence about Jinendrabuddhi that the latter did not flourish during the interval of 44 years that elapsed between the date of Jayāditya's death and that of I-tsing's departure from India, which took place in A. D. 695.

¹⁰ Introduction to my edition of the *Kavirājamārga*.

¹¹ *Śiśupālavadha*, II., 112.

¹² *Idem*. XV., 58.

¹³ India, what can it teach us? First edition, p. 346. See also English translation of I-tsing's work, Chap. XXXIV., p. 176.

For these reasons the composition of the Nyâsa must be referred to the first half of the eighth century. Mâgha must be placed still later as he mentions the Nyâsa, though as I have proved, he cannot have lived after the commencement of the ninth century. From these facts we can safely conclude that the author of the Śisupâlavadha flourished in the latter part of the eighth century.

ART. XIX.—*Sanhitâ of the Rig-Veda searched.*

By RAJARAM RAMKRISHNA BHAGAWAT.—St. Xavier's College,
Bombay.

(I.—*The Madhu-chhandas or A Group.*)

[Read, 15th March 1900.]

It is proposed to search the domain of the Shâkala-Sanhitâ and to place the various points of varying importance as found about or in its hymns before the reader. The hymns will be taken up in the order in which they occur in the Sanhitâ.

The *first eleven* (1—11) hymns may be said to form the *first* or A group. Of these the first ten are ascribed to Madhu-chhandas, son of Vishwâ-mitra, and the eleventh to Jetri, son of Madhu-chhandas. In the Ait. Br. (ch. 3, panchikâ 7) the reader will find that Vishwâ-mitra had 100 sons, of whom he blessed 50 with Madhu-chhandas at their head, as they were obedient, while the remaining fifty he cursed, as they were disobedient. In the same chapter the reader will find that Vishwâ-mitra is addressed as *Bhârata*, while Vishwâ-mitra addresses his sons as *Gâthrinâs* or *Kushikâs*.

The *first* hymn (*Agñimîle*) of 9 Rîks will be found to form part (ch. 4. Kandî. 13, Âshv. Shr. Sûtra) of the so-called *Âgneya-kratu* (recitations in honour of fire) of the *prâtaranuvâka* (morning chapters) of the Soma-sacrifice.

The *second* (*Vâyavâ*) and the *third* (*Ashwinâ*) contain together 21 verses, subdivided into 7 triplets and form the *pra-uga* recitation of the Hotri (ch. 5, Kandî. 10, Âshv. Shr. Sûtra) priest. The word *pra-uga* seems to be etymologically connected with *pra-ge*, which in classical Sanskrit means "morning." It is, perhaps, better to connect it with *pra-uga* "pole." The triplets are in honour of (1) Vâyû (wind,) (2) Indra-Vâyû (Indra and Vâyû), (3) Mitra and Varuṇa, (4) the two Ashwins, (5) Indra, (6) Vishwe-Devas, and (7) Saras-vatî respectively.

The *six* hymns (4—9), each containing 10 verses, are to be recited by the priest *brâhmaṇâch-chhansin*, if a necessity arise for any or all of them, in the morning libation of the *abhi-plava* (ch. 7, Kandî. 5, Âshv. Shr. Sûtra), a Soma-sacrifice, which has six Soma-days. The five hymns (4—8) are included in the *niṣh-kevalya* recitations of the *hotri* priest in the mid-day libation on the *mahâ-vrata* day. The *tenth* hymn (*Gâyanti*) of 12 verses has, as a whole, no place in any sacrifice. The *three* triplets (1, 2, 3; 5, 6, 7; 9, 10, 11) have places assigned to them in the *abhi-plava* Soma-sacrifice in the recita-

tions of the *achchā-vāka* priest in the third libation, while the 12th verse has a place assigned to it after the two *havir-dhāna* carts have been brought. The 4th and the 8th do not seem to have had any sacrificial value.

The *eleventh* hymn of 8 verses is recited on the *mahā-vrata* day in the *nish-kevalya* recitations of the mid-day libation.

Observations.

"Vritra" originally "enemy;"
"vajra" originally
ly "a weapon."

The words *vritra* and *vajra* are very interesting. The word *vritra* occurs in hymns 4 (v. 8), 7 (v. 5), and 8 (v. 2.) In all these places it means "enemy in general"; in the 8th hymn it cannot but mean "human enemies." All these 3 verses, especially the last, ought to settle the original meaning of *vritra*. The word *vajra* in the 8th hymn (v. 3) means "a weapon," which the worshippers "hope" soon "to hold in the hand to crush the enemies." This verse should settle for ever the original meaning of the word *vajra* also. In all the epithets containing *vajra* of Indra, the word *vajra* must originally have meant "a weapon," not "lightning" or "thunderbolt." The

Both "vritra" and "vajra" Avestic.

words *vritra* (*verethra*) and *vajra* will be found used exactly in the same sense in Avestic literature (Ks. 1 and 9, *Mihr yashta*) The two words thus form the link, connecting the Vedic language with the Avestic. The word *brahman* is not less interesting. This word occurs in the two verses (2nd and 3rd) of the Indra triplet, and also in the 10th hymn (v. 4). But in these 3 verses it is in the neuter gender, while in the 10th hymn (v. 1), it occurs in the masculine gender. *Brahman* could not have originally meant an "offering of liquor" or "food," as it is mentioned side by side with both these offerings in the 3rd verse of the Indra triplet. It thus could not but have meant a form of recitation by some priest. In the Indra triplet (v. 2) the priest reciting the *brahman* is called *vāghat*, while the word *brahman* in the masculine gender is evidently connected with it. Were *vāghat*

"Brahman" (neut.) = "a vocal offering"; "Brahman" (mas.) = "a priest."

and *brahman* synonyms? Both the words *vāghat* and *brahman* seem to be allied with the Avestic *vaghji* and *vahma* (K. 1, *Mihr Yashta*).

"Brahman," probably the Avestic "vahma."

"Gir" = "an offering"—but or
alimentary
vocal?

The word *gir* is equally interesting. It occurs in the Ashvin triplet (v. 2), in the 5th hymn (v. 8), in the 6th hymn (vs. 6 and 9), in the 9th (vs. 4 and 9), in the 10th (vs. 3, 9 and 12) and in the 11th (v. 6). The word *gir* originally, perhaps, meant a "food-offering," derived from *grî*, "to swallow"; if it be supposed to be derived from *gri* "to chant," it must have meant a "vocal offering." It is not quite clear whether in these hymns the word is used for the alimen-

tary or the vocal offering, though in some places (v. 6, h. 6; v. 9, h. 9 and v. 3, h. 10), *gir* seems to be used for the vocal offering alone. The epithet *girvanas* of Indra is undoubtedly connected with the offering *gir*, be it alimentary or vocal. There was one set of offerings called *stoma*, another set called *uktā*, a third set called *gir*. All these sets are mentioned in the 5th hymn (v. 8). In the 10th hymn (v. 9) the set of *gir* offerings is reserved for Indra himself, while one *stoma* is set apart for the male or the female companion of Indra. Indra has a companion. The sex of the companion cannot, unfortunately, be determined, as the word *yuj* has no special gender of its own. If the companion be a male, the name was, perhaps, *Makha* (v. 8, h. 6); if a female the name is not known. In the 10th Mandala (v. 2, h. 171), the reader will find Indra "severing the head of one trembling Makha from his body and then going to the house of one Somin." Indra being made his own companion or friend (v. 5, h. 7, and v. 4, h. 8) by the worshipper, when marching against the enemy, there is room for inserting *ātmanah* as qualifying *yujah*. Be that as it may, the set of *gir* offerings and the epithet *girvanas* seem to have been more in vogue among the tribe to which our two *ṛishis* had the honour to belong. *Duv*, *medha* and *namas* are the three more words for "offering" occurring in hymns 4 (v. 5), 3 (v. 3 of the Vishve-Deva triplet), and 1 (v. 7) respectively. The nature of *duv* cannot be determined, though *medha*, etymologically considered, must have been applied to "meat-offering." "Medha" = "a meat-offering." *Namas* seems to have been reserved for Agni, but its nature is, unfortunately, not determinable. Three classes of priests. The names of the three classes of priests will be found in the 7th hymn (v. 1) and again in the 10th (v. 1). In both the hymns the name of the second class is the same, viz., *arkins*. In the 7th hymn the first class is called *gāthins*, while in the 10th *gāyatrins*; the name of the 3rd class does not seem to be given in the 7th, while its name, as given in the 10th, is *brahman*. "Gāthins" perhaps identical with "gāyatrins,"—Class I. The recitations of *arkins* are in both called *arka*; the *vāṇis* in the 7th seem to have been the recitations of *brahmans* in the 10th. "Brahmans" Class III. The recitations of *gāthins* were undoubtedly *gāthās*, as the *gāthās* of Indra are mentioned in the 8th Mandala (v. 1, h. 32). "Arkins," Class II. Why were the descendants of Vishwāmitra called *gāthinās*? Were they in charge of the *gāthās*? or did they form the set of *gāthins* in sacrifices of those times? The irreiterations—"vāṇi" of No. 3, "arka" of No. 2, "gāthā" or "gāyatra" of No. 1. The name *gāthina* is undoubtedly connected either with *gāthā* or *gāthin*. Were *gāthā-gāyatrī* and *gāthin-gāyatrī* synonyms? The recitations of *gāyatrins* were called either *gāyātras* or *gāyatrīs*. The duty of *gāya-*

trins was that of *gāyana* (chanting), of the *arkins* that of *archana* (praising), of the *brahmans* that of *ul-yamana* (proclaiming loudly). The word *gāthā* has attained in the Avestic an importance which it certainly has not even in the Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Vedic *gāyatra* had, perhaps, its representative in the Avestic *gāthra* (Kard 23, Mihr Yashta). The other words for priests are *jaritṛi* (v. 2, the Vāyu triplet), *vāghat* (v. 2, the Indra triplet), *vipra* (v. 6, h. 8), *stotṛi* (v. 3, h. 11) and *kāru* (v. 6, h. 11). The *jaritṛis* are mentioned in connection with *vāyu*. The word *vāghat* alone is in the singular, while all the rest are in the plural. The *soma*-day was called *ahan*, and the fact of the priests being called "knowers of the *ahan*" proves that the ritual could not have been quite simple. There were the *stomas*, there were the *ukthas*, there were the *girs*, there were the *arkas*, there were the *brahmans*, there was the *gāyana*, there was the *archana*, there was the *shansana* of the *stomas* and also of the *ukthas*. There were three sets of priests, each set containing at least three priests. Thus the least number of priests comes to nine. The least number of libations must have been three. The whole ceremony seems to have been called *kratu* (v. 2, the Mitrā-Varuṇa triplet) or *yajnya* (v. 4, h. 10). The word *yajnya* will be found to have *adhvara* (v. 4, h. 1) qualifying it. The word *adhvara* is evidently connected with *adhvan*, "way" or "path," that is "form," and *adhvara* seems to have meant originally "following the (fixed) way" or "the prescribed form." The indispensable lore or the verbal treasure seems to have had the name of *ṛita*, "path" or "way," assigned to it. *Ṛita* thus was the passive lore as committed to memory, while *yajnya* and *kratu* both meant the actual performance or execution of that lore, without deviating in the least from the fixed path or the prescribed form. Agni is called the "lord of the (*yajnyas* that were) *adhvaras* and the guardian of the *ṛita* (v. 8) in the first hymn. The parts of a *kratu* or *yajnya* were technically called (v. 1, the Saras-vatī triplet) *dhī*. The *yajnya* in some of the verses may have had connection with the Avestic *yasna*. The nature of the *yajnya* and the nature of the *ṛita* and the nature of the *stoma*, the *uktha*, and the like recitations of those times is, in these times, simply impossible to determine. All these words have either become obsolete or changed their original meaning. The

The age of older words *ṛita* and *yajnya* or *kratu* may very well be compared with the later *pathin* and *karman* as found in the Aitareya (ch. 1, contrasted with the older age, Aran. 2) Āraṇyaka. The recommendation of a liberal payment to

priests (v. 3, h. 11) proves that the calling of priests had become quite a necessity in the society of those times. The author of the 11th hymn seems to have been a priest by calling, who "made a fortune abroad and at last returned to his native land of Sindhu (Sind), where he was recognised and welcomed by his brother-priests." Not only the reference to the overthrow of Shushna and to the taking of the fortress of Vala (vs. 7 and 5, h. 11), but also the address of Indra as "Kaushika" and of Agni as "Agniras" (v. 11, h. 10, and v. 6, h. 1) are evident signs of the legendary lore also having attained a considerable development. The original simplicity of ritual was thus even in the times of these hymns becoming or had already become a thing of the past, though the formidable elaboration of later times was yet a long way off.

Profession of priest.

Development of legendary lore.

Though the simplicity of ritual was now no longer one of the characteristics of the society of those times, the simplicity at least of living, and, with it, the martial spirit, the race had, fortunately for it, not yet lost. The *rishis* of these hymns, with their followers, were, just like their ancestors, in quest of cattle (vs. 7 and 8, h. 10) or of pastures for them. Their prayers to Indra were, consequently, for victory (vs. 2, 3, 4, h. 8) on the battle-field. Mankind even in those times was divided into two antagonistic divisions of the Deva-worshipping and the Deva-reviling. The revilers are called (v. 5, h. 4) *Nid*; how the worshippers called themselves is not known. May it not be that they called themselves (v. 2, h. 1, and v. 11, h. 10) *rishis*? Did these Deva-revilers belong to the Zoroastrian age? or did they form the generations of pre-Zoroastrian times?

Simplicity of living not yet lost.

The two divisions of "worshippers," and "revilers."

The three words *puro-hita*, *ritvij* and *hotri* occur in the very first verse of the first hymn. But the reader will find that they are not used in the same sense in which the sacrificers of later times understood them. *Puro-hita* means "in front placed," not "chaplain (of a king);" *ritvij* "(one to whom an) oblation is offered at the fixed hour," not a "sacrificial priest"; *hotri* "calling (the divinities to the place of sacrifice)," not "the priest of Rig-veda." The word *hotri* is one of those which connect the Vedic with the Avestic ritual.

The word-verse of the first hymn. But the reader will find that they are not used "puro-hita," "ritvij," and "hotri."

The two divinities chiefly worshipped in the times of these hymns were Agni and Indra, at least in the tribe to which the authors belonged. The tribe was rather of Indra-worshippers than of Agni-worshippers. Indra was often consulted (v. 4, h. 4), but how, is not known. Agni, no doubt, was honoured, but more as one at whose all even the great Indra condescended to come down. The other

Agni and Indra, the chief divinities.

divinities, viz. Vāyu, Mitra, and Varuṇa, the two Ashvins and Sarasvatī, belonged in all probability to other tribes. There seems to have also been a tribe honouring all the divinities collectively as Vishve-Devas. As all these divinities belonged to the tribes of Deva-worshippers, and not to those of Deva-revilers, they were duly recognised and honoured by the tribe to which the author belonged.

The hymns written long before the establishment of "prātar-anuvāka, prauṇa," etc.

There is very little poetry in these hymns. The subject matter of these hymns is, no doubt, ritualistic; but the hymns do not seem to have been composed with any special ritualistic purpose in view. These hymns could not have been composed for the purpose of the *prātar-anuvāka* or the *prauṇa* and other *śāstras*, all these recitations having come into existence long after the time of their composition. So, these 11 hymns are, no doubt, ritualistic, but without any ritualistic purpose. Nevertheless, they are invaluable as affording an insight into the constitution of the *Soma*-days and also into some of the sacrificial details of those times.

The divisions of mankind.

That our authors belonged to the Deva-worshipping, not to the Deva-reviling, division is a moral certainty. But the Deva-worshipping division of mankind had many sub-divisions. There were the *charṣanās*, mentioned in the Vishve-Deva triplet (v. 1), and the five *kṣhītis* in hymn No. 7 (v. 9); there were also the *kṛīṣītis*, who, though described as hostile in the 4th hymn (v. 6), are described as tributary in the 7th hymn (v. 8). To which of these sub-divisions did our authors belong? If they belonged to the sub-division of the *ṛīṣhis*, did the *ṛīṣhis* form one of the sub-divisions of the five *kṣhītis*? Or was it an independent sub-division, having had nothing to do with any of these 7 sub-divisions? Indra was, of course, acknowledged as their god by all these sub-divisions and also by the *ṛīṣhis*.

What did "ṛīṣha" mean?

Who were the *ṛīṣhas*, whom (v. 1, the Mitrâ-Varuṇa triplet) Varuṇa ate or devoured? This epithet seems to be suggestive of the immolation of human victims on or before the altar of Varuṇa.

On a close examination of the Sanskrit language, it will be found that the *adādi* class among the classes of roots is the oldest, the most primitive. The one feature of the *adādi* class is that it altogether dispenses with the intermediary, nothing coming between the simple root and the terminations. The roots *pā* (v. 1, the Vāyu triplet), "to drink," *gam* (v. 1, the Indra-Vāyu triplet), *hu* (v. 1, the M. V. triplet), *ash* (v. 2, *ibid*), *mad* (v. 1, h. 9), *yuj* (v. 3, h. 10), *kṛi* (v. 9, *ibid*), *bhā* (v. 2, h. 11), *vri* (v. 5, *ibid*), will be found to belong

to the *adādi* class in these hymns, though in classical Sanskrit they belong to some other class, never to the *adādi* class. All the remaining classes are represented by *sachasva* (v. 9, h. 1), *jushanta* (v. 3, the Vishve-Deva triplet), *prachetayati* (v. 3, the Saras-vatī triplet), *vr̥ṇate* (v. 4, h. 5), *irajyati* (v. 9, h. 7), *ruṇadhā-mahai* (v. 2, h. 8), *gr̥ṇantah* (v. 9, h. 9), *jukūmasi* (v. 1, h. 4), and *abhipra-ṇonumah* (v. 2, h. 11), except the *tanādi* class. In *ashnavat* (v. 3, h. 1), the *adāgama* or the augment seems to have been affixed, instead of being prefixed as in classical Sanskrit. The *lit* or the, perfect is, doubtless, used in the 6th hymn (v. 4) in a past sense though in the 10th hymn (v. 1) it is evidently used in a present sense.

There is a suspicion that the reduplicated perfect of classical Sanskrit was originally the present, specially used when the frequency or intensity of an action was intended to be conveyed. The forms *veda*, *vidatuh*, *viduh* and *āha*, *āhatuh*, *āhuh*, which are evidently the venerable relics preserved in classical Sanskrit of an older tongue, will greatly help the inquirer in arriving at a conclusion as to which should be considered the older and which the later terminations of the present. The reduplication being originally a sign of frequency or intensity of the action denoted by the root, *vi-veda* was originally the frequentative present, while *veda* the simple one. The forms *sāsahyāma* (v. 4, h. 8) and *rāraṇat* (v. 5, h. 10) belong to another class of frequentatives. The reduplicated base of roots of the *jukotyādi* class thus representing the frequency or intensity of the action denoted by the root, both the forms *jukūmasi* (v. 1, h. 4) and *abhipra-ṇonumah* (v. 2, h. 11) may be held to be the forms of the frequentative present and even used as such. The forms like *avī-vidhan* (v. 1, h. 11, and v. 8, h. 5) of the reduplicated aorist ought to raise the suspicion, which has already been raised by the reduplicated base of roots of the *jukotyādi* class and by the reduplicated perfect. The reduplicated perfect, originally the frequentative present.

Now to the words *Mitrā-Varuṇau*, *Agni* and *Ashvinau*. Pāṇini calls *Mitrā-Varuṇa* a *devatā-dvandva* compound. *Dvandva* means "two, pair," and the Vedic word for such a *dvandva* is *sajushau*, "Mitrā-Varuṇau" "eating together." So far, all right. The classical meaning of *dvandva* is no doubt "any pair"; but the original meaning of the word seems to have been "pair" or "man and woman" or "male and female." The compound *Mitrā-Varuṇau* must thus have originally meant (the goddess) "*Mitrā* and (the god) *Varuṇa*." Though The compound "reduplicated aorist" bases originally frequentative. The compound "jūhot-yādi" and the "reduplicated aorist" bases originally frequentative.

the Zoroastrian Scriptures speak of *Mithra* or *Mitr* only as a god and not as a goddess, Herodotus can be summoned forth (ch. 131, Bk. 1) to give evidence that *Mithrâ* of Persians was originally a goddess, and that the Persian *Mithrâ* was the same with the Assyrian *Mylittâ*. The first verse of the *Mitrâ-Varuṇa* triplet, however, leaves no doubt that our author would give evidence on the side of the Avestâ-Persians, and not on the side of the Father of History or of a critical student of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the word *Mitrâ* occurring also in the feminine gender (v. 2, h. 25, Mand. 8) raises a suspicion that the goddess *Mitrâ* was during the Vedic times not quite unknown.

Agni originally
a goddess.

The same remark holds good also in regard to Agni, forming the first member of compounds, *Agni-Varuṇa*. The story of Agni as having conceived Skanda, the Mars of Indian Mythology, had, perhaps, for its basis the fact of Agni being held to have been a goddess at one time or another. Was *ignis* originally a goddess that only virgins should have come to be consecrated to *ignis* among the old Romans?

The dual "Ash-
vinan" made of
one female and
one male.

The word *Ashrinau* may be explained by "two Ashvins" or by "one Ashvinî and one Ashvin," that is, "one female and one male," the male in the *ekasheṣha* compound (*punân striyâ*, sâtra 67, Pâda 2, ch. 1) being expressed, while the female is omitted.

With these observations, leave is taken of the *first* or *A* group of the first *eleven* hymns.

Sanhitâ of the Rig-Veda searched.

(II.—The *Medhâ-tithi* or *B* Group.)

The *Second* or *B* Group consists of 12 hymns (12-23). These twelve hymns are ascribed to *Medhâ-tithi*, supposed to be a son or descendant of one *Kaṇva*, most probably the latter.

The 12th hymn (*Agnim dûtam*) has 12 verses. This hymn follows the *Agninîle* hymn in the *Âgneya kratu* of the *prâtaranuvâka* (morning chapters). It also forms the *âjya shastra*, one of the five morning *shastras* (recitations of the *hotri* priest) on the 2nd day of the *prishṭhya*, which, like the *abhi-plava*, is a sacrifice of six *Soma*-days. Among the five morning *shastras*, the *âjya* occupies the first, while the *pra-uga* the second place. These two are recited by the *hotri* priest, while the remaining three have to be recited by three different priests, whose names are *Maitrâ-varuṇa*, *Brâhmaṇach-
chhansin*, and *Achchhâ-vâka* respectively.

The 13th hymn (*Su-samidhho*) has 12 verses. It is the so-called *āpri* hymn.

The 14th hymn (*Ebhiraṅe*), like the two preceding hymns, contains 12 verses. This hymn is recited in the *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the third libation on the first *chhandoma* day of a "twelve-Soma-days" sacrifice called *vyūḍha*.

The 15th hymn (*Indra somam*) has 12 verses. The hymn, as a whole, has no sacrificial value; no part of it also seems to have had any value in any of the sacrifices.

The 16th hymn (*Ā tvā*) contains 9 verses. In the morning libation, when the *Soma*-cups for pairs of divinities are being lifted up, this hymn is to be recited by the *Maitrā-Varuṇa* priest.

The 17th hymn (*Indrā-varuṇayo*) consists of 9 verses. This hymn, like the 15th, seems to have had no sacrificial value as a whole or even in parts.

The 18th hymn (*Somānam*) has, like the 17th, 9 verses. In sacrificial value also the 18th will bear comparison with the 17th. The 6th verse *sadasas-pati* is, however, used in the *grihya* rite of *Medhā-janana* (k. 22, ch. 1, Āsh. Gri. Sūtra).

The 19th hymn (*Prati tyam*) has 9 verses like the 18th. The first verse is of use in the *Kārīrī iṣṭi*, which was performed when there was a scarcity of rain; but the other verses do not possess any sacrificial value; the hymn as a whole also has no sacrificial value.

The 20th hymn (*Ayam devāya*) has 8 verses, which collectively have no value. However, the first triplet is recited in the *Vaishva deva shastra* of the *vyūḍha*, a "twelve-Soma-days" sacrifice on the first *chhandoma* day, the second triplet in the same *shastra* of the same sacrifice on the 2nd *chhandoma* day, the last couplet in the same *shastra* of the same sacrifice on the 3rd *chhandoma* day.

The 21st hymn (*Ihendrāgnī*) has 6 verses. The whole hymn has to be recited by the *achchā-vāka* priest in his recitations in the morning libation of a *soma*-sacrifice and at times also in that of the "six-Soma-days" sacrifice, called *abhi-plava*.

The 22nd (*Prātara-yujā*) has 21 verses. The hymn, as a whole, has no sacrificial value. However, the 1st triplet has to be recited in the *Āshvina kratu* of the *prātaranuvāka*, the 2nd triplet in the *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the 2nd *chhandoma* day of the *vyūḍha*, and the 9th verse in the morning libation of a *soma*-sacrifice. The next triplet (10-12) seems to have had no sacrificial value. But the next triplet (13-15) is recited in the *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the 2nd

chhandoma day, while the last hexad (16-21) in the morning libation of a *soma*-sacrifice, when the *soma*-juice remains over and above. All the parts, except one triplet (10-12), have thus a sacrificial value.

The 23rd hymn (*Tīrās somāsa*) has 24 verses. This hymn again as a whole has no sacrificial value. However, the 1st verse forms the 3rd of the *vāyavya* triplet in the *pra-uga shastra* on the 2nd day of the *abhi-plava* and also of the *prishkya*, both being among the "six-soma-days" sacrifices; the next couplet forms the first two verses of the *Indra-Vāyū* triplet in the same *shastra* of the same two sacrifices; the next triplet has to be recited in the *shastra* of the *Maitrā-Varuṇa* on the *chaturvinsha* day. The next 9 verses (7-15) do not seem to possess any sacrificial value. The next triplet (16-18) has to be recited when "the waters" are brought on the *soma*-day. The 19th has again no sacrificial value. The 20th is of use in the *Kārīrī*. The 21st and the 24th have again no sacrificial value, while the intermediate two (22 and 23) seem to have had places assigned to them in the concluding bath of a sacrifice.

Observations.

B Group compared with A Group.

Between this *B Group* of 12 hymns and the preceding *A Group* of 11 hymns, there is this great difference, that while all the hymns, except the 10th in the latter, have either a permanent or an occasional value in sacrifice, there are 4 hymns (15, 17, 18, 19) in the former which have no sacrificial value at all. Not only has each hymn in the preceding group as a whole, a sacrificial value, but even its triplets and single verses have *often* a value permanent or occasional. It is only the 10th which, as a whole, has no sacrificial value; however, as the three triplets (1-3, 5-7, 9-11) and the last, that is, the 12th verse, have a conspicuous sacrificial value, only the verses 4 and 8 may have to be pronounced quite valueless from the sacrificial standpoint. The 3 hymns (15, 17, 18) in this group have, not only as wholes no sacrificial value, but they have not even parts that have any value in sacrifice. The 6th verse of the 18th hymn is, no doubt, useful in the *Medhā-janana*; but as the *Medhā-janana* is a rite occurring in the *grihya-sūtras*, it can in no way be called "sacrificial." In the 19th hymn only the first verse has a sacrificial value, as it has to be recited in the *Kārīrī iṣṭi*. The 3 hymns (20, 22, 23) also as wholes have no sacrificial value; but the value of their parts is often conspicuous. The 20th hymn is said to have had no value. But the first triplet

Hymns 15, 17, 18 in B have no sacrificial value at all.

(1-3) of this hymn was recited on the 1st, the 2nd triplet (4-6) on the 2nd, and the last (7-8) couplet on the 3rd *Chhandoma* day ; all the three parts having thus had a definite sacrificial value, and these 3 parts apparently making the whole, the whole hymn as made up of these 3 parts cannot be said to have had no sacrificial value, though as a separate unit it does not seem to have received recognition in any of the sacrifices. In the 22nd hymn one triplet (10-12) alone seems to have had no sacrificial value. In the 23rd the hexad (7-12) of the Maruts, the triplet (13-15) of Pûshan, the triplet (19-21) of Âp, and the last (24th) verse—these 13 verses do not seem to have had any place assigned to them in sacrifice.

There is another equally striking point of difference between the two groups. There is a homogeneity observable in the hymns of the 1st group. In the 2nd and the 3rd hymn the homogeneity is no doubt marred by the division into triplets ; but no couplet or single verse being introduced among the triplets, the uniformity need in no way be held to be disturbed. There is a sameness of language and thought which will materially help a student to arrive at the conclusion that the hymns of the 1st group were in all likelihood a product of one and the same age, howsoever great be the distance between that age and his own. The same homogeneity, which A Group of the same age. characterises all the hymns of the 1st group, may, no doubt, be observed to characterise some of the hymns of the 2nd group. The five (12 of Agni, 16 of Indra, 17 of Indra and Varuṇa, 19 of Agni In B Group, five hymns (12, 16, 17, 19 and 21) of the same age ; and Marut, 21 of Indra and Agni) hymns will look very well in the 1st group, though the same cannot be said of the remaining 8 hymns. The most heterogeneous hymns are the 13th, the 15th, the 22nd, and the 23rd. Of these four heterogeneous hymns, the 13th, that is, the while seven hymns (13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22 and 23) of different ages. so-called *Âpri sūkta* is the most curious, as the author or the compiler had, perhaps, a definite sacrificial purpose in view. The 15th, which may be called "the seasons-hymn," is another hymn equally curious. An occasion will shortly arise for taking up both these hymns. The 22nd is made up of 5 parts, which, as a matter of fact, are 5 short hymns, having no connection among themselves. The first short hymn of 4 verses is in honour of the Ashvins, the 2nd of 4 verses in honour of Savitṛi, the 3rd of 4 verses in honor of "the wives of the gods," the 4th of 3 verses in honour of "Firmament and Earth," the 5th, that is, the last, of 6 verses in honour of Viṣṇu. The 23rd hymn also is similarly constituted. The first verse is in honour of Vāyu, the next 2 are in honour of

Indra-Vâyâ, the next 3 in honour of Mitrâ-Varuṇau, the next 6 in honour of the Maruts, the next 3 in honour of Pūṣhan, the next 2 seem to describe the mixing of the intoxicating liquor with milk and water and the solar rays, the next 6 are in honour of "waters," and the last declares the nature of the blessing asked of the Devas and the R̥ishis by the author or the compiler. The R̥ishi to whom such hymns are ascribed, must rather have collected or compiled the verses therein, than composed them. Was the object of the R̥ishi in collecting or compiling the verses forming these hymns sacrificial or not? Since the parts forming these two wholes, viz., the 22nd and the 23rd hymn, have no connection among them, the object of the R̥ishi was in all likelihood not sacrificial. Supposing for a moment the object to have been sacrificial, the sacrifice, for which these verses were collected and formed into hymns, had

Heterogeneous
hymns were
"compiled," not
"made" or
"seen."

evidently no connection with the sacrifice of later times or rather that Vedic "r̥ishis" divided into "makers" or "seers" and "compilers." particular development as found in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* or the *Shrauta Sūtra* of Āshvalāyana. Be the object of the R̥ishi sacrificial or not, he did not in all likelihood compose the verses found

The homogeneity of three hymns (14, 18, 20) in B marred. in such long hymns, formed of two or more short ones; he rather collected or compiled them. The *r̥ishis* thus will have to be divided into "makers" *karṭris* or "seers" *draṣṭṛis*, and "compilers" *sangrahātṛis*.

Compiling "r̥ishis" divided into "earlier" and "later." The remaining 3 hymns (14, 18, 20) being neither quite homogeneous, nor quite heterogeneous, have to occupy an intermediate position. The 14th as a whole has no doubt a value in the *vyūḍha*, though the verses detached have no value, the 10th alone excepted. The hymn is evidently in honour of Agni, who is asked to bring all the gods to the place of the sacrifice. There would have been a homogeneity in the hymn but for the two (3 and 4) verses. There is no word with which the accusatives in the 3rd verse can be connected; the plural *vah* in the 4th verse seems to refer to the various divinities in the 3rd verse; while in all the remaining verses, even when other divinities to be brought are mentioned, the address is directly to Agni and not to any other god or gods. This raises a suspicion that the couplet was a later insertion. In the 18th hymn the first 5 verses are in honour of *Brahmaṇas-pati*, the next 3 in honour of *Sadasas-pati*, while the last is in honour of *Narāśansa*. This hymn has thus all the appearances of a collection, but not for any sacrificial purpose. The 20th again would have had homogeneity but for the opening verse containing *devāya janmane*. This

hymn having had no recognition in sacrifice, though all its 3 parts had a definite sacrificial value on the 3 *chhandoma* days of the *vyūḍha*, a Soma-sacrifice containing 12 Soma-days, its 8 verses were evidently collected and put together by a *Ṛishi* to meet the requirements of the *vyūḍha*. Such hymns, made of units at times sacrificial, and at times non-sacrificial, must have had two compilers—an earlier and a later. The earlier compiler must have by collecting and putting together the verses formed such hymns. The name of the earlier compiler is now irrecoverably lost. Medhâ-tithi of the Kaṇva class or tribe took the hymns, even those that were made up of distinct units, as he found them in his own time and assigned to them the places which they now occupy in the 2nd group. There is no room for an earlier compiler in the case of the hymns, like *Agnim dātum*, which are not made of distinct units, but themselves form so many separate units, sacrificial or non-sacrificial. The order of the hymns in the 2nd group may thus be ascribed to Medhâ-tithi, nothing further. That the collection was not made by Medhâ-tithi for sacrificial purposes is a moral certainty, since no sacrificial order seems to be preserved in the arrangement of the hymns.

Medhâ-tithi not a "maker" or "seer," but "a later compiler" of B Group.

There is only one (the Viṣṇu hexad, hymn 22) highly poetical hymn in the group, and it is certainly a very interesting relic of the poetical age, in which the author, whoever he was, must have lived.

The only poetical hymn analysed.

Viṣṇu is evidently the sun, a desired friend of Indra, since the rites in his honour had to be performed during day. The rites of Indra and the sun-god seem to have received the name of *Dharman*. The society was divided into the "enlightened" or "praying priests," and, of course, the "ignorant." The *perfect* throughout is evidently used for the frequentative present. The word Viṣṇu has, of course, a double meaning; it denotes in the hymn not only the visible sun, but also the invisible God. This one Viṣṇu hymn excepted, there is very little poetry in the remaining hymns.

Viṣṇu="the sun" or "God."

It is now time to turn to the hymns singly.

The 12th hymn, which begins the 2nd group, is, like the first hymn which begins the first group, in honour of fire. But there is this difference between the two, that, while the latter is in its tone peaceful, the former is war-like. What the author seems in this hymn to stand much in need of, is protection on the battle-field. The author was, perhaps, a ready versifier, who, before going to battle, kindles the fire, and, composing this new hymn in the *gāyatrī* metre, offers the

Twelfth hymn bellicose.

stoma or *a stoma*, thereby assuring himself and his followers of a glorious victory on the battle-field. The kindled fire is asked to consume the enemies, who are accompanied by the *Rakṣhas*. The name of the hostile tribe is not known, though the name of its allies is given as *Rakṣhas*. The people called *Rakṣhas* or *Rākṣhasa* connect the Vedic with the Avestic (5, Yasna 12) ritual. This hymn in all likelihood is of the age of the hymns in the 1st group, perhaps a little older.

Thirteenth is The 13th is the so-called *āpri* hymn. The word *āpri* requires a the "Āpri" hymn short introduction.

Āpri hymns 10 There are 10 recognised *Āpri* hymns.
in number.

These 10 *Āpri* hymns belonged originally to 20 different sections and sub-sections. This, that is the 13th in the 1st *mandala*, belonged to the *Kaṇvas*, a sub-section of the *Angirasas*. The 142nd in the same *mandala* belongs to the *Dīrgha-tamasas*, another sub-section of the *Angirasas*, while the 188th to the *Agastis*. The 3rd hymn in the 2nd *mandala* belongs to the *Shunakas*. The 4th hymn in the 3rd *mandala* belongs to the *Vishvā-mitras*. The 4th *mandala* contains no *āpri*. In the 5th *mandala*, the 5th hymn is again an *āpri* owned by the *Atris*. The 6th *mandala* again has no *āpri* in it; but the 2nd hymn in the 7th *mandala* is the *āpri* belonging to the *Vasiṣṭhas*. The 8th *mandala* again contains no *āpri*, but the 5th in the 9th is the *āpri* of the *Kashyapas*. The last two *āpris* are found in the 10th *mandala* (hs. 70 and 110), and they are owned respectively by the *Vādhryashvas* and the *Jamadagnis*. It will be seen from the last chapter of the *Āsh. Shr. Sūtra* that the priestly class in those

"Gotras" the post-vedic times was divided into 7 distinct sections called *gotras*-basis of *Āpris*. each section claiming descent from a first progenitor brought into existence by individualisation of the tribal or the national name. Each section had again its sub-sections. The names of the 7 principal sections will be found to be (1) *Angiras*, (2) *Bhrigu*, (3) *Atri*, (4) *Vishvā-mitra*, (5) *Kashyapa*, (6) *Vasiṣṭha*, and (7) *Agasti*. The *Kaṇvas* and the *Dīrghatamasas* were recognised as sub-sections of the *Angirasas*, while the *Jamadagnis*, the *Vādhryashvas*, and the *Shunakas* as those of the *Bhrigus*. Of the 10 *āpri* hymns, five will thus be claimed by the five sub-sections, while the remaining five will have to be allotted to the five of the seven principal sections. In the last chapter of the *Āsh. Shr. Sūtra*, the number of sub-sections will be found to have been more than seventy-five. A good many of the sub-sections had, perhaps, their own *āpri* hymns. But only 10 are preserved in the

Shūkala Sanhitā, and they are recognised as such by authors and commentators of ritualistic works.

This *āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* has 12 verses, the *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* has 13 verses, while the remaining 8 *āpri*s have uniformly 11 verses each. In this *āpri*, *tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa* having each a verse assigned to them, the number of verses is 12; while in the *āpri*s with 11 verses, one of the two divinities *Tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa* will be found omitted. The *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* closes like the other *āpri*s with a verse in honour of Indra; but a verse in honour of *Indra-Vāyū* being inserted before the closing verse, and both *Tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa* being honoured with a place, the number of verses in their *āpri* has risen to 13. The first *āpri* of the two sub-sections of the *Angirasas* may be distinguished from the remaining *āpri*s by the prominence given in them to both *Tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa*, while the *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* may be distinguished from its sister *āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* by the *Indra-Vāyū* verse.

The 11 *āpri* verses of the 8 hymns are, according to later ritualists, for pouring 11 oblations, technically called *prayājas* of *ājya*, which they hold to be clarified butter, into the fire, as preliminary to the commencement of the bloody sacrifice. But this *āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* with its 12, and the *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* with its 13 oblations are evidently older; they are relics of a time when *Narāshansa* was not substituted for *Tanūnapāt*, but followed it. The *āpri* oblations originally in all likelihood were oblations of fat, not of clarified butter.

They seem to have been originally oblations for minor divinities supposed to be presiding over the various requisites of a sacrifice bloody or bloodless; though in later times the bloodless sacrifice was performed with 5 *prayājas*, evidently picked up from the 11 *āpri* oblations, which were now reserved for the bloody sacrifice alone.

The first *āpri* oblation was no doubt intended for the presiding divinity or divinities of the *samidhas*, "pieces of some sacrificial wood." The 2nd and the 3rd were, perhaps, for the divinities presiding over the food and the liquid offerings respectively. The fourth oblation seems to have been for the divinity of the vocal offerings. The fifth oblation was doubtless for the divinity presiding over the *barkhis*, that was procured by the sacrificer and spread for sacrificial things to rest upon. It is not quite clear whether the expression "divine doors," for whose presiding divinity or divinities the 6th oblation is, was taken literally and applied to the passage or passages leading into the sacrificial enclosure, or was held to be

The *Āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* (13th hymn) compared with other *Āpri*s.

Eleven "*Āpri*" verses = eleven "*prayājas*."

What a "*prayāja*" originally meant.

Eleven "*prayājas*", explained.

figuratively used, for "preliminary preparations" or "rites." The oblation for "Night and Dawn" is, perhaps, indicative of the two hours when the two chief oblations were usually offered; one, that is, the opening oblation being offered after sunset, while the other, that is, the closing oblation was offered before sunrise. Was the bloody sacrifice among the *Kanvas* and others originally performed during night? Were the *hotris* also, like the *adhvaryus*, originally two? Were they symbolical of "Night and Dawn" or rather "Day"? Did they represent the two principles, the female and the male? The dual in very old verses ought to raise this or some such suspicion. The 8th oblation was for the presiding divinities of the "two divine *hotris*." Who were the 3 goddesses—*Īdā*, *Saras-vatī* and *Mahī*, for whom the 9th oblation was? Could the 3 gods *Īdā*, *Narāshansa*, and *Tanūna-pāt* have been the two varieties of cups and the birch-leaves or barks, while these 3 goddesses were their contents? Or did the 3 goddesses preside over the 3 different rites that were indispensable and were severally assigned to the two *hotris*, and the *yajamāna*? The 10th oblation was for *Toushtīrī*, the presiding divinity, of course, of carpentry, since the vessels were wooden. The 11th is for the presiding divinity of the *Vanaspati*, that was felled down for the making of sacrificial vessels. The 12th verse is no oblation-verse; it is a verse in which the chief priest "asks (the other priests) to have the *svāhā-yajnya* performed in the house of the sacrificer, where he intends calling down the gods." This verse seems to establish that the 11 oblations of fat for the minor divinities were offered out of the house, and that after these 11 oblations, unaccompanied by *svāhā*, were offered, the other priests that were standing there to receive orders had to go into the house and make preparations for the celebration of the *svāhā-yajnya*, "the sacrifice with *svāhā*" in honour of Indra and the gods. This *yajnya* of 11 oblations of fat without *svāhā*, in all likelihood called *āprī*, was preliminary to the *svāhā yajnya* of Indra which followed and which, from the fact of these *āprī* verses or rather rites being held to be the preliminaries of a bloody sacrifice, must certainly have demanded the blood of an animal; the word *ājya* was, perhaps, substituted for *ghṛita* in later times, though the oblations, as originally, were offered unaccompanied by *svāhā*, the word used at the end being one of the 3 forms of the 3rd person of the *Parasmai-pada* imperative of *i* with *vi*, *raṣaṭ* or *vaushaṭ* being at times added to it. The various *ṛishis* must have put together the verses as they found them among the several sections and sub-sections, and thus brought

Last verses of
the 13th hymn
analysed.

the *âpri* hymns into existence; they could not be said to have arranged them, much less to have made or seen them. In this particular *âpri* at least, the 5th verse, like the 12th, being addressed to priests, and not to any divinity, cannot be said to contain any oblation; if any divinity was at all intended, it must have been *amṛitu*. The *Kāṇvas* thus had either no fifth oblation; or, if they had, it was in honour of a forgotten *amṛita*, and not in honour of *barhis*. Fifth verse of this *Âpri* analysed.

The 14th hymn seems to have been in honour of a fire called *sujihva* (v. 7). The *vahnayah* in the 6th verse is a hard nut to crack, except they be supposed to have been the demi-gods, whose duty was to bear the gods on their "bright" or "heated backs." Could they have been the *Ribhus* (v. 8, h. 20)? The fire *sujihva* also bore the gods in "the chariot to which does were yoked." The name of the rite was *vashatkṛit* (v. 8) and the performers seem to have been the *Kāṇvas* "desirous (v. 5) of protection." The two verses 3 and 4 have all the appearance of later insertions. The fire "*sujihva*."
The rite "*vashat-kṛit*."

The 15th hymn as a whole has no sacrificial value, no part also of it seems to be recognised in any sacrifice. The hymn originally most probably contained (1—4, 6, 11—12) seven verses. The 3 verses (5, 9, 10) with *ritu* in the plural were evidently later additions, the couplet (7-8) being inserted to familiarise the reader with the divinity *Draviṇodas* (Bestower of wealth) occurring in the 9th. The divinity *Draviṇodas*, was, perhaps, identical with *Neshṭri*, since he is asked (v. 9) to drink from the cup *neshtṛa*, which is apparently connected with *Neshṭri* (v. 3). Was *Neshṭri* the older name of *Trashṭri*? Since *Mādhava* (v. 3) interprets *Neshṭri* by *Trashṭri*, since *Draviṇodas* in the 10th verse is called the fourth with the *ritus*, the number of the recognised *ritus* "seasons" was three, and these three must have been the hot, the wet and the cold. It is not quite clear how many seasons were recognised in the 5th verse, whether 3, or, as in later works, 6. The three verses 5, 9 and 10, are evident interpolations, because the divinities Indra and *Neshṭri* invoked in them will be found to be already invoked in the verses 1 and 3 which have *ritu* in the singular. The adjective (v. 7) *grāva-hastāsah* "stone-in-hand" raises a suspicion that the verse belongs to a time when by the word *soma* "a plant" had come to be understood. What did *ritu* in the singular mean? Did it mean the 3 or 6 "seasons" collectively or only "the fixed hour" of offering the oblations to the several divinities? The divinity *Neshṭri* in the Seven verses older, five later.
The original meaning of "*ritu*."

3rd verse is accompanied by his wife. In the 4th verse, there seems to be an allusion in *yonishu trishu* to the three-fold division into the *Vasus*, the *Rudras* and the *Ādityas* of the Devas. The divinities asked to drink with the *ṛitu* are Indra (v. 1), the Maruts (v. 2), Neghṛi and his wife (v. 3), Agni (v. 4), Mitṛā-Varuṇau (v. 6), the two Ashvins (v. 11) and Santya (v. 12). The instrumental *gārha-patyena* and the epithet *yajnya-nī* point, perhaps, to the fire in the house, from which the sacrificial fire was kindled, as being addressed by *santya* in the verse. It should also be noted that the Maruts (v. 2) are called "good *Dānus*," who drank from a cup called *potra*. In the 16th hymn, Indra has (v. 2) "two horses" and also "more than two horses" (vs. 1 and 4). The worshipper begs of Indra not only cows but also (v. 9) horses.

Contents of the
10th hymn.

The original
meaning of "vi-
pra."

The 17th is like the 16th, one of the older hymns; though unlike the 16th, it has no sacrificial value at all. In respect of the sacrificial value, the 17th is more like the 15th; though unlike it, it has not its uniformity in any way disturbed. The author of this hymn seems to have belonged (v. 2) to the *charṣhaṇis* and being in difficulties seeks (v. 1) the protection of Indra and Varuṇa, who are both called "good lords." He was, no doubt, a *vipra*. But what was the original meaning of *vipra*? *Vipra* is evidently a possessive adjective meaning "one having a *vip*;" as to the original meaning of *vip*, the reader is referred to "*vipā varāhamayo-agrayā han*" (v. 6, h. 99, *mandala* 10). *Vip* is generally interpreted as "finger;" but the adjective "iron-pointed and the action of killing" ought to leave no doubt, that in the particular text *vip* must have meant "a weapon for killing." If *vip* meant "a weapon for killing," *vipra* must originally have meant "one who wielded" or "possessed the weapon;" hence "a warrior." What the author wants is "victory on the (v. 7) battle-field," and he is praying to Indra and Varuṇa evidently "for the sinews of war" in such a quantity that after satisfying his wants for the time being, he may have enough left (v. 6) for burying underground for the time to come. The author is, of course, doing all he can to secure the favour of the mighty divinities by (v. 8) performance of *dhīs* and also by composition (v. 9) of hymns (*su-śṛuti* "good praise" or *sadha-stuti* "joint praise") like this in their honour. He goes "very close" (v. 3) to both Indra and Varuṇa; but whether only mentally or also otherwise is not quite clear. He wishes to be remembered "among givers of battles" (v. 4), and is therefore

anxious to have "strength" and also "sound sense." "Indra," the author proceeds, "is the strength of givers of battles, while Varuṇa (is) the praiseworthy (quality) of the praiseworthy" (v. 5). The four words *Sahasra*, *Kratu*, *Shansya* and *Ukthya* do not seem to be used in the sense in which they occur in compositions of later times. The word *Sahasra* seems to be connected with *sahas* "force" and even in the hymns of the first group, it may in almost all places be safely held to be used in the same or some similar sense. The *Kratu* also may be held to denote "strength" in the hymns of the first group. But this can scarcely be said of the remaining 2 words *shansya* and *ukthya* or rather *uktha*. The hymn is thus apparently older than the hymns of the first group, being composed at a time when the words *shansya* and *ukthya* had yet assumed no technical meaning, and Indra and Varuṇa were prayed to as "the bestowers of strength and sense," respectively. There being nothing in the hymn to connect it with fire or fire worship, the author, whoever he was, need not be held to have belonged to a fire-worshipping tribe; he, perhaps, belonged to some tribe of the *Charṣkayā's*, worshipping both Indra and Varuṇa. In the 18th hymn, the first 3 verses were no doubt written by a brewer named Kakṣhīrat of the tribe or clan of *Ushij*. The tribe *Ushij* seems not to have been on good terms (v. 3) with the *Ararūṣhas* and the *Martyas*. Kakṣhīrat of the *Ushij* tribe having suffered at the hands of both the *Ararūṣhas* and the *Martya*, naturally seeks the protection of *Brahmaṇaspati*. In the 4th verse *Brahmaṇas-pati* has two equals in Indra and Soma, the word *Martya* also seems not to be used in the sense in which it is used in the preceding verse. In the 5th verse, the 4th *Dakṣhiṇā* is added to the trio of Indra, Soma and *Brahmaṇas-pati*, and the word *Martya* is again used in the same sense in which it is used in the 4th verse. The couplet (4-5) was thus, in all likelihood, not composed by the author of the preceding triplet (1-3). The next triplet is in honour of *Sadasas-pati*. The last verse is in honour of *Narāśhansa*, which word as used in the verse seems to have denoted "a province, a region." This *Narāśhansa* could have had little to do with the *Narāśhansa* of the *Āpri* hymn. *Narāśhansa* has a third meaning of "sacrifice" forced upon it by *Kāt-thakya* and another of "fire" by *Shāka-pūri*, both are duly recorded by *Yāska*, an ancient authority. The compiler of this hymn, whoever he was, seems to have belonged to the *Shākapūri* school of etymology.

Four words, "Sa. asra," "Kratu," "Shansya," and "Ukthya" have an older and a later meaning.

The author a "Charṣkayā" and a worshipper of Indra and Varuṇa.

The seer a brewer.

The tribe "Ushij" at war with the tribes *Ararūṣha* and *Martya*.

The word "Narāśhansa."

gists and accepting the interpretation of *Narā-shansa*, as suggested by *Shāka-pīṇi*, saw no reason why he should not make the word an epithet of *Sadasas-pati*, since *Sadasas-pati* also "was praised by men" (*naraik prashasyo bhavati*) equally with "sacrifice" and "fire." Thus treated, the word *Narāshansa* could yield what the compiler desired, and the verse has consequently the honour of being added to the triplet of *Sadasas-pati*. This hymn may thus safely be said to have had four compilers. He, who added the verse to the *Sadasas-pati* triplet, was the *first* compiler; he, who putting together the first part of 5 verses and the 2nd part of 4 verses produced this whole made up of these 9 verses, was the *2nd* compiler. The names of these two compilers are, of course, lost. Medhātithi of the *Kaṇva* clan or tribe, who gave the 7th place to the hymn in his collection, was the *3rd* compiler; while Shākala, who has given the hymn the 18th place in his collection, was the *4th* compiler. If Sanskrit had been a spoken language when the first compiler of unknown name lived, the addition of the *Narā-shansa* verse to the *Sadasas-pati* triplet would have been an impossibility. Could Sanskrit have been a spoken language when the first triplet and the 2nd couplet in honour of *Brahmaṇas-pati* were written? Or when the couplet in honour of *Sadasas-pati* was composed?

The verses contain many forms that are undoubtedly archaic. But the fact of the forms used being archaic is not likely to prove much. When a language has become settled, when forms and expressions have become crystallised, do not succeeding poets and writers think themselves bound to follow the path beaten by their predecessors, even after the language has become dead for all practical purposes? Madhu-Chhandas (v. 2, h. 1) belonged to the

Sanskrit a later, not to the older generations, of the *ṛishis*. When the older living language, generation wrote, Sanskrit was in all likelihood an every-day when "older" language, a living language having a capability of assimilating foreign words and ideas. But whether Sanskrit was a living language

Sanskrit when Madhu-Chhandas and other *ṛishis* of later generations lived probably ceased and wrote, is an open question. Those generations of the *ṛishis*, to live when which brought into life imaginary divinities like *Brahmaṇas-pati* "later" *ṛishis* like Madhu- and *Sadasas-pati*, were certainly the latest. It is hard to believe Chhandas wrote. that Sanskrit at the time of the conception of such divinities was

Sanskrit a dead a living language. It lived, perhaps, among priests and particularly "latest" when in sacrifices, when the latest generations of the *ṛishis* managed wrote. the spiritual affairs of the classes submitting to them.

The "earlier" compilers' names unknown.

Medhātithi, the "later" compiler.

Shākala, the "latest" compiler.

In the 19th hymn, Agni is asked to be present with the Maruts. The Maruts in this hymn are the companions of Agni, not of Indra. Had the Maruts also, like Varuna, altars on or before which human victims were immolated? The hymn is rather in honour of Agni, while the Maruts seem to occupy a subordinate position. The three parts, of which the 20th hymn is formed, were composed when the legendary lore in connection with the *Ribhus* had considerably increased. The *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the evening libation was in honour of the *Vishve devāh* "all (classes of the) gods"; and the ritualists appropriately made room for the three parts on the three *chhandoma* days of the *vyūḍha*. The *Ribhus* had, at first, no place among the gods; but they waited and had at last (v. 8) the coveted place assigned to them. Why were they called *vahnis*? The worshippers of the *Ribhus*, who seem originally to have been carpenters by profession, had multiplied and had also done their best to lower Indra (v. 2) and the two Ashvins (v. 3). The *Ribhus* were made the makers of the two horses of Indra and also of the chariot of the two Ashvins; they even made their aged parents young (v. 4)—such was the virtue of the *mantras* they had with them. So the worshippers had commenced offering to the *Ribhus* the intoxicating oblations, as they did to Indra (v. 5) with his *Maruts* and to the ruling *Ādityas*. The *Ribhus* surpassed or confounded even (v. 6) *Tvashṭri*. May it not be that the *Ribhus* with their worship were originally non-Vedic, though later on their cult came to be incorporated with that of the Vedic people? The *Ribhus* with their *mantras* are likely to remind a Zoroastrian of some Avestic divinities, who had their *mantras*. The *ṛishi* or *ṛishis*, who wrote these verses, certainly belonged to the latest generations.

The 21st hymn is in honour of Indra and Agni. The *stoma* in the first verse denotes, perhaps, the alimentary offering. When the hymn was written, *gāyatrī*, or rather *gāyatra* (v. 2), was the metre specially honoured by the *ṛishis*. The worshippers of Indra and Agni had formed "congregations" (v. 5) in which prayers were offered for the overthrow of the *Rakshas* tribes and the extinction of the *Atrins*, either a separate tribe or a sub-section of the *Rakshas*. May it not be that the *Atrins*, for the extinction of whose race a prayer is offered to Indra and Agni, were also "worshippers" or rather "keepers of fire", the word *atra*, from which the possessive adjective *atrīn* is formed, being connected with *ālar*,

Maruts companions of Agni, not of Indra.

The *Ribhu* hymn analysed.

Is the word *vahni* in such places used in the Avestic sense of "pure, good"?

The *Rakshas* and the *Atrins*.

or rather *āthra-ātra*, with which no student of Zoroastrianism can afford to be unfamiliar? The author of the hymn also was a fire-worshipper? but he was an Indra-worshipper as well, while the *Atrins* were, perhaps, no Indra-worshippers. Our author, though a fire-worshipper, worshipped fire as *agni*, not as *ātra*; while the *atrin*s worshipped fire as *ātra*, not as *agni*. The form of worship also in all likelihood differed, and hence the intense bitterness. The words *agni* and *ātra* do not seem to be cognate; the word *agni*, notwithstanding the fanciful attempts of Yāska, cannot be satisfactorily derived. The Vedic word, which seems nearest to the Avestic *āthra* or *ātra*, is *atharva*, which with *narya* and *shansya* (Anu. 10, Prapā. 1, Kāṇḍa 1, Taitti. Brāh.) formed the earlier three first fires, and which the later ritualists are fond of identifying with *dakṣiṇāgni*, *narya* being identified with *gārhapatya* and *shansya* with *dhavanyā*. If *atrin*s be identified with the *ātra*-worshipping Zoroastrians, it will be necessary to take them as an independent people, between whom and the *Rakṣhas* no friendly feeling ever existed (5, Yasna XII). The 22nd hymn endows the three gods Indra, Varuṇa, and Agni with one wife each. The word *gandharva* in the 14th verse is obscure."

Is the "at-
ra" in "atrin
s" identical with the
Avestic "ātra"
and Vedic "Ath-
arva"?

In the 23rd hymn, "the good Dānus," that is, the Maruts. (v. 9), are asked to slay the enemy (*vṛitra*), of course, of the author and his clan or tribe; while *priṣhni* is (v. 10) given as the name of their "mother" or "motherland."

Explan-
ation of why some
hymns have no
sacrificial value.

Hymns like the 19th, the 18th, the 17th, and the 15th raise one question. These 4 hymns are unquestionably ritualistic; there is no history, no philosophy, no poetry in them. They describe in one or another form ritual pure and simple; and yet they or their parts have recognition in no sacrifice, the 1st verse of the 19th being the only honourable exception. The same remark holds good in regard to the *Marut* (7—12) and the *Pūshan* (13—15) parts of the 23rd hymn and the *Brahmaṇas-pati* (1—5) part of the 18th hymn; ritualistic they are, and yet are recognised in no sacrifice. Why so? The only answer that can be attempted is, that these also had their value in the various *śākhās* or ritualistic schools that once existed; but all these ritualistic schools having in course of time become extinct, Mādhava in the 14th Christian century had to rely on the only surviving school, the *Ashvalāyana-Shaunaka*, founded on the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Āraṇyaka* of the older *Aitareya* school of *Rig-veda*. Mādhava could thus know and make a note

of the sacrificial value only of those hymns with their parts that were recognised by the *Āshvalāyana-Shaunaka* school and the *Brāhmaṇa* or the *Āraṇyaka* of the *Aitareya* school; as regards the other hymns or non-recognised parts of recognised hymns, there was no other course left for him, but to ask the reader to find out their value for himself.

Sankitā of the Rig-Veda searched.

III—(The *Shunash-shepa* or *C Group*.)

The *Third* or *C Group* consists of 7 (24—30) hymns. All these hymns are ascribed to *Shunash-shepa*, the second out of the three sons of *Ajigarta*. At the conclusion of the *Marutvatiya Shastra* on the *abhi-shechanīya* (anointing) day of the *rāja-sūya* sacrifice, these 7 hymns are recited by the *hotri* priest before the anointed king surrounded by princes and ministers of state. The anointing was with water, not with oil.

The 25th hymn (*yach-chid-ki*) has 21 verses. The hymn is of some use in the *abhi-plava* sacrifice.

The 26th (*vasiṣhvā*) and the 27th (*Ashvam na*) hymn are both used in the *agneya kratu* of the *prātaranuvāka*. The former has 10 verses, while the latter 13.

The 27th seems to have been recited in the *Āshvina shastra* also, though the last verse, being in honour of the *Vishvedevas*, was, in this *Shastra* and also in the *agneya kratu*, appropriately omitted.

The 28th hymn (*yatra grāvā*) has 9 verses. The first 4 are of use in the *koma* (pouring the oblations into the fire), the next 4 in the *abhiṣhava* (preparation of the liquid oblations), the last in the *avanayana* (pouring down) of the liquid into the *droṇakalasha* (liquid-pot)—the whole hymn will thus be found to have had a special value in the so-called *anjas-sava* of the *rāja-sūya*, a *soma*-sacrifice which only a king could perform.

The 29th hymn (*yach-chid-hi-satya*) is made of 7 verses. It is recited on the 5th day of the *prishṭhya* a “six-soma-days” sacrifice, in the mid-day libation.

The 30th hymn (*ā va Indram*), having 22 verses, is the longest in this group. The last two triplets are recited in the *āshvina* and the *ushasya kratu* respectively of the *prātaranuvāka*. The *prātaranuvāka* consists of 3 *Kratu*s or sections, the first being the *agneya*, the 2nd *ushasya*, and the 3rd *āshvina*.

Observations.

This 3rd group resembles more the 2nd than the first in that all the hymns in it are not homogeneous. The last hymn in this is made at least of three distinct parts, having no connection among themselves. The first part of this hymn, made of 16 verses, is comparatively longer, the 2nd and the 3rd containing each only 3 verses. The other hymns also will look more or less heterogeneous to a critical eye, the one exception being the 29th, which, by the by, is one of the most remarkable hymns, not only on account of its burden, but also owing to its subject-matter. The 28th also is equally remarkable, the only difference being that the burden does not extend to all its verses.

S h u n a s h -
shepa cannot be
the author.

Unlike the two preceding groups, this group of 7 hymns forms in itself a unit duly recognised by the author of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, though its claim to be considered as such will dissolve like mist before a critical eye. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa ascribes all these hymns to Shunash-shepa, simply because his name occurs twice (12—13) in the 24th hymn. But this way of arriving at the authorship of a hymn is most unsafe. No one knowing English will ever father expressions like "May that Lord Varuṇa whom Shunash-shepa taken (a prisoner) invoked, free *us*" and "May the Lord Varuṇa, whom Shunash-shepa invoked, free *this* (person)" on Shunash-shepa. To arrive at the simple truth that the author of these expressions, whoever he was, was distinct from and lived after Shunash-shepa, very little critical knowledge is required; this will be more a question of the knowledge of the ordinary meaning of these expressions and less of a critical knowledge of them. The fact of the hymn containing the expressions between the inverted commas, along with the following six hymns, being fathered upon Shunash-shepa, conclusively establishes one great point, namely, that even the ordinary meaning of the hymns was not understood at the time this fathering took place. Such a fathering or its acceptance inevitably necessitates the assumption of ignorance of even the ordinary meaning of these verses on the part of the author or compiler, whoever he was, of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Analysis of
the story of Shu-
nash-shepa.

For the original story the reader of Sanskrit is referred to the 3rd Chapter of the 7th *pañchikā* of the *Aitareya*, and the English reader to its excellent translation by Dr. Haug.

The story will be found to be made up of two originally distinct parts—the prose text of the Brāhmaṇa and the poetical portion of the *gāthās*. The fabric of the prose will be found to be reared in part on the basis of the poetical *gāthās*. The *gāthās* may thus safely be held to form the older portion, while the prose in decidedly a later formation. The authorship of the prose *may* be ascribed to Mahidāsa, son of Itarā, but certainly not the authorship of the *gāthās*. A parallel to this will be found in Lalita-vistara, a Budhistic work. As this work also is made up of the *gāthās* and the prose portion, Dr. Rājendra Lāl's attention was drawn to this very point of the relative ages of the two, and he has discussed the point at some length with his usual critical acumen in his Introduction to the work, coming to the conclusion (p. 40) that the *gāthic* portion was prior to the prose portion found in it. The word *gāthā* being equally respected in the Brahminical, the Budhistic, and the Zoroastrian Scriptures may be pronounced one of the most remarkable. It will be found to be used not only for verses in honour of Agni (v. 14, h. 71, m. 8), but also for those in honour of Indra (v. 1, h. 31, m. 8), though in later times it came somehow to be degraded, not being applied to a Vedic verse.

Let us now turn to the *gāthic* portion of the original story. The 31 *gāthās* contained in the story may, for convenience sake, be divided into four sections, which may respectively be called the *Putras* The *Indra*, the *Ajigarta*, and the *Pishvāmitra* sections. The 1st and the 4th section will contain 11 *gāthās* each, while the 2nd and the 3rd, 4 and 5 respectively. The 1st section is of very little value. In its first verse there is a question to Nārada by some one, the next 10 verses being supposed to be in answer to the question in the 1st. The 2nd section, though not quite relevant, is very interesting, as preaching or teaching out and out activity. In its first verse the addressee is one Rohita, who is plainly told by *some one* that Indra helps those who help themselves. The 4th *gāthā* is very valuable as containing the four words *Kālī*, *Deūpara*, *Tretā*, and *Kṛita*, which in later times denoted the four ages, *kālī* being the worst or iron, and *kṛita* the best or golden. The words originally belonged to the language of gamblers, and, as such, they occur also in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (Anu. 1, ch. 4, k. 3).

In the 1st *gāthā* of the *Ajigarta* section, the son of Ajigarta is declared to belong to the tribe of the Angirasas and is addressed “(O) *Rishi*.” It is said in the 2nd that “no one is found

“Gāthā” a Sān-
hitā word.

The “Gāthās”
in the story
classified.

The story as
found in the
“Gāthās.”

śhāsa-in-hand even among the *Śhūdras*" and that "the father received 300 cows" as the price of his son's head. In the 3rd the father is penitent and ready to return all the cows. In the 4th the son is rightly deaf to the entreaties of his father to return home.

In the 1st *gāthā* of the *Vishvāmītra* section, Vishvāmītra calls Ajigarta son of Su-yavasa and presses him not to return to his father, but to be *his* (Vishvāmītra's) son. In the 2nd the son addresses Vishvāmītra as "prince" and asks him how one of the Angiras tribe can become his son. In the 3rd Vishvāmītra proposes to make him his eldest son and heir. In the 4th the son addresses Vishvāmītra as "lord of the Bharatas." In the 5th the names of four sons of Vishvāmītra are given as Madhu-chhandas, Rīṣhabha, Renu, and Aṣṭaka. In the 6th, the sons of Vishvāmītra obey his father and thereupon are blessed by him in the 7th. In the 8th, Vishvāmītra addresses his sons as *gāthindh* and introduces his newly adopted son as Deva-rāta. In the 9th, the name Deva-rāta again occurs, while *Khushikāh* is substituted for *gāthinah*. In the 10th the word Vishvāmītra and *gāthinah*, again occur and also the words Deva-rāta. In the 11th, Deva-rāta, a *Rīshi*, inherits the chiefship of the *Jankus*, apparently a sub-section of the Angirasas, and also succeeds to the temporal and spiritual heritage of Vishvāmītra, chief of the *gāthins*. Now to a critical analysis of the *gāthās*.

The first two sections irrelevant.

The first two sections appear to have no connection with the last two. In the 1st section we are left completely in the dark in regard to the antecedents of Nārada and also of the addressee or addressees. The whole address was not intended, perhaps, for one person; the 5th *gāthā* raises a suspicion that it was originally a piece of advice given to all *Brāhmaṇas*, that is, *priests*, by Nārada, the head-priest. We know absolutely nothing about the addresser or Rohita the addressee in the 2nd section, except that the addresser, whoever he was, making known the plain truth of Indra's befriending only the active and not the sluggard or the sleeping, wants one Rohita, perhaps his son, to shake off his laziness or lethargy and show more activity. The last two sections are replete with information. The word *Rīshi* occurs twice (17 and 31), and in both places is applied to Deva-rāta, who was *the* or *a* son of one Ajigarta, whose father's name is given as Su-yavasa. Deva-rāta is also one of the *Jankus*, whose

Origin of the story in the last two sections.

chiefship he is said (31) to have inherited. He is again an *Ângirasa*. The *Janhus* thus seem to have formed a sub-section of the *Ângirases*, who formed one of the sections of the *Rishis*. The *Rishi* was in all likelihood the national, the *Ângiras* the sectional, the *Janhu* the sub-sectional or generic name of *Devarâta*, while *Âjigarti* was the patronymic. The epithet *kavi* (17) is somewhat obscure. That *Ajigarta* sold *Deva-râta* for 300 cows is a fact. But why should he have sold him? *Ajigarta* was either the chief or a very near relation of the chief of the *Janhus*, since *Ajigarta's* son *Deva-râta*, in course of time, obtained their chiefship. What could have led the chief or a very near relation of the chief to sell his son for 300 cows? Did the father sell his son on account of a scarcity, as the prose portion affirms, caused either by drought, pestilence or war? It was, perhaps, as the prose portion affirms. But a knowledge of customs and habits of primitive tribes of all races of mankind, to which a reader has an easy access in these days, is likely to rouse his suspicion that the custom or habit of human sacrifice is at the bottom of the story. There was, perhaps, a tribe, occasionally immolating human victims, and to such a tribe *Ajigarta* had the honour, or the dishonour, to belong. If he himself did not belong to such a tribe, he at least sold his son to one of such a tribe for 300 cows, and even undertook to stab or behead him. The name of the purchaser or of the tribe he belonged to is unfortunately not mentioned in the *gâthic* portion. Who were the *Shûdras* mentioned by *Deva-râta*? *Vishvâmitra*, a prince, intensely (22) feels for the human victim, snatches away, and at once adopts him for his son. But a question again arises—how came *Vishvâmitra*, a prince, to be present at the sacrifice? If *Vishvâmitra* were accustomed to the sight of sacrifices in which human victims were slaughtered, nothing on earth would have moved him to become the saviour of the boy on this occasion. The noble behaviour of *Vishvâmitra* on the occasion is conclusive evidence against his having belonged to a tribe or nationality in which human sacrifices were even occasionally offered. It is a pity that no *gâthâs* are found throwing light on the relations of *Vishvâmitra* with the tribe occasionally slaughtering human victims, or with him who had paid 300 cows as the price of *Deva-râta*. Was *Vishvâmitra* asked to officiate as a priest by the sacrificer, who perhaps had not the courage to take him first into his confidence? Or was *Vishvâmitra* a casual guest, not knowing that his host was

The story
scanty of the cus-
tom of human
sacrifice.

Vishvâmitra
probably abolish-
es the custom.

Princes did officiate as priests.

soon about to be engaged in a human sacrifice, or was the tribe or clan of the *Janhus*, tributary to the tribe of Vishvâmitra, who, as lord paramount, was present with the noble resolve of stopping or abolishing the custom of an occasional human sacrifice that was in vogue among them? A prince's officiating as priest at a sacrifice need not surprise a thoughtful student of older Vedic literature, especially as Devâpi is said to have officiated as priest at the sacrifice of his younger brother Shantanu. The passage in Yâska's *nirukta* has been made accessible by Mâdhava in his *bhâṣhya* of the Shantana (98) hymn in the 10th *maṇḍala*. Of course, it would shock a Brâhmana of post-vedic times and also his more bigoted ritualistic descendant of to-day. But facts are, after all, facts; that princes officiated as priests at sacrifice among the ancestors of Indian or cis-Indus Aryans in remote times, is a fact, which no sober scholar can ever deny or dispute. Parallels will be found in the histories of other nations or nationalities, especially in the history of the Spartans, among whom the king was also the chief priest. The same seems to have been the case with the early Romans. So Vishvâmitra the prince was no doubt entitled to officiate as the priest at a sacrifice; though, whether he acted in that capacity at the particular human sacrifice, would be, owing to the silence of the *gâthâs*, an open question, notwithstanding the assertion of the author of the prose portion, who ungrudgingly assigns to Vishvâmitra the office of *hotri*, the chief priest of the Rîg-veda.

The age of the "gâthâs."

The *gâthâs* belong to an age when the law of primogeniture was in force, when the temporal as well as the spiritual, or rather ritualistic, heir-loom descended to the eldest son. It was a patriarchal age, an age in which the will of a patriarch was set by public opinion above the law; and so Vishvâmitra the patriarch by one solemn breath of his mouth could and did make Deva-râta the sole heir of both his temporal and ritualistic treasures, his dutiful family cheerfully acquiescing in what their worthy begetter was pleased to do. A student cannot learn from the *gâthâs* how many sons in all Vishvâmitra had, though four among them, *viz.*, Madhu-chhandas, Rîṣabha, Reṇu, Aṣṭaka seem to have been better known. The names Bharata and Kushika, by which Vishvâmitra and his kinsmen were known, had their origin undoubtedly in the particular nationality or section to which they had the honour to belong, though the names *gâthina* (30) and *gâthin* (31),

"Gâthina" and
"gâthin" con-
nected with
"gâthâ."

which they had received, seem to be connected more with *gāthā* "song general" or "special," than with any nationality or section. It has already been pointed out that there were *gāthās* in honour of Indra, and the word *gāthin* also has been used as an equivalent for "priest" (v. 1, h. 7). Having thus disposed of the *gāthās*, let us now turn our attention to the prose portion.

The prose portion makes "king Harischandra, son of Vedhas, born in the tribe of Ikṣhvāku and husband of 100 wives, the host, and Nārada his guest. Nārada brings with him his companion Parvata. Nārada counsels Harischandra to pray to Varuṇa to bless him with a son, promising to sacrifice that son at his altar. Harischandra accordingly prayed and promised to Varuṇa, and in course of time was blessed with a son named Rohita. Immediately after birth (1), after 10 days (2), when all the milk-teeth put in their appearance (3), when they fell off (4), when they re-appeared (5), when the boy was able to bear armour (6)—thus six times Varuṇa claimed his victim, and though Harischandra, with one or another excuse, put him off five times, the 6th time he had no other course left but to show that he was ready to make good his promise, and communicated to Rohita the doom that awaited him. Rohita at once ran away and sought shelter in a forest. Dropsy, the disease of Varuṇa, now seized the king. Rohita, on hearing of the condition of his father, was on his way home, when Indra, in the disguise of a *Brāhmaṇa*, accosted him and asked him to pass one more year in the forest. Every time that Rohita was on his way home he was ordered back by Indra; thus 6 years passed. At the end of the 6th year, Rohita found in the forest a *Rishi* by name Ajigarta, whose father's name was Su-yavasa, and who, with his wife and three sons, Shunah-puchchha, Shunah-shepa, and Shuno-lângûla, was dying of hunger. Out of the three sons, Rohita was ready to buy one for 100 cows, to redeem himself. The eldest of the three was claimed by the father, the youngest by the mother; so it fell to the lot of the middle son to leave his parental roof and accompany Rohita. The human victim was placed by Rohita before his father. Harischandra now consulted Varuṇa, who declared a *Brāhmaṇa* to be more acceptable to him than a Kshatriya. Varuṇa, who was highly pleased, even taught the *rāja-sūya* form of sacrifice to Harischandra, who accordingly on the *abhishechanīya* day had Shunash-shepa, the human victim, brought

Additions made
by the prose portion.

forth. In the sacrifice, Vishvâmitra officiated as *hotri*, Jamadagni as *adhvaryu*, Ayâsya as *udgâtri* and Vasishṭha as Brahman. No one would now come forward to tie the human victim to the post. But Ajigarta was there, and for 100 cows more he tied his own son to the post. But there was again no one ready to slaughter the victim. But the Brâhmaṇa father for 100 cows more undertook to cut the throat of his own son, and, sharpening the knife, brandished it before his eyes. "They are ready to slaughter me, as if I were not a human being, let me call upon the gods," said the wretched Shunash-shepa. He first called upon Prajâpati (*Kasya nânâ*—1), who referred him to Agni, who in his turn (*Agner vayam*—2) referred him to Savitri, who (*Abhi tvâ*—3 to 5) referred him to Varuṇa, to whom he was to be sacrificed. Shunash-shepa thereupon called upon Varuṇa (6—36) in the next 31 verses. Varuṇa referred him again to Agni, whom Shunash-shepa called upon in the next (37—58) 22 verses. Agni referred him to the Vishve-devas, to whom one verse (*namo mahadbhyo*—59) is dedicated. The Vishve-devas referred him to Indra, to whom the hymn opening with *Yach-chid-hi satya* of 7 verses and the 15 verses of the next hymn (60—81) are devoted. Indra gave to Shunash-shepa a chariot of gold, which was, of course, accepted (*Shashva-dindrah*—82) and referred him to the two Ashvins (83—85), who in their turn referred him to (86-88) Uṣhas. The dropsy of Harischandra, which began to decrease appreciably at the opening verse, completely disappeared at the end of the closing verse of the Dawn triplet and the bonds of Shunash-shepa loosened. The sacrificial priests now asked Shunash-shepa to conclude the rites which they had commenced. Thereupon Shunash-shepa received the revelation of the so-called *anjas-sava*, which he prepared as described in the 4 verses (5—8) of the 28th hymn; after which he poured the liquid into the jug reciting the last (9) verse and then into the fire reciting the first 4 verses (1—4), accompanied with *svâhâ*, of the same hymn. Harischandra took the concluding bath during the recitation of the two verses (4—5, h. 1, m. 4), after which he was duly brought before and presented to the âhavanîya fire in course of the recital of the *shunashhit-shepa* verse (7, h. 2, m. 5). The *râja-sûya*, or rather the *abhi-shechanîya*, rite apparently ends here.

Shunash-shepa identified with Deva-râta. After thus finishing the *râja-sûya* commenced by Harischandra, Shunash-shepa approached Vishvâmitra. Ajigarta now claimed

Shunash-shepa as his son. But Vishvāmitra would not entertain the claim of Ajigarta, and, calling now the boy his own, he changed the boy's name Shunash-shepa into Deva-rāta ("given by the gods"). Shunash-shepa henceforth became known as Deva-rāta and as the son of Vishvāmitra. The Kāpileyas and the Bābhravas were the descendants of Shunash-shepa *alias* Deva-rāta. Ajigarta now entreated or even importuned the boy to return, but he flatly refused. Vishvāmitra, according to the author of the prose portion, had 100 sons. The elder 50, headed by Madhu-chchandas, obeyed, while the younger 50 disobeyed, Vishvāmitra. The obedient sons were blessed, while the disobedient ones were cursed by the father. The barbarous tribes like the Āndhras, the Punḍras, the Shabaras, the Pulindas, and the Mūtibas, living on or beyond the frontier of the land of the Āryas, are said to have received additions from the children of those sons, on whom Vishvāmitra had cast the curse. The story is said to contain "more than 100 *ṛiks* and *gāthās*" and was to be told to the king by the *hotṛi* in the *śūja-sūya* sacrifice, the response to the *ṛiks* being "om" and to the *gāthās* "tathā."

Let us now turn to some points omitted in the *gāthās* and added by the author of the prose portion; also to some, which, though important, are noticed nowhere in the *gāthās* or in the prose portion. In the 1st section of the *gāthās*, only one name of Nārada occurs; Nārada "is asked," but, by whom, we are not informed. The prose portion supplies the name of the king who asked, and also the names of his father and tribe. The 2nd section of the *gāthās* has in the very first verse the name of Rohita, and Indra is described as sympathising with those who have and who show activity. But the parentage or the tribe of Rohita is not mentioned. The prose portion fills up the gap by making Rohita the son of Harishchandra and arousing the sympathy of Indra, who, every year, in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa, sends the boy back into the forest. But why Nārada advised Harishchandra to pray specially to Varuṇa, and not to any other god, or why it was necessary to have the son himself sacrificed, or why Rohita should have had to pass six years in exile and only in the seventh should have succeeded in finding out a substitute to redeem himself, are points in regard to which no information has been vouchsafed. Besides, was not Rohita a fugitive? How or whence could he have procured the 100 cows to purchase the boy? The name Shunash-shepa is not found, nor

Omissions in the "Gāthās" and additions in the prose portion; also points not noticed in either.

is the fact of his having had an elder and also a younger brother recorded in any of the *gāthās*. Neither the *rāja-sūya* nor the *abhi-shechanīya* is mentioned in the *gāthās*. In the prose portion the *rāja-sūya* is said to be revealed to Harischandra by Varuṇa, who was pleased at the prospect of getting a *Brāhmaṇa* for a *Kṣatriya* victim; while in the *rāja-sūya* which followed, the office of *hotri* is assigned to Vishvāmitra. In the *gāthās* Ajigarta is no doubt made a recipient of 300 cows; but no details of how he came into possession of such a large number of cows are given. The prose portion, on the other hand, says that Ajigarta received 100 cows as the price of his son, 100 for having tied him to the post, and 100 more for having readily accepted the odious office of the executioner of the innocent child of his own bowels. As for the connection of Shunash-shepa with the particular hymns, it is all the work of the author of the prose portion, there being not the remotest allusion to it in the *gāthās*. The decrease with the final disappearance of the dropsy of Harischandra, the loosening of the bonds of Shunash-shepa, the *Anjas-sava*, the *avabhṛita*, the presentation to the *āhavanīya* fire of Harischandra, all these details are conjured up and presented to the reader by the half-poetical and half-ritnalistic author of the prose portion, the *gāthās* observing an ominous silence in regard to all these points. The writers of the *Brāhmaṇas* are, as a rule, great adepts in the art of deriving most fancifully the words they meet with, and the author of the prose portion before us, forming no exception to the general rule, is pleased to derive the word Deva-rāta, the name as given in the *gāthās* of the human victim, by *devā vā imam mahyamarāsata* ("the Devas have certainly given him to me"). The human victim is mentioned in no *gāthā* as Shunash-shepa, but is always mentioned as Deva-rāta. Our author makes the tribes or clans of the Kāpileyas and the Bābhavas descendants of Shunash-shepa, while the *gāthās* make no mention of Deva-rāta's descendants. Madhu-chchhandas from the *gāthās* seems to have had more than three younger brothers, and all of them are described as obedient. The prose portion is responsible for making Vishvāmitra the father of 100 sons and for dividing them into two equal divisions of 50, the senior division, with Madhu-chchhandas at the head, being obedient, and the junior disobedient. The *gāthās* mention no frontier or barbarous tribes; while the prose portion makes the blood of Vishvāmitra run through his cursed son in the veins of the five frontier

or barbarous tribes of the *Āndhras*, the *Pundras*, the *Shabaras*, the *Pulindas*, and the *Mūtibas*. The *Āndhras* are the inland Telugus ; the *Pundras* had their home on the river *Kosi*, a northern tributary of the Ganges, while the *Shabaras* are the *Saoras*, who gave not a little trouble to the sovereigns of Orissâ. The *Pulindas* and the *Mūtibas* must have been, like the *Āndhras*, the *Pundras*, and the *Shabaras*, some eastern tribes. Now the most interesting question would be, whence came this Shunash-shepa, whom our author identifies with Deva-râta of the *gâthâs* ? There was one Shunash-shepa, whom Agni was reputed to have released from the *yûpa*, and whose name figures in the 2nd hymn (v. 7) of the 5th *mandala*. This verse had to be recited at the presentation to the fire of the *Pajamâna* after the concluding bath, as mentioned in the prose portion. There is a suspicion that in the age of the author of the prose portion, the 28th hymn was the last in the Shunash-shepa group, that it was followed by the two *avabhṛita* verses (4-5, h. 1, m. 4), and that the presentation verse *shunash-chit-shepam* closed the group. This suspicion is again strengthened by the expression *ṛik-shata* (100 *ṛiks*) in *para-ṛik-shata-gâtham*. According to the author, the number of the *ṛiks* ought to be full one hundred ; but the three verses being detached and made part and parcel of the two hymns in two different *mandalas*, the number of the *ṛiks* falls short by three. This state of things would necessitate the assumption that the Sanhitâ which the author of the prose portion had before him was altogether different from the *Shâkala Sanhitâ* as we have it to-day. There was, perhaps, the *Aitareya Sanhitâ* corresponding to the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* and the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, in which the hymns were differently numbered and even differently arranged. The author of the prose portion seems to have taken advantage of the word Shunash-shepa occurring in the opening hymn (12, 13) and also in the closing verse of the group, and by help of the words *grihita* and *tripadeshu baddhak* in the former and *yûpa* in the latter succeeded first in spinning out of his head, full of resource, the story of Shunash-shepa, and then in establishing an identity between his Shunash-shepa as spun out of the *ṛiks* and Deva-râta as found in the *gâthâs*. It will be necessary to assume, before we arrive at this stage, that the author and his brother-ritualists did not always know or care to know the meaning of the verses and hymns which they intended to employ or did actually

Sources of the word "Shunash-shepa."

The corresponding Sanhitâ to the "Aitareya Brâhmaṇa," the "Aitareya Sanhitâ," not the "Shâkala-sanhitâ."

How the story in the Brâhmaṇa saw the light.

The Sanhitâ-text not understood even in the Brâhmaṇa age.

employ in various sacrifices. It is with the greatest reluctance that such an admission has to be made. But there seems to be no other way of getting out of the difficulty. Much knowledge of grammar is not required to be convinced that *kah* in the first verse (h. 24) is the interrogative pronoun. The author puts to himself the question in the 1st verse and answers it in the 2nd by giving preference to Agni. But, even supposing the verse to be cut off from the following verse, there is *katama*, the superlative of the interrogative *kim*, to set at rest the doubt, if there be any, that *kah*, in this place at least, is nothing more than the interrogative pronoun; and yet the ritualists, among whom was our author also, persistently insist that *kah* in this verse means the Vedic divinity Prajâpati. Such interpretations cannot but force the conviction even on the most elementary student that even in the age in which the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa was written, and the corresponding Aitareya Sanhitâ compiled, the meaning of the verses forming the hymns was, as a rule, not appreciated, pronunciation being held to be all in all. It was in such an age, which did not appreciate meaning, that these one hundred verses were fathered on Shunash-shepa, between whom and Deva-râta of the *gâthâs* an identity also was besides established. There is yet another point which, though rather of ritualistic importance, and, as such, not likely to interest the general reader like the point of the identity between Shunash-shepa and Deva-râta, imperatively demands a treatment here. It is the point of the *râja-sûya* and the *abhi-śhechanîya*.

The age of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa determined by chronology of thought, not by chronology of years.

First to the age of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa.

Professor Max Müller, in his latest work, has somewhere said to this effect that as there is no chronology of years in Sanskrit literature, we have to be contented with the chronology of thought. Consequently, whether the Aitareya was written B. C. or A. C., and if B. C., in what century, if A. C., in what century, are points which it would be better to leave in the hands of bolder and abler brains wont to soar higher. Ours is the humble lot to deal in the chronology of thought, not in the chronology of years.

Though the superiority or the sovereignty of the Kṣatriyas could not be completely consigned to limbo, distinct attempts will be found made on the part of the author of the Aitareya to lower their dignity and to insinuate that they cannot or ought not to lay claim to equality with the priestly classes in sacrificial matters or on the platform of sacrifice. Not only were there

The Aitareya age followed the degradation age of the warrior classes.

Though the superiority or the sovereignty of the Kṣatriyas could not be completely consigned to limbo, distinct attempts will be found made on the part of the author of the Aitareya to lower their dignity and to insinuate that they cannot or ought not to lay claim to equality with the priestly classes in sacrificial matters or on the platform of sacrifice. Not only were there

covert attempts to oust the martial classes from the responsible office of *purohita* (ch. 5, pan. 8) by recommending one of their own classes for it, but bolder heads among priests went further, aye, even to the length of denying them their individual ancestors and substituting, perhaps silently at first, the ancestors of their Brâhmaṇa *purohita* (ch. 4, pan. 7), as if the martial classes were one and all without any kind of sacrifice, before the priestly classes graciously taught them.

A characteristic story is inserted at the opening of the 4th chapter (pan. 7) as to how *sacrifice* was frightened at the terrific implements of a Kṣatriya, how it was attracted by, and irresistibly, though gradually, drawn towards, the tranquillising implements of a Brâhmaṇa, and how under the guidance of a Brâhmaṇa, laying down his own implements and accepting those of the priestly class, a Kṣatriya, as a matter-of-fact, became a Brâhmaṇa for the time being. This view necessitated a division of the then Âryan society into ministers and non-ministers of sacrifice. The ministers of sacrifice considered themselves as pre-eminently entitled to the privilege of taking into the system the sacrificial food, especially the *soma*, which privilege they most carefully withheld from the non-ministers, thus cleverly placing the martial classes on a level with the industrial and the servile in sacrificial matters. At times there seem to have been even ebullitions of temper on the part of the princes, but they were generally most cleverly dealt with by shrewd or crafty priests. All military classes did not submit to the contumely of not being allowed to eat the sacrificial food. Some seem to have been allowed to eat; while others were denied that privilege. Among the latter, a few, insisting that their portion should be eaten by no human being, proposed the compromise of throwing the remains into the fire, and had the pleasure of seeing it accepted by their priests or priest. The author of the Aitareya, of course, roundly condemns the practice. Now let us turn to the story showing a very clever compromise proposed by a priest, a very crafty specimen of his class, and thankfully accepted by the simpleton of a prince.

How the priest was raised above the warrior.

The priest cuts off the warrior from the tasting of the "soma" juice.

Vishvantara, a prince, was once determined to have the sacrifice performed without any priest of the Shyâparṇa clan being allowed to officiate, because, as the sequel proves, the Shyâparṇas would not allow a Kṣatriya to partake of the *soma* juice remaining in a sacrifice. But a party of the Shyâparṇas, unobserved, usurped the

How Râma the priest outwitted Vishvantara, a prince.

His brother-priest of the Vishvantara-age, as described by Râma, the great advocate.

The great Indra accused and dragged down by priests.

The warrior degraded spiritually, not temporally.

altar, and when Vishvantara had ordered his servants to kick them out without ceremony, their leader Râma, being above the ordinary run, stood up and boldly proclaimed that (ch. 5, pan. 7) "if the priests disallowed a Kṣatriya to drink the *soma* juice in a sacrifice, it was only in the interest of the Kṣatriyas themselves that they did so, as, by drinking the *soma* juice in a sacrifice, a Kṣatriya was sure to make his 2nd and 3rd generations belong to, and owned by, priestly-classes, that is, by classes that were notoriously beggars, drinkers, eaters, and, as such, fit only to be kicked out from his presence by a Kṣatriya at his sweet will; while, if a Kṣatriya had no wish to see his 2nd or 3rd generation associate with or be called brethren by begging priests, and if his earnest prayer to the gods was that he might extend his conquests, enriching himself by tribute from conquered princes, and that his 2nd or 3rd generation also might follow the path beaten by him, let him never harbour "the thought of drinking the *soma* juice." "Besides," continued Râma, "from the day on which Indra, from whom every prince and Kṣatriya claimed descent, was first publicly deprived of the privilege of drinking the *soma* juice for the sins he had committed, every prince and Kṣatriya had by bitter experience learnt the evil consequences caused by its drinking; that is why they have since that time, instead of the *soma* juice, taken to the juice of the fruits of the four shady trees, *nyagrodha*, *udumbara*, *ashvattha*, and *plaksha*, all of which are endowed with greater virtue and efficacy than the *soma* plant, at least for a Kṣatriya." The long harangue had its desired effect, and the kicked-out Shyâparṇas managed to get themselves kicked in, thanks to the advocacy of their cause by Râma, an advocate of a very high order. Râma thus only completed the degradation of warrior classes commenced by earlier priests, though even in the times in which the son of Itarâ lived, there was no attempt on the part of the priestly class to usurp the temporal power of warriors and princes by forcing a member of those classes to beg of a member of their class the plot of ground required for the performance of a sacrifice. The priestly classes, along with the industrial, whenever they had to perform a sacrifice, had to beg the ground to be consecrated for it of a member of the warrior (ch. 4, p. 7) classes, thus openly acknowledging their suzerainty; while a member of the warrior classes, acknowledging the suzerainty of no mortal, prayed to the "(Divine) Father," that is, the sun, to grant him the *deva-yajana*. Thus, notwithstanding

the degradation in sacrificial matters of the warrior by the priestly classes, the temporal power or rule of the former does not seem to have ever been called in question by the latter.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa thus belongs to an age in which the spiritual degradation of the warrior classes was complete, and when the priestly classes, who had assumed an air of superiority and sanctity, generally took care to keep themselves at a decent distance from those that were non-priestly. The so-called *rāja-sūya* is pre-eminently a sacrifice of the warrior classes. Even in later times, only a crowned head, who invariably belonged to one of the warrior classes, could perform it, no one from among the priestly classes having ever set his claim to the performance of it.

The reader will now be prepared to bear in mind at least one cardinal difference between the *rāja-sūya* of the Aitareya and the older *rāja-sūya*, that while in the former the warrior performer, being brought down to the level of the industrial classes, was robbed of his privilege of drinking the *soma* juice and had to substitute for it the juice of fruits of the four trees, there is no ground for assuming that the performer in the latter was debarred from tasting the precious liquid, which remained over and above after it was quaffed or sipped by the divinities invoked, as it could only be for partaking of the remains of the sacrificial food or drink made holy by the tongues of the immortals that the performer of a sacrifice first agreed to its performance.

The "Rāja-sūya" of the pre-Aitareya age contrasted with that of the Aitareya age.

Bearing in mind this one great departure, let us turn to the nature of the *rāja-sūya* as disclosed in the Aitareya. It seems from the closing paragraph of the first chapter of the 8th *pañchikā* that there were three model sacrifices which had served as the basis of the three forms of the *rāja-sūya* current in the age of the Aitareya. The *agni-ṣṭoma*, unconnected with *jyoti-ṣṭoma*, was the basis of one form, the *agni-ṣṭoma*, connected with *jyoti-ṣṭoma*, of another, while the *ukthya* of the third. The Aitareya condemns the third and recommends the second, passing over the first in silence. The difference between the second and the third form lay mainly in the *śastras* and the *stomas*, whose number in the latter aggregated to 30, while in the former to 24. The morning and the evening libations of both the model *agni-ṣṭoma* and *rāja-sūya* corresponded to each other, there being deviations, more or less important, only in the mid-day libation. The *rāja-sūya* had one *soma*-drinking day from time immemorial; in the ritualistic language of the day it was an *ekāha*; and an *ekāha* it continued to be

Three forms of the "Rāja-sūya."

even after the warrior classes were deprived of their valued privilege of tasting the *soma* juice by the priestly classes. As the king had to lay down for the time being the implements of his class and assume those of the priestly class, it was necessary, nay, inevitable, that he be re-anointed or re-consecrated and thereby restored to the class which he had temporarily deserted; so the king at the formal conclusion of the *rāja-sūya* had to be re-consecrated, and after the

Reconsecration
of a king after
the Rāja-sūya.

The king to
hear the story of
Shunash-shepa as
found in the
Aitareya.

How the Brāh-
mana class is
raised in the
story.

How the Āsh-
shr. Sūtra differs
from the Ait. Br.

kingdom was thus re-conveyed to him, his first duty was to hear in state from the *hotṛi* the story of Harischandra as related in the Aitareya, of course, in commemoration of that human victim Shunash-shepa, a priest, who, as a Brāhmaṇa, was superior to, and so more acceptable to, Varuṇa than Rohita, the son of Harishchandra; he, a Brāhmaṇa, was thus the cause of the *rāja-sūya* being revealed to Harishchandra by Varuṇa, and it was he who, even after the inevitable interruption caused by his release to the human sacrifice peremptorily demanded by Varuṇa, could introduce the so-called *anjas-sava* and thereby solemnly close the *rāja-sūya* of Harishchandra by the usual *avabhṛita* bath, followed by the subsequent presentation of the *yajamāna* to the *āhavanīya* fire. Though the story is told at the beginning of the "*rāja-sūya* chapters," the adjective *abhi-śikṣita* "consecrated," seems to refer to the consecration or rather the re-consecration described in the closing chapter, and the story must have been, at least in the Aitareya age, told to the sacrificer after the natural dignity of the warrior class and with that also of the king were reconveyed to him, and not while he continued in the assumed garb of priest. The *abhi-śhechanīya* day was, perhaps, identical with the day on which the *punarabhiśheka*, "re-consecration," took place. The *Āsh. Shr. Sūtra* puts the *abhi-śhechanīya* day earlier, that is, even before the *soma*-day; but, curiously enough, makes no mention of the re-consecration in the Aitareya, the *abhi-śheka* on the *abhi-śhechanīya* day alluded to in the *Shr. Sūtra* being, according to the commentator, a subject-matter of Yajur-Veda, not of Rig-Veda. On the whole, the *rāja-sūya*, as described in the *Shr. Sūtra* by Āshvalāyana, differs, no doubt, on a good many points from that described in the Aitareya; but the fact of the Āshvalāyana school being an off-shoot of the *Shaunaka* school, and quite distinct from the Aitareya school, ought not to be lost sight of, Āshvalāyana himself acknowledging at times that on some points he did differ (S. 13, k. 1, ch. 10) from the Aitareya school.

This account of the *rāja-sūya* given in the Aitareya raises some questions. The first question is—was the *rāja-sūya* originally human sacrifice? Did it demand a human victim? The tenor of the story is that it did; that in every *rāja-sūya* a human victim was immolated, and that a stop was put to the immolation of a human victim only after Shunash-shepa, the last of human victims, on being released by grace of the Vedic divinities from the bonds, had succeeded in completing the interrupted sacrifice by substitution of the *anjas-sava* for his own released self, thereby averting or appeasing the wrath of the disappointed Varuṇa. In telling this story, especially in this particular place, the writer decidedly wanted to convey that a death-blow was dealt to manslaughter in the *rāja-sūya* sacrifice by priests who embraced the opportunity to substitute the harmless *soma* juice for the human victim. The story will, no doubt, be appreciated in this aspect by every thoughtful reader. Though the prose portion ascribes the abolition to Shunash-shepa the Brāhmaṇa, the *gāthās* give the credit of it to Vishvamitra the Kṣatriya. Another question, of course, in connection with this aspect will be raised, and it is this: “Is there any independent evidence to prove that the *rāja-sūya* of older, that is, pre-Aitareya days, was tainted by the immolation of a human victim? The testimony of the story cannot count for much, as it will necessitate not only an assumption that before Varuṇa, making the confession that the blood of a Brāhmaṇa victim was more acceptable to him than that of a Kṣatriya one, was pleased to reveal it to Harishchandra, no *rāja-sūya* was known to any one on the earth, but also another assumption that the Brāhmaṇa Shunash-shepa, a poor mortal though he was, could and did successfully outwit the mighty immortal Varuṇa by forcing him at last to drink the *soma*-juice instead of the more acceptable blood of a Brāhmaṇa. The necessity of these two assumptions reduces the value of the testimony of the story nearly to a cipher. May it not be that the story was originally a legacy left by the fire-worshippers, who had multiplied and had consequently levelled a thrust at the Varuṇa-worshippers, who, with their rites, perhaps, tainted by human sacrifice, were at a discount? Varuṇa will be found to be in the story degraded exactly in the same ratio in which the Brāhmaṇa or fire-worshipping priest is exalted. The story in the Aitareya, which, however, assigns the credit of the ultimate release of Shunash-shepa to the not-much-known Uṣhas, is evidently a second edition. The exclusive claim of the Brāhmaṇas or fire-worshipping

The story ascribes the abolition of human sacrifice to the Brāhmaṇa Shunash-shepa.

No evidence for holding the *Rāja-sūya* to have been a human sacrifice.

The story originally a legacy of some Varuṇa-reviling fire-worshippers.

The exclusive claim of the Brāhmaṇa classes to the “*soma*” plant based on the story.

priests to *soma*-juice, often given expression to in the *rāja-sūya* chapters of the Aitareya, seems to rest only on the slender basis of this story. Shunash-shepa, the Brāhmaṇa, introduced for the first time the so-called *anjas-sava*, "instantaneous fermentation," or, in other words, the *soma*-juice; and the classes, claiming Shunash-shepa as their own, claimed also the plant first brought to notice by him, and, keeping the secret of the preparation and all rites connected with it to themselves, jealously shut up all outsiders from participation in the knowledge of its mysteries; this would be the Brāhminical view. The *anjas-sava* hymn will, however, have shortly to be analysed, when the claim of Shunash-shepa to the discovery or introduction of *anjas-sava* will, as a matter of course, be entered into at some length.

Shunash-shepa's claim to being called Brāhmaṇa or priest not proved.

Now another point or question crops up—"Was Shunash-shepa a Brāhmaṇa, a priest?" Is there any independent testimony to establish that Shunash-shepa belonged to the priestly class? The story, no doubt, makes him a Brāhmaṇa. But the claims of Shunash-shepa to being considered as belonging to a priestly class will be found to rest on no better basis than his two epithets of *Āngirasa* and *Rishi*, more on the former than on the latter. As this very Aitareya has preserved a story in which even a Shūdra, by name Kavaṣha (ch. 3, paṇ. 2), ultimately became a *Rishi*, that is a seer of Vedic hymns, the epithet of *Rishi* applied to Shunash-shepa is not likely to prove much. The burden of proving that Shunash-shepa belonged to a priestly class will thus fall on the epithet *Āngirasa*. The *Āngirasa*s, no doubt, formed one of the seven sections into which the priestly class was divided; but while in the *Vishvāmitra* section of the last chapter of the *Āsh. Shr. Sūtra* all the children mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa, except Rishabha of Vishvāmitra, are represented, and even Deva-rāta is there, in the *Āngirasa* section no Shunash-shepa, no Ajigarta, no Su-yavasa, is found. Besides, the fact of Shunash-shepa, or rather Deva-rāta, having gone over to Vishvāmitra a born prince, and not to Vasishṭha a born priest, and also of his having obtained the chiefship of the *Jahnus* with that of the *Kushikis*, militates against his being considered as belonging to any priestly class at all. Shunash-shepa and Deva-rāta, with Vishvāmitra, are, as a matter of fact, persons of times when priestly and military duties were combined, as among the early Spartans and Romans, and not of times when, for one reason or another, they came to be separated.

Now, as to the derivation of the two words *rāja-sūya* and *abhi-ṣhechanīya* and their nature.

The word *rāja-sūya* is derived as follows : *rāja sūyate asmin*, "the Lord is bruised in which"; by the word "Lord" the priests understanding the *soma* plant. But how is it that "the Lord" has not entered into the composition of any of the names of sacrifices which the priestly classes are authorised to perform; while it has been the cause of giving a compound name, in which it occupies the first place, only to that sacrifice which a member of no priestly class is authorised to perform. This etymology, like many others attempted in this Brāhmaṇa, is a forced one, and, as such, cannot be acceptable to a critical student. The word *rāja-sūya* in all probability meant originally "the brewed offering for the Lord," while by *abhi-ṣhechanīya* was understood the "consecration" or "coronation" day. "The Lord" meant, of course, Varuṇa, often addressed as such in the hymns. The *rāja-sūya* thus originally meant any "brewed offering for Varuṇa," of course by Varuṇa-worshippers, and there must have been a *rāja-sūya* also on the *abhi-ṣheka* day of a "chief," as on other occasions. In course of time, the word *rājan* having come to be applied to a "chief," the word *rāja-sūya* was specialised and applied to the "brewed offering" brought "by the chief" on the *abhi-ṣheka* day. Thus the two words *rāja-sūya* and *abhi-ṣhechanīya* came to be linked together. In course of time, Varuṇa lost for one reason or another the premier position which he had long occupied and came to be recognised *only* as the god of all waters on the earth. A connection was consequently established between dropsy, "the water-disease," and Varuṇa, who seems to have been specially invoked by dropsical patients. The author of the Aitareya evidently lived after a connection was established between the rule of Varuṇa and waters or dropsy.

The word *rāja-sūya* derived.

An attempt to derive "abhi-ṣhechanīya."

Varuṇa recognised in the Aitareya age only as the god of Waters.

It is now high time to turn to the hymns.

The 24th hymn forms *apparently* one unit. The prayer in the last verse, as in the first, is for restoration to the "vast indestructible (world)," that is "motherland," as the author was in all likelihood shipwrecked and a refugee in some far off isle. He is anxious to be restored to his parents (1 v.) as well. He knows only three gods, or immortals, *viz.*, fire, the sun, and Varuṇa. He first invokes fire for restoration (2 v.) to his motherland and also to his parents. The sun was, it seems, the god of wealth.

Hymn 24 of two distinct pieces.

The Varuṇa
decad distin-
guished.

and, as such, must have been invoked by traders. Our author was possibly a trader by sea. He could not have belonged (4 v.) to the *Deva-reviling* division; he must have been a *Deva-worshipper*, but with no spark of bigotry or fanaticism in him. On a closer examination it will be found that the Varuṇa decad is in no way connected with the preceding pentad. The connection between the closing and the opening verses is more apparent than real. Varuṇa is the lord of *Aditi*; the author is a tenant of *Aditi*; he has sinned and his fervent prayer to Varuṇa is for forgiveness of his sins and freedom, or exemption from their three-fold consequence called *pāśha* "snare, trap," by securing which forgiveness the humble tenant expects a renewal or extension of his lease. The author had lost his way either in a desert (v. 9) or on the sea, and illness also had seized him. All this calamity is, in his opinion, the outcome of his sins. So he propitiates Varuṇa by *brahman* (v. 11) "prayer," *namas* "offering," and *yajnya* "sacrificial rites" (v. 14), and hopes in return to be rewarded with (v. 11) long life. The author in the 6th verse vividly describes the irresistibility of Varuṇa's strength, force and grasp; in the 7th, it is the Lord Varuṇa who is said to have placed in the sky "the globe of glory"; in the 8th, the Lord Varuṇa is said to have made the path in the vast space for the sun and to be a "denunciator of the murderer"; in the 9th, the Lord Varuṇa is described as the patron of physicians; in the 10th, the moon and the stars at night are placed among the "indestructible works" of Varuṇa; in the 11th, Varuṇa is specially asked by the author not to shorten his life; in the 12th and the 13th, the Lord Varuṇa is described as the divinity sought by Shunash-shepa when taken prisoner, and is therefore earnestly prayed to by the author for his deliverance; in the 14th, Varuṇa is addressed as *Asura*, and in the 15th as *Āditya*: all the ten verses will thus be found interesting and also instructive. The author was, perhaps, a descendant of one Shunash-shepa, who, when taken prisoner and tied to the post, owed his deliverance to Varuṇa. The one point which will strike a close reader of these ten verses is that in five verses (7-9, 12-13), the word Varuṇa has *rājan* qualifying it; in the two verses (10-11), it has no such qualifying adjective; in the 14th the qualifying adjective is *Asura*; in the 15th it is *Āditya*, which occurs also in the 13th; while in the 6th, even the word Varuṇa is absent, though the context is

Varuṇa ad-
dressed either as
"rājan, Āditya"
or "asura," never
as "deva."

doubtless in favour of its being taken as understood—in fact, in these ten verses the adjective qualifying Varuṇa, when there is one, is either *rājan*, *asura* or *āditya*, never *deva*. In the first three verses the word *deva* is quite prominent; in the 4th the word *vid* “reviler (of the Devas)” occurs; in the 5th alone the word *deva* is not found, though the verse being connected with the 4th, the word will have to be taken as understood. This raises a suspicion that the author of the last ten verses was originally different from the author or authors of the first five; that the former was a Varuṇa-worshipper, that is an Asura-worshipper, while the latter was or were Deva-worshippers. Was Varuṇa-worship different in origin from fire-worship or sun-worship? Nothing but sheer ignorance of contents could have led one to take up such two distinct and conflicting pieces as parts, and, putting them together, make of them a whole, which, howsoever well arranged and smooth it may appear to the pious, must necessarily look clumsy to the critical eye. The 25th hymn has 21 verses, which, with the last ten of the preceding, seem to have formed one hymn of 31 verses in the Aitareya Sanhitā. But the Shākala Sanhitā deserves congratulation on having made a separate hymn of these 21 verses, without making them part and parcel of the preceding hymn. As these 21 verses, like the last ten of the preceding hymn, are in honour of Varuṇa, the compiler of the Aitareya Sanhitā was naturally tempted to make one long Varuṇa hymn of 31 verses. But the internal evidence against making one hymn of these two parts of 10 and 21 verses, respectively, is pretty strong. The two words *Deva* and *Vrata* in the opening verse are decidedly against this hymn being taken as a continuation of the preceding hymn, notwithstanding that the same divinity Varuṇa is invoked in both these, and their own sinfulness was uppermost in the minds of the authors when occupied with the composition of these two. The author of the decade does certainly not know Varuṇa as *Deva*, which word may safely be said to distinguish this hymn from the decade. The word *vrata* for “law,” no doubt, occurs in the last verse of the decade, though whether the law of Varuṇa the *Asura* was identical with the law of Varuṇa the *Deva* would be an open question.

The arrangement in the Shākala Sanhitā preferred to that in the Aitareya Sanhitā.

The 21 verses distinguished from the Varuṇa decade.

The author of this hymn, who was as devout a Varuṇa-worshipper as the author of the decade, does not count himself among the *Vishas*; so he seems to have been a *Kshatriya* (v. 5), though not belonging to the division (v. 15) of the *Mānuṣhas*. He had somehow broken

The age of the author of the 21 verses described.

the law of Varuṇa, for which he was sincerely penitent. There seems to have existed in this age a "law" or "moral code" which was ascribed to Varuṇa and which distinguished between sin and holiness. Whenever a sin was committed and there was consequently a violation of the law, the Lord Varuṇa was offended, and there were visible manifestations of his displeasure or wrath in the form of one kind of visitation or another. Under such circumstances, a peace-offering, accompanied with sincere repentance, seems, according to the law, to have been demanded of the worshipper by Varuṇa. One who "conformed to" the teachings of "the law" of Varuṇa was called *dhṛita-vrata* "conservator of the law." The Varuṇa-worship seems to have required a priest called *hotṛi*, an intoxicating drink and also a food offering (vs. 17 and 18). In the 6th verse, Varuṇa has a companion whose sex cannot be determined. According to Mādhava, the companion was *Mitra*. In the 7th verse, a connection will no doubt be found established between Varuṇa and the sea-faring ship, but his rule over the other world also is explicitly recognised in that and the two following verses. In the 8th verse, the adjective *dhṛita-vrata* being applied to Varuṇa seems to mean "the fountain of the law" not "the conservator of the law." The adjective *dhṛita-vrata* as qualifying Varuṇa occurs again in the 10th verse. In the 12th the adjective *Āditya* will remind the reader of verses 13 and 15 in the preceding hymn. In the 13th, Varuṇa is described as an active ruler with his *spashah*, "angels" or "agents" or "personal attendants," seated around him. This verse will remind an Avestic student of Mithra surrounded (k. 10) by *spāso*. In the 14th, Varuṇa is again a *Deva*. The closing verse will remind the reader of the closing verse of the preceding hymn. This hymn could have been written only after Varuṇa the *Asura* had received recognition from the *Deva*-worshippers. This recognition was possible only when the intercourse between the two divisions had a greater freedom, when the word *Asura* had not become a bye-word with the one or the word *Deva* with the other division.

"D h ṛ i t a"
has two mean-
ings.

Varuṇa an
active ruler like
the Avestic Mi-
thra.

Some ritua-
listic and other
details of the age
come to light.

The 26th hymn of 10 verses is an address by a *yajamāna* of the *Manus* division to Agni. It is a valuable hymn as disclosing the form of ritual current in the age in which the author lived. The fire seems to have been produced by friction from a species of wood called *sahas* (v. 10). Any doubt as to *sahas* being originally "a kind of wood" ought to be dispelled by the expression *sahasrād* "kind of wood." *yūpād* in the presentation (v. 7, h. 2, m. 5) verse. The number of

hotri priests was two, one was called "senior" or "older" (v. 5) the name of the other will be found in the 7th verse, but whether it was *vish-pati*, *mandra* or *varenya* cannot be determined; perhaps it was *mandra*, and his duty was the preparation of beer or mead. The two *hotris* in this hymn will remind the reader of the "two divine *hotris*" for whom there was an oblation in the *âpri* verses (v. 8, h. 13). The *yajamâna*, the 2 *hotris*, and the *vishas* seem to have been the three divisions, the former two forming the militant, while the latter the industrial or servile type of society, as constituted in those days. The *barhis* was spread (v. 4) for the three *risha-eating* gods Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman. The hymn is certainly of an age when the national or the divisional name of the author was not only individualised, but the imaginary patriarch thus brought into existence was remembered as the teacher or performer of sacrifice. After the oblations were offered to these three divinities, an "all-fires" offering seems to have closed the *homa* (v. 10). The *hotri* priest, who was in charge of the *homa*, had to make himself holy, put on the (v. 1) sacerdotal vestments and then open the *adhvara*. The 8th verse raises a suspicion that the *Devas* was originally the name of a fire-worshipping nationality or human division, and that the *mānuṣhas* were traditionally indebted to it for the form of fire-worship then prevalent among them. The word *manman* in the 2nd verse stands for some kind of offering, perhaps the vocal.

The 27th hymn of 13 verses is not quite homogeneous. The first 9 verses may be taken as forming one homogeneous hymn, but the 10th verse is in honour of Rudra, *Jarābodha* being evidently the name of some priest; the adjective *animānah*, "measureless" or "bottomless" in the 11th, perhaps, indicates that some volcanic crater is by its author intended to be described; the 12th may be connected with the 11th or taken as an independent verse, while the 13th can have no earthly connection with any of the preceding verses. If there were young and old among the *Devas*, and also short and tall, would it not be better to hold that the word *Deva* originally denoted a militant division of mankind, and *yajnya* the "tribute" paid to its members by the tribes conquered and brought under subjection? The author of the solitary verse was from among the tribes or nationalities accustomed to pay tribute, but, not being as well off as before, he is anxious under his changed circumstances that he should not be open to the charge of having deliberately withheld the payment of his dues. This

Two "hotris."

The threefold divisions of society.

"Barhis" spread for three "risha-eating" divinities.

"Manus," the tribal name metamorphosed into a sacrificing patriarch.

An "all-fires" offering. The priest had to make himself "holy" and put on "sacerdotal vestments."

The "Devas," originally fire-worshippers.

A heterogeneous hymn.

The fire rather "volcanic."

Old and young among the *Devas*.

verse ought to strengthen the suspicion raised by the 8th verse in the preceding (26th) hymn with its adjective of *svagnayah* qualifying the *Devas*, that the *Devas* were originally no imaginary or aerial beings or spirits but as they were "preservers of fire" and had "old and young" or "short and tall" among them, they must have had also hands and feet, and, as such, formed an independent and very important division of mankind.

The majority of verses bellicose.

The first 9 verses, of this hymn, especially the five from 5 to 9, have a decidedly bellicose tone. The scene is placed on or about the Indus. The author must have composed this new *gāyatra* of 9 verses on the eve of a great battle. The insertion of *ya* in the form *kayasaya* (v. 8) is equally curious with that of *iy* in *miyedyā* (v. 1, h. 26).

Analysis of the "Anjas-sava" hymn.

The 28th hymn of 9 verses is the so-called *anjas-sava* hymn. The 9 verses may be divided into 3 parts, the first two parts made of 4 verses each, and the third of the remaining one verse. In the 1st verse is mentioned one stone or stone-pestle, and also one mortar; in the 2nd two *adhi-śhavanās* "long vessels," one containing the cereal to be put into the mortar, the other for receiving the contents of the mortar; in the 3rd a woman is described as "letting in" and "letting out." In all these verses, the contents are not named; but the word *mantha* in the 4th verse removes all doubt that it was barley-flour that formed the contents of the mortar.

The word *vanas-pati* in the singular, no doubt, occurs in the 6th, and in the dual in the 8th, but Mādhava has correctly interpreted the word by "wooden," both the mortar and the pestle, especially the larger specimens, being made of wood. There is an order in the 9th verse to have the deposit put into the two *chamās*, to have the liqueur strained through the strainer, and then to have it preserved in cow-skins. The word *soma* occurs, of course, in the 6th and the 9th verses, but it occurs in these verses just as it does in those of many a preceding hymn. From the 8th verse it is clear that *Madhu*, that is either "honey" or "mead," was added to the contents in the mortar. What an instructive commentary on the ways of ritualists of the Aitareya and also of the pre-Aitareya age, when all these 7 hymns were fathered on Shunash-shepa and when all these 9 verses were cited as containing or declaring the origin of the *anjas-sava*, " instantaneous fermentation "!!!

A historical hymn misunderstood or misinterpreted.

The treatment of the 29th hymn of 7 verses by the ritualists is equally instructive. There seems to have been a powerful and rich

chief of the name (v. 5) of Gardabha. He had two wives, the name of one being Kandīpāchi (v. 6). Gardabha had thousands of cows and horses and his enemies (v. 1) were for robbing him of some ; but all their attempts failed. *Shiprin* was, perhaps, the name of the bold commander or counsellor who had set treachery at work in the camp of Gardabha. In the 3rd verse there is a prayer to Indra to make the two queens sleep a sound sleep, as they, perhaps, viewed with suspicion the doings of Shiprin and his associates. Some females not privy to the conspiracy, are not (v. 4) to be disturbed in their sleep, while those that were "givers" of information to be purposely kept awake. Gardabha with one wife was (v. 5) to have his name erased from the book of the living, while the other (v. 6) was not to be obstructed or molested in her flight. All (v. 7) those that raised a hue-and-cry were to be slain, while those who attempted opposition were to be at once dispatched. The hymn cannot be said to be in honour of Indra, it is rather a prayer to him ; there is no ritual, no religious rite in it. It describes, with some details, a plot on the part of the adversaries of Gardabha, who, being rich and powerful, had proved invincible in the open battlefield : and hence this attempt to stab him in the dark.

The 30th hymn of 22 verses is, as already pointed out, heterogeneous. Even the first 15 verses have not the appearance of a homogeneous whole. The 4 verses (6-9) have a distinctly bellicose tone, in the last the author remembering the fact of his father having once called upon Indra and obtained victory in a battle. The preceding 5 verses describe the drinking power, the capacity of the stomach, and the inordinate fondness for liqueur of Indra. In the following 6 (10-15) verses, the author is pleading before Indra the cause of his or of some other priests. In the 12th, the author seems to have promised to Indra the performance of an *ishṭi* for him. In the 16th, which is again a solitary verse like that at the end of the 27th hymn, and equally important with it in respect to the original meaning of the word *Deva*, Indra is described first as winning riches by means of his neighing and panting horses and then making the present of a chariot of gold to the author and his kindred. Here again, would it not be better to take Indra as some warlike king or prince, making a present of a chariot of gold to the warrior to whom he thought himself indebted for the victory. The *uṣhas* triplet is cleverly made to close the hymn, as the expression "at the disappearance Uṣhas" occurs in the 2nd of the two *ava-bhṛita*

A distinctly heterogeneous hymn. The bellicose part of 4 verses.

The non-bellicose part of 6 verses. An author pleading for priests.

A solitary verse.

The uṣhas triplet analysed.

verses. But here again it was only the word *uṣhas* that was taken notice of by the compiler and not its meaning. In the 2nd *avabhṛita* verse, the author begs protection of Agni "at the disappearance of *uṣhas*," the ordinary "dawn"; while in the last verse of the triplet, the prayer is to *Uṣhas*, "Dawn" personified; besides, it is for wealth and food, not for protection. In no verse of the triplet is mention made of any fetter or disease; whence then could there be in the triplet room for a prayer for deliverance from one and for disappearance of the other? How then could the triplet be connected with the deliverance of Shunash-shepa from the *yūpa* or the disappearance of the dropsy of Harishchandra? and yet the Aitareya declares that these two objects, for which no prayer is found or to which not even a remote allusion is made in any of the verses forming the triplet, were attained at the conclusion of the third verse!!!

No order
among the divini-
ties in the story."

Even the order in which the divinities are in the story made to appear on the stage is not quite intelligible. Prajā-pati stands at the head of the Vedic pantheon, even Indra being made one of his numerous sons. Why should Prajā-pati, father of the gods, refer Shunash-shepa to Agni, occupying rather a subordinate position according to this very Aitareya, the lowest, the highest being reserved for Viṣṇu. Why should Agni refer him to Savitṛi, Savitṛi to Varuṇa and Varuṇa to Agni again? Who are these Vishe-Devas whom Shunash-shepa has been referred to by Agni? The same Agni who before referred Shunash-shepa to Savitṛi, now refers him to Indra. The great Indra, after giving the boy a chariot of gold, refers him to the two Ashvins, his subordinates, who refer him to Uṣhas "Dawn". Of course, some quaint reason is in some places given to the boy by the divinity referred to for referring him to another divinity. But where or what was the necessity for a higher divinity to refer the boy to a lower one? is the question likely to be asked by an inquiring student, and no satisfactory answer can be given. Besides, when even the Vishve-Devas were honoured with a reference, why were Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Pūṣhan, Mitra, Sarasvatī, the Maruts and others forgotten or omitted? The truth seems to be that the hymns were found arranged in a particular order in a particular *Sanhita*, and then an attempt was made probably by some enthusiastic worshipper of Uṣhas, to establish a connection between these seven hymns and the story of Shunash-shepa, as received by the people. The story seemed to have had for its basis, as already

The Shunash-shepa story in the Aitareya, an attempt to connect Shunash-shepa with the authorship of the "seven hymns."

noticed, the name of Shunash-shepa, occurring in the 24th hymn (vs. 12 and 13) and also in the presentation verse. The maker of the attempt steadfastly kept the Sanhitâ order of the seven hymns and also the *gâthâs* before him, and the result is the grotesque story of Harishchandra, as preserved in the Aitareya.

¹ ART. XX.—*A Peep into the Early History of India from the foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the fall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. (B. C. 322—circa 500 A. D.).* By DR. R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.

[Contributed April 1903.]

INTRODUCTORY.

I think I may take it for granted that an Indian who has received English education and has been introduced to the ancient history of European countries, naturally has a desire to be acquainted with the ancient history of his own country, to know by whom and how that country was governed in ancient times, or how its social and religious institutions have grown up and what revolutions the country has gone through; but means for the satisfaction of this desire are wanting. India unfortunately has no written history. There are some chronicles written by Jainas and others referring to kings and princes who lived from about the eighth to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era and ruled over Gujarat and Rajputana. There are also lives of individual kings such as the Śrī-Harshacharita of Bāṇa and the Vikramāṅkadevacharita of Bilhana. The hero of the former ruled over Northern India in the first half of the seventh century, and of the latter over Southern India in the latter part of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century. The Purāṇas contain genealogies of certain dynasties. With these exceptions, sometime ago we had absolutely no knowledge of the history of the different provinces of India before the foundation of the Mahomedan Empire. But the researches of European and some Native scholars and antiquarians have thrown considerable light over this dark period. The knowledge hitherto gathered cannot be pronounced to be very satisfactory or to be as good as written books would have supplied. Still, it is sufficient to give us a general idea of the political, social, and religious movements that took place from remote times to the arrival of the Mahomedans. The materials for these researches I shall here shortly describe.

First,—Gold, silver and copper coins of ancient kings are found in all parts of the country, especially in Northern India, when old mounds composed of the ruins of buildings are dug out. These

¹ This article consists of a lecture read in March last before a Poona audience, but afterwards considerably amplified.

coins bear certain emblems, and also legends in ancient characters containing the names of the Princes who issued them, and sometimes of their fathers, with occasionally the date of their issue. From these we derive a knowledge of the kings and dynasties that ruled over the provinces in which the coins are found.

Secondly,—We find inscriptions engraved on rocks and columns and on the remains of ancient temples wherein occur the names of Princes, and sometimes of the provinces ruled over or conquered by them. In the case of temples and other benefactions we have the names of the donors, their profession, the description of the nature of their gift, and sometimes the name of the king in whose reign the gift was made. Again, we find in digging old ruins charters of land-grants made by Princes, inscribed on plates of copper. The grants therein recorded were made to individual Brahmans or to temples or Buddhist Vihâras. These copper-plate inscriptions often give a full genealogy of the dynasty to which the grantor belonged, together with the most notable events in the reign of each of the princes belonging to the dynasty. Often-times, there is a mere vague praise of the different kings which can have no historical value, but one who possesses a little critical power can without much difficulty distinguish between what is historically true and what is not. A very large number of such grants has been found in our own Maratha country, in consequence of which we have been able to construct a sort of continuous political history from about the beginning of the sixth century to the time of the Mahomedan invasion.

Thirdly,—Another important source consists the writings of foreigners who visited this country or obtained information about it from others. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in communication with India, and after his death his general Seleukus who obtained the province of Syria kept up a regular intercourse with a king who is called Sandracottas by the Greeks, who reigned at Pâtaliputra, and at whose court resided an ambassador of Seleukus of the name of Megasthenes. The work of Megasthenes, though not extant, was abridged by other writers and in this form it has come down to us. Then we have Ptolemy's geography which was written between 151 and 163 A. D., the date of his death. He gives the names of Indian towns and sometimes of the princes who reigned there at the time. Similarly we have got another work called the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea whose author is unknown. He too gives valuable geographical and historical information. After Buddhism had pene-

trated into China, several Chinese pilgrims visited India from time to time and have left us an account of what they saw. Such are Fa Hian, Sung-yun, Hieun Tsiang, and Itsing. The Mahomedans who visited the country in later times have also left us similar works. Besides the information given by these writers about the people, their literature, and their kings, what is of the highest value is the help they afford in determining the dates of events in India. For all these foreigners had good systems of chronology.

Besides these, some of the later Sanskrit and vernacular works contain what are called *Prasástitis* or historical accounts of princes in whose reign they were composed and sometimes of the dynasties to which they belonged.

These are the authorities for the political history of the country; but the history of thought as well as of religious and social institutions is to be gathered from the literature itself, which is vast. But though it is vast, still older works calculated to enable us to solve many a problem in literary and social history have perished.

In using all these materials, however, one should exercise a good deal of keen critical power. No one who does not possess this power can make a proper use of them. A good many years ago, I delivered a lecture on the critical and comparative method of study, which has been published. To what I have stated there, I shall only add that in dealing with all these materials one should proceed on such principles of evidence as are followed by a judge. One must in the first place be impartial, with no particular disposition to find in the materials before him something that will tend to the glory of his race and country, nor should he have an opposite prejudice against the country or its people. Nothing but dry truth should be his object; and he should in every case determine the credibility of the witness before him and the probability or otherwise of what is stated by him. He should ascertain whether he was an eye-witness or a contemporary witness, and whether in describing a certain event he himself was not open to the temptation of exaggeration or to the influence of the marvellous. None of the current legends should be considered to be historically true, but an endeavour should be made to find any germ of truth that there may be in them by evidence of another nature.

THE MAURYAS.

I shall now proceed to give a short sketch of the history of India as determined by the critical use of these materials. As I have already

observed, the Purāṇas give lists of kings who, they say in prophetic language, will reign in the future. In consequence of the corruption of manuscripts there are a great many discrepancies in the lists as given in different works of that class. Besides, there is no chronological clue whatever to be found in them. We will, therefore, begin with that dynasty of which we have intimation elsewhere, and with that king whose date can be determined by unimpeachable evidence. Chandragupta is mentioned as the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He is said to have uprooted the family of the Nandas who ruled before him and to have been assisted by a Brahman of the name of Chāṇakya. He is one of those whose memory has been preserved by both Buddhist and Brahmanic writers. We have a dramatic play in which his acquisition of the throne through the help of Chāṇakya is alluded to. Buddhistic works also give similar accounts about him. The grammarian Patañjali alludes to the Mauryas and speaks of a *Chandraguptasabdhā*. In an inscription, dated in the year 72, which has been referred to the Śaka era and is consequently equivalent to 150 A. D., Chandragupta the Maurya is spoken of as having caused a certain tank to be constructed; and we have contemporary evidence also of the existence of the king and of his acquisition of the throne in the writings of Greek authors. They speak of Chandragupta as being an ambitious man in his youth, and as having been present in the Panjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. He is said to have freed the country from the Macedonian yoke, to have fought with Selenkus, who had obtained the Syrian province of the Alexandrian empire, and to have finally concluded a treaty with him. Seleukus sent an ambassador to his court of the name of Megasthenes. From this connection of Chandragupta with Seleukus we have been able to determine the date of his accession, which is about 322 B. C. Chandragupta's capital was Pāṭaliputra, which is represented by Greek writers to have been situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Erannoboas, which last corresponds to our Hiraṇyabâhâ. Hiraṇyabâhâ was another name of the Soṇa, and Patañjali speaks of Pāṭaliputra as situated on the banks of the Soṇa.² His successor, according to one Purāṇa, was Bindusâra, and, according to another, Bhadrâsâra. He is mentioned also in Buddhistic works, but the name does not occur in any inscription or foreign writing. His son was called Aśoka. This is a very important name in the ancient history of the whole of India, and as the connection of the prince

² अनुशीलनं पाटलिपुत्रम्.

with Buddhism was close, and that religion plays an important part in the general history of India, I must here give a short account of it.

RISE OF BUDDHISM,—ITS DOCTRINES AND AIMS.

After the Indian Âryas had established the system of sacrificial religion fully, their speculation took its start from the sacrifice. Every thing was identified with some sacrificial operation. The gods are represented in the Purusha Sûkta to have sacrificed the primordial Purusha, from whom thus sacrificed arose the whole creation. *Brahman* is a word which in the *Āikṣaṁhitâ* means a particular Mantra or verse addressed to a god, or that sort of power from which one is able to compose such a Mantra. Thence it came to signify the true power or virtue in a sacrifice, or its essence; and when the whole universe was regarded as produced from a kind of sacrifice, its essence also came to be named *Brahman*. There was at the same time religious and philosophical speculation upon an independent basis starting from the self-conscious soul. In the *Rigveda Samhitâ* we have several philosophical hymns, and the speculation which they indicate ran on in its course, and the results of it we have in the Upanishads. In the celebrated hymn beginning with *Nâsadâśmṁnosadâśit*³ it is represented that in the darkness which enveloped the whole world in the beginning, that which was wrapped up in the Unsubstantial developed through the force of brooding energy, and there arose in it a Desire which is spoken of as the first germ of the mind. This idea that our worldly existence with its definite modes of thinking is the result of desire developed in a variety of ways. This appears to be the idea adopted or appropriated by Buddhism, and one sense of the name *Mâra* of the Buddhist Prince of Darkness is *Kâma* or desire. Of the four noble truths of Buddhism the first is misery (*Duḥkha*), and the second the origin of misery. This is thirst or desire. If, therefore, the misery of worldly existence is due to desire, the conclusion follows that, in the words of the *Kaṭha Upanishad*, by uprooting your desire you are free from misery and attain immortality and eternal bliss.⁴ This is the third of the noble truths. But immortality or eternal bliss one can speak of when one regards the soul as something different from and lying beyond the mind or thoughts which have been set in motion by desire. When, however, the existence of such a thing beyond the mind or thought is denied, the condition of eternal bliss

³ Rv. X. 129.

⁴ यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः &c, *Kaṭha U. VI., 14.*

means, when thought has ceased, what some people call, annihilation. In one of the sections of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, which *Upanishad* and the *Chhândogya* might be regarded as collections of the speculations of various *Rishis*, there occurs a passage which comes very near to the denial of the soul as a separate substance. "*Yājñavalkya*," says *Ârtaabhāga*, the son of *Jaratkârû*, "when the speech of a man or *Purusha* who is dead, goes to *Agni* or fire, his breath to the wind, his sight to the sun, his mind to the moon, his power of hearing to the quarters, the body to the earth, and the self to the *Âkāśa* or ether, the hairs of his body to the herbs and the hairs on the head to the trees, and the blood and seminal fluid are placed in the waters, where does the *Purusha* exist?" *Yājñavalkya* answers "*Ârtaabhāga*, give me your hand. We alone shall know of this and not the people here." So then they went out and conversed with each other and what they spoke of was *Karma* (deeds), and what they praised was *Karma*. He who does meritorious *Karma* or deeds becomes holy, and he who does sinful deeds becomes sinful. With this *Ârtaabhāga*, the son of *Jaratkârû*, was satisfied and remained silent.⁵ Here it will be seen that the different parts of which man is composed are represented as being dissolved into the different parts of the *Cosmos*, and what remains is the *Karma*. The ideas therefore involved in this dialogue are three:—(1) That the soul is not a substance separate from the component parts of a human being; (2) that what renders transmigration or the production of a new being possible is the *Karma*, and (3) that according to the nature of the previous *Karma* is the nature of the new being, holy or sinful. The third idea is common to all *Hindu* systems of philosophy or religion; but the first two are heterodox, and must have been considered so when the dialogue was composed, since it was to avoid the shock which the exposition of such doctrines would cause that *Yājñavalkya* retires from the assembly and speaks to *Ârtaabhāga* alone. Still the ideas had been developed in the times of the *Upanishad* and were adopted by *Buddhism*. In the celebrated dialogue between the Greek king *Milinda* or *Menander* of *Śākala* and *Nāgasena*, a *Buddhist Saint*, the king asks: "How is your reverence known? What is your name?" *Nāgasena* replies: "I am called *Nāgasena* by my parents, the priests, and others. But *Nāgasena* is not a separate entity." And going on further in this way *Nāgasena* gives an instance of the chariot in

⁵ *Br. Âr. Up.* III, 2, 13-14.

which the king came, and says: "As the various parts of a chariot when united form the chariot, so the five Skandhas⁶ when united in one body form a being or living existence." Here we see that as there is nothing like a chariot independently of its parts, so there is nothing like a man independently of the various elements of which he is composed. Further on in the same book we have, "The king said, 'what is it Nāgasena that is re-born?' 'Name-and-form is re-born?' 'What, is it this same name-and-form that is re-born?' 'No; but by this name-and-form deeds are done, good and evil, and by these deeds (this Karma) another name-and-form is re-born.'⁷" In the external world also the Buddhist believes in the existence of no substance. To him all knowledge is phenomenal, and this is what appears to be meant by the doctrine that every thing is *Kṣaṇika* or momentary.

But it was not the metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism that influenced the masses of the people. What proved attractive was its ethical side. The Buddhist preachers discoursed on *Dharma* or righteousness to the people. Such discourses on *Dharma* without the introduction of any theistic idea have their representatives in the Brahmanic literature. In many of the episodes of the *Mahābhārata* especially in the *Śānti* and *Ānuśāsanika* books, we have simply ethical discourses without any reference to God, of the nature of those we find in Buddhistic works; and sometimes the verses in the *Mahābhārata*, are the same as those occurring in the latter. There appears to be at one time a period in which the thoughts of the Hindus were directed to the delineation of right conduct in itself without any theistic bearing. And Buddhism on its ethical side represents that phase. Right conduct is the last of the four noble truths of Buddhism. The origin of misery alluded to above is destroyed by what is called the eight-fold Path—*viz.*, right views, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right self-knowledge, right contemplation.⁸ Thus the Buddhistic gospel is, that righteous conduct is the means of the de-

⁶ The five Skandhas are रूप physical constituents, विज्ञान self-consciousness, वेदना feeling of pleasure or pain, संज्ञा name, and संस्कार love, hatred, and infatuation. These five constitute the human being.

⁷ नामरूप or name-and-form is equivalent to the five Skandhas of which a living being is composed. The expression, therefore, signifies a living individual.

⁸ सम्यग्दृष्टिः, सम्यक्संस्कल्पः, सम्यग्वाक्, सम्यक्कर्मन्तः, सम्यगाजीवः, सम्यग्ध्यायः, सम्यक्स्मृतिः, सम्यक्समाधिश्च। The true sense of सम्यक्स्मृति has, it appears to me, not yet been correctly given. स्मृति is remembrance of what a man's true condition

struction of suffering which may end in positive happiness or not according as one regards his soul as substantial or phenomenal. It was this phase of Buddhism that with the strenuous efforts of the missionaries and of the Emperor Aśoka enabled it to achieve success amongst the masses of the people; and what was wanting on the theistic side was supplied by the perfection and marvellous powers attributed to the founder of the religion. Without this faith in the perfection or, what we should call, the divine nature of Buddha, a mere ethical religion would probably not have succeeded. Buddhism was not a social revolution as has been thought by some writers. It was a religion established and propagated by persons who had renounced the world and professed not to care for it. From times of old there existed in the Indian community such persons, who were called Śramanas and belonged originally to all castes. These gave themselves to contemplation and sometimes propounded doctrines of salvation not in harmony with the prevalent creed. Buddhism was not even a revolt against caste, for though men from all castes were admitted to the monastic order, and though in the discourses of Buddha himself and others the distinction of caste is pronounced to be entirely worthless, still the object of those who elaborated the system was not to level caste-distinctions. They even left the domestic ceremonies of their followers to be performed according to the Vedic ritual. This is one of the arguments brought against Buddhism by Udayanāchārya. "There does not exist," he says, "a sect, the followers of which do not perform the Vedic rites beginning with the Garbhādhāna and ending with the funeral, even though they regard them as having but a relative or tentative truth."⁹ Buddhism, however, was a revolt against the sacrificial system and denied the authority of the Vedas as calculated to point out the path to salvation. And this is at the root of the hostility between itself and Brahmanism.

is; being blinded to it is स्मृतिविभ्रम or स्मृतिभ्रंश, Bhag. G. ii. 63. Seeing where one's course of conduct is leading one and remembering what one ought to do - स्मृति; and that is awakened in one by God; *Ib.* xv. 15. When infatuation disappears, स्मृति returns: *Ib.* xviii. 73.

* नास्त्येव तद्दर्शनं यत्र सांघातमतेदित्युक्त्वापि गर्भाधानायन्त्येष्टिपर्यन्तां वैदिकीं क्रियां जनो नानुतिष्ठति। *Ātmatattvaviveka*, Calcutta. Ed. of Samvat 1906, p. 89, सांघात relating to संघति, a Buddhist technical term.

PROPAGATION OF BUDDHISM,—ĀSOKA'S EDICTS.

Buddhism was propagated by a number of devoted persons. But I think the efforts of Āsoka contributed a good deal to its acceptance by the large mass of the people. Though of course in his edicts he does not inculcate upon his people faith in Buddha and Saṅgha, still the Dharma or righteousness that he preaches is in the spirit of Buddhism. The inscriptions of Āsoka are engraved on rocks, pillars, and tablets of stone. Those of the first class are found at Gīrnār in Kāthiawād, on the west, Shahbazgarhi in Afghanistan, Mansehra on the northern frontiers of the Panjāb, Khalsi near the sources of the Jumna in the Himālaya, and Dhauli in Kaṭāk and Jaugaḍ in Ganjam on the east. All these contain the same edicts, their number in some cases being fourteen, and less in others. In the last two places there are two separate edicts not found on the other rocks. These inscriptions are in two different characters—those at Gīrnār, Khalsi, Dhauli and Jaugaḍ being in the character called Brāhmī, which is the earliest form of our modern Devanāgarī, and those at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra are in the character called Kharoshthī, and are written from right to left in the manner of the ancient Pahlavi and the modern Persian and Arabic documents. Two of the columns bearing inscriptions of the second class are now at Dehli. They were brought there by the Emperor Firozshah from Siwalik and Merat. The others exist at Allahabad, Radhia, Mathia, and Rāmpurvā. The edicts are the same on these columns, but the number of these on the Siwalik Dehli pillar is seven, the second Dehli pillar contains five, that at Rāmpurvā four, and the rest six. In the case of both these classes, the inscriptions are well-preserved in some cases and mutilated in others. Smaller edicts on rocks and tablets are found at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām in Bhāgelkhaṇḍ, Bairat on the north-eastern boundary of Rajputana, and Siddāpur in the Maisur territory. There is also a tablet inscription addressed to the Māgadha Saṅgha, and three small ones in caves at Barābar near Gayā. Two more inscriptions have been found at Paderia and Niglīva in the Nepāl Terai.

EXTENT OF ĀSOKA'S EMPIRE AND THE DATE OF HIS CORONATION.

Now, in the first place, from the localities in which we find these inscriptions it appears that Āsoka's dominions extended from Kāthiawād on the west to Kaṭāk and Ganjam on the east, and to Afghanistan, Panjāb, and the sources of the Jumna in the north. To the south it extended over the centre of the table-land of the Dekkan up to

Maisur. In the second rock-edict he speaks of "conquered" countries and the "neighbouring or bordering" countries. In the last class he mentions the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputa, Ketalaputa or Keralaputa up to Tambapaṇṇi, and the countries of Antiyoko the Yona king and his neighbours. In the thirteenth rock-edict he speaks of his having achieved religious victory "here" and in the neighbouring or bordering countries up to six hundred *Yojanas*, where reigns Antiyoko, the Yona king, and further away from him where the four kings, Turamāya, Antikina, Maka, and Alikasudara hold sway, and down below where the Choḍa and the Pāṇḍya rule up to Tambapaṇṇi, and also in the countries of "Hidarāja." This last expression must be translated by "the kings about here," among whom he enumerates those of the countries of Visha, Vaji, Yona, Kamboja, Nābhāta, Nābhapanti, Bhoja, Pitinika, Andhra, and Pulinda.¹⁰ Here there is a threefold division, *viz.*, his own empire, spoken of as "here"; the neighbouring independent countries ruled over by Antiochus and others, and those of the Choḍas and Pāṇḍyas; and the "Hidarājas" or "kings here," *i. e.*, in his empire. On comparing both these passages, it would appear that Antiochus and the other Greek princes as well as the princes of the Choḍas and Pāṇḍyas, were independent; while the kings of the Vajjis, whose country lay near Pāṭaliputra, and of the Bhojas, the Petenikas, and the Andhras and the Pulindas were under his influence, *i. e.*, were probably his feudatories; while the rest of the country was under his immediate sway. Among the feudatory princes must also be included those of the Gandhāras, Rāṣṭikas, and the Aparāntas, who are mentioned in the fifth rock-edict, and to whose dominions he sent overseers of righteousness.¹¹ From the mention of Antiyoko and others in the second and thirteenth edicts, the date when they were composed can be accurately determined. Antiyoko was Antiochus of Syria (260—247 B. C.), Turamāya was Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285—247 B. C.), Antikini was

¹⁰ Epigr. Ind. Vol. II, pp. 449-450 and 462-465. Hidarāja has been taken to be a proper name by both M. Senart and Dr. Bühler. But *Hida* everywhere in these inscriptions means "here," and the sense the "kings here" fits in very well with the context. Aśoka distinguishes between *Hida* and *Antesu*—*i. e.*, his own empire and the territories of his neighbours. The third class left must be of those who were kings in the extent of country that could be spoken of as *Hida*, *i. e.*, princes comprised in his empire or dependent princes. *Ib.* p. 471, and Inscriptions of Piyadasi, by Senart, Vol. II, p. 84, and p. 92, note 63.

¹¹ धर्ममहाभाषा:

Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia (278—242 B. C.), Maka was Magas of Cyrene (died 258 B. C.), and Alikasudara was Alexander of Epirus (died between 262 and 258). All of these were living between 260 and 258 B. C., wherefore the matter in the inscription was composed between those years, *i. e.*, about 259 B. C., and Aśoka was crowned about 271 B. C., as the edict was promulgated in the thirteenth year after the event.¹²

AŚOKA, A BUDDHIST, BUT TOLERANT AND LIBERAL.

In the edicts at Sahasrām, Bairat, Rūpnāth, and Siddāpur,¹³ Aśoka says that he was an *Upāsaka* or lay-follower of Buddhism for more than two years and a half, but did not exert himself to promote righteousness; but for more than a year afterwards he did so, and the result was that those men and gods that had been regarded as true in Jambudvīpa before, were rendered false. In the eighth rock-edict, he speaks of his having “set out for Sambodhi,” which technically means perfect knowledge, after the end of the tenth year since his coronation. This expression occurs in Buddhist Pāli works, and signifies ‘beginning to do such deeds as are calculated to lead in the end to perfection.’ From these two statements it appears that Aśoka was a Buddhist lay-follower, and worked with a view to gain the highest good promised by Buddhism. He visited the Lumbinī grove, where Śākyamuni was born, after he had been a crowned king for twenty years, and, having done worship, erected a stone column on the site with a stone enclosure (enclosing wall).¹⁴ Paderia, in the Nepāl Terai, where the inscription which mentions this was found engraved on a mutilated pillar, must be the site of the birth-place of Buddha. The other Nepāl inscription that was found at Nigliva represents his having increased the stūpa raised to Konākamana, when fourteen years had elapsed since his coronation, and some years afterwards, probably in the same year in which he visited the Lumbinī grove, he did worship there.¹⁵ In the Bahhra inscription addressed to the Māgadha Church, Aśoka expresses his faith in the Buddhist Triad of Buddha, Dharma (Righteousness),

¹² Inscriptions of Pyadasi, by Senart, Vol. II. p. 86, Eng. Trans.

¹³ Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. pp. 302-303; Inscr. of P. Vol. II. pp. 57-58 and 67; and Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. III. p. 138.

¹⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 4. I think सिलविगडभीचा must be an enclosure or railing made of stone. भीचा is probably connected with भित्ति or भित्तिका “a wall.”

¹⁵ Ep. Ind. Vol. V. pp. 5-6.

and Saṅgha (the Assembly), and recommends that certain works which he names should be read and pondered over by the priests as well as by lay followers.¹⁶ All this shows distinctly enough that Aśoka was a Buddhist; but in the edicts his notions seem to be so liberal and exalted, and his admission that there is truth in the teachings of all sects is so plain, that it must be concluded that he was not actuated by a sectarian spirit, but by a simple respect for truth; and his ethical discourses were such as to be acceptable to everybody, and his moral overseers worked amongst people of all classes and creeds.

AŚOKA'S AIMS AND OBJECTS AND THE MEANS HE EMPLOYED.

Aśoka's great object in publishing his edicts was to preach and promote righteousness amongst his subjects. Dharma or righteousness consists, as said by him, in the second pillar-edict, (1) in doing no ill, (2) doing a great deal of good, (3) in sympathy, (4) beneficence, (5) truth, and (6) purity. In the seventh edict he adds, (7) gentleness, and (8) saintliness.¹⁷ Besides this, he prohibited the killing of animals for religious sacrifices, and was very particular about it.¹⁸ In the fifth pillar-edict he does seem to allow the flesh of certain animals to be used, but he carefully enumerates those that should not be killed at all, and the conditions under which others should not be killed. Large feasts or banquets, where hundreds of thousands of animals were killed, he prohibited.¹⁹ He directed his officers to go on tours every five years for the inculcation of Dharma or righteousness and for other matters. He had Mahāmātras or Governors of provinces before, but in the fifth rock-edict he speaks of his having created the office of Dharmamahāmātras or overseers of righteousness in the fourteenth year after his coronation, and sent them to different countries—those under his immediate sway and those which were semi-independent. They were to work amongst old and young, rich and poor, householders and recluses, and amongst the followers of the different sects; and their business was to look to the good of all, to establish and promote righteousness, and to protect all from oppression. They were also to work

¹⁶ Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 257.

¹⁷ Ep. Ind. Vol. II. pp. 249, 269-71, and also Inscr. Piy. Vol. II. pp. 6, 26-27. The words are: (1) अपासीनव, (2) बहुकयाण (बहुकल्याण), (3) दया, (4) दान, (5) सच (सत्य), (6) सौचये (शौच), (7) मदवे (मार्दव), and (8) साधवे (साधुत्व).

¹⁸ 1st Rock Edict and also the 4th.

¹⁹ 1st Rock Edict.

amongst those who were near to him, in his family, and amongst his relations. In the fourth rock-edict he tells us that by his efforts the destruction of animals, which was enormous before, has almost ceased by his religious orders or instructions, and a regard for one's relations, for Brahmans and Śramaṇas or holy recluses, obedience to father and mother and to the old, and general righteousness have increased and will increase, and he hopes that his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, &c., up to the end of the Kalpa will go on promoting it; and, being righteous themselves, will instruct their subjects in righteousness. For, "this," he says, "is the highest duty one can perform, *viz.*, that of preaching righteousness." In the seventh rock-edict he allows the followers of all sects to live wherever they like, because what they all aim at is self-restraint and purity; and in the twelfth he says that he shows his regard for the members of all sects, for the recluses and householders, by gifts and in various other ways; but the highest or the best way of showing regard is to seek to increase the importance of all sects. This importance is increased by ceasing to extol one's own sect or revile that of another, and by showing respect for the creed of another. Aśoka also speaks of his having planted trees and medicinal herbs, dug wells, and opened establishments for the distribution of water, for the good of men and animals in different places, even in the countries of his foreign neighbours.²⁰ The inscriptions in two of the caves at Barābar mention their being dedicated after he had been a crowned monarch for twelve years to the use of members of the Ājīva sect, which, like that of the Buddhists, was a sect of recluses; that in the third does not give any name.²¹

This will give the reader an idea of the sort of religion preached by Aśoka. He prohibited animal sacrifices and taught that right conduct was the only way to heaven. He inculcated respect for Brahmans as well as Śramaṇas or ascetics of all sects, and was tolerant towards all. The old Vedic or sacrificial religion, *i. e.*, the Karmakāṇḍa, thus received an effectual blow not only at the hands of Buddhists generally, but of Aśoka particularly; so that though attempts were made later on to revive it, as I shall hereafter show, it became obsolete; and it is only rarely that one meets with an Agnihotrin or keeper of the sacred fires, and even the simplest of the old great sacrifices is performed in modern times in but a few and stray instances.

²⁰ 2nd Rock Edict.

²¹ Cunningham's Corpus Inscr. Ind. plate XVI.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, p. 364.

BUDDHISTIC ACCOUNTS.

The Buddhist records give long accounts of *Aśoka* and represent him as one of their great patrons ; but they are more or less legendary, and it is difficult to separate the truth from falsehood. Some of their statements, such as that *Aśoka* visited Buddha's birthplace, are, as we have seen, confirmed by the inscriptions. A great council of Buddhist priests is said to have been held at his instance to settle the Buddhistic canon ; and though there is nothing improbable in it, still it is rather remarkable that no reference to the event occurs in the inscriptions ; and *Aśoka* does not seem to have interested himself with doctrinal Buddhism so much as to seek its settlement.

SUCCESSORS OF *AŚOKA*.

The names of the successors of *Aśoka* given in the *Purāṇas* do not agree. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* gives *Daśaratha* as the name of his grandson, and there are three inscriptions in three caves in the *Nāgārjuni* hills, near *Gayā*, in which *Daśaratha* is represented immediately after his coronation to have dedicated them for the use of the *Ājīvaka* monks.²² We have seen that *Aśoka* dedicated similar caves, which are in the *Barābar* hills, for the use of the *Ājīvakas*. No trace of any other successor of *Aśoka* is found anywhere.

THE *SUNḠAS* AND THE *KĀṆVĀYANAS*.

The dynasty of the *Mauryas* was uprooted, according to the *Purāṇas*, by *Pushpamitra* or *Pushyamitra*, who founded the dynasty of the *SunḠas*. *Pushyamitra* is several times alluded to by *Patañjali* in the *Mahābhāshya*, and from the occurrence of his name in a particular passage, I have fixed *Patañjali*'s date to be about 142 B.C.²³ *Pushyamitra* is represented by the Buddhists to have been their persecutor. It appears from the *Mahābhāshya* that he was a staunch adherent of Brahmanism and performed sacrifices. His son *Agnimitra* is the hero of *Kālidāsa*'s *Mālavikāgnimitra*, in which also there is an allusion to the *Aśvamedha* performed by *Pushyamitra*. It will thus appear that he could by no means have been a patron of Buddhism, and the story of his having persecuted them may therefore be true. An inscription on the Buddhistic *Stūpa* at *Bharaut*, between *Jabalpur* and *Allahabad*, represents the place to have been situated in the

²² Cunningham's *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* plate XVI., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 364-65.

²³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 299 and ff. ; Vol. II. p. 69 and ff.

dominions of the Śuṅgas. Agnimitra was probably his father's viceroy at Vidiśā in eastern Mālwa. The Śuṅgas are mentioned as having reigned for 112 years in the Purāṇas. They were followed by the Kāṇvāyanas, the first of whom was Vāsudeva. A duration of forty-five years is assigned to this dynasty.

THE YAVANAS OF BACTRIAN GREEKS.

Long before this time, however, the Yavanas and even the Śakas make their appearance in Indian history. The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the Imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, as is well known, *Arunad Yavanah Sāketam: Arunad Yavano Madhyamikānu*.²⁴ This shows that a certain Yavana or Greek prince had besieged Sāketa or Ayôdhyā and another place called Madhyamikā when Patañjali wrote this. The late Dr. Goldstücker identified this Yavana prince with Menander. He may, however, be identified with Apollodotus, since the coins of both were found near the Jumna, and, according to the author of the Periplus, were current at Barygaza (Broach) in the first century A.D.²⁵ But since Strabo represents Menander to have carried his arms as far as the Jumna, his identification with the Yavana prince is more probable. In another place Patañjali, in the instances to the Sūtra, beginning with *Sūdrāṇām*, &c., gives *Śaka-yavanam* as an instance of an aggregate Dvandva which signifies that they were 'Sūdras and lived beyond the confines of Āryāvarta. I have already alluded to a work in Pāli consisting of dialogues between Milinda and Nāgasena, which is called Milinda-Pañho. Milinda has been identified with Menander, and is represented as a Yavana king whose capital was Śākala in the Panjāb. The Purāṇas, too, in a passage which is greatly confused, assign the sovereignty of India to Śakas and other foreign tribes. But as the only reliable and definite evidence about these foreign kings is furnished by their coins, we shall now proceed to consider them.

Coins of silver and sometimes of copper have been found in Afghanistan and the Panjāb, even as far eastward as Mathurā and the Jumna, which bear bilingual legends besides certain emblems characteristic of them. One of these is on the obverse in Greek characters and language, giving the name of the prince as well as his titles; and the

²⁴ Under Pāṇ III, 2, 111.

²⁵ Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, p. 143.

other, which is on the reverse, is in the Kharoshthî characters, to which I have already drawn attention, and which are written from the right to the left, and in the Pâli or Prâkrit language. For example, the coins of one of the earlier of these Bactro-Indian princes, Heliokles, contain on the obverse the legend *Basileus Dilcaioy Heliokleoy*, which means "Heliocles, the righteous king," and on the reverse the legend *Mahârajasa Dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*, which is the northern Prâkrit for the Sanskrît "Mahârâjasya Dhârmikasya Heliyakreyasya." Now, this Prâkrit legend could have been used only because the coins were intended to be current in provinces inhabited by Hindus. The princes, therefore, whose coins bear such legends must be considered to have held some province in India. The Kharoshthî characters, as stated before, are used in the rock inscriptions of Asôka in Afghanistan and on the northern frontiers of the Panjâb. The Kharoshthî legend used on the coins, therefore, indicates that in the beginning, the princes who used them must have governed some part of Afghanistan or the Panjâb; and their use was continued even after their possessions extended further eastward. The founder of the Greco-Bactrian monarchy was Diodotus. He was followed by Euthydemus who appears to have been totally unconnected with him. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, succeeded him and even in the life-time of his father carried his arms to India and conquered some territory. Eucratides was his rival and they were at war with each other. But Eucratides in the event succeeded in making himself master of a province in India; and there appear to have been two dynasties or rather factions ruling contemporaneously. To the line of Demetrius belonged Euthydemus II. probably his son, Agathocles and Pantaleon. A prince of the name of Antimachus seems also to have been connected with them.²⁶ The coins of the first two princes have no Prâkrit legend; those of the next two have it in the Brâhmî or ancient Nâgarî characters, while those of the last have it in the Kharoshthî. Eucratides was succeeded by Heliocles, his son who probably reigned from 160 B. C. to 150 B. C.²⁷ There are bilingual legends on the coins of these. There were other princes who followed these, but whose order has not yet been determined, and the dates, too, have not been settled. Their names are these:—Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialkidas, Theophilus, Amyntas, and Archebius. These and the preceding princes ruled over

²⁶ Percy Gardner's coins of the Greek and Scythic kings, &c., Introduction.

²⁷ Lassen Ind. Alterth. Vol. II. pp. 325-26.

Bactria and Afghanistan to the south of the Paropamisus, but not over the Panjâb. The names of those who held also the Panjâb, and in some cases some of the eastern provinces as far as the Jumna, are as follows :—Mendander, Apollodotus, Zoilus, Dionysius, Straton, Hippostratus, Diomedes, Nicias, Telephos, Hermæus.²⁸ Of these the name of Menander occurs, as already stated, in the Pâli work known as *Milindapañho*. *Milinda* is the Indianized form of *Menandro*; and the prince is represented as being very powerful. His capital was *Sākala* in the Panjâb.

In the coins of some of these princes the middle word is *apaḍihatasa* corresponding to *Anikhtoy* in the Greek legend, as in *Mahārājasa Apaḍihatasa Philasinasa*. In those of others we have *Jayadharasa* corresponding to *Nikkphoroy* in the Greek legend, as in *Mahārājasa Jayadharasa Antialkiasa*. On the coins of Archebins we have *Mahārājasa Dhramikasa Jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa*, and on those of others, such as Menander, we have *Tradarasa* corresponding to the Greek *Suthros*, as in *Mahārājasa, Tradarasa, Menandrasa*. *Tradarasa* is a corruption of some such word as *trātārasa* for Sanskrit *trātuh*. On some coins we have *Tejamasa Tādārasa*, where *tejama* stands for the Greek *Ehiphenoy*, and means brilliant. Sometimes we have *Mahatasa Jayatasa* after *Mahārājasa*.

The chronology and the mutual relations of these Greco-Indian kings are by no means clear. Some of the princes reigned in one province contemporaneously with others in other provinces. But it may generally be stated, especially in view of the passage quoted from Patañjali above, and of the tradition alluded to by Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, that Pushpamitra's sacrificial horse was captured on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus by Yavana cavalry; it may be concluded that these kings were in possession of parts of India from about the beginning of the second century before Christ to the arrival of the Sakas whom we shall now proceed to consider.

THE IMPERIAL SAKAS.

The Saka coinage is an imitation of the Greco-Bactrian or Greco-Indian coinage, though there are some emblems peculiar to the Sakas. There are two legends, as in the case of the former, one on the obverse in Greek letters, and the other on the reverse in Kharoshthî character and in the Prākṛit language. Here, too, the mutual relation between the princes, their order of succession, as well as their dates,

²⁸ *Ib.* Vol. II., Bk. II.

are by no means clear. Still, from the bilingual legends on the coins, we have recently determined the order of the princes, and endeavoured to fix the period when they ruled. The following are the names arranged in the order thus determined:—(i.) Vonones, (ii.) Spalirises, (iii.) Azas I., (iv.) Azilises, (v.) Azas II., and (vi.) Maues. There are coins of two others, *viz.*, Spalahores and his son Spalgadames, who, however, did not succeed to supreme power.²⁹ Now, one thing to be remarked with reference to these princes is that in the legends on their coins, unlike the Greco-Indians, they style themselves *Basileus Basileon*, corresponding to the Prakrit on the reverse *Maharajasa Rajarajasa*. Thus they style themselves “kings of kings,” *i. e.*, emperors. They also appropriate the epithet *Mahatasa*, corresponding to the Greek *Megalos*, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. Now, the title “king of kings” cannot in the beginning at least have been an empty boast. The Sakas must have conquered a very large portion of the country before they found themselves in a position to use this imperial title. And we have evidence of the spread of their power. First of all, the era at present called Śālivāhana Śaka was up to about the thirteenth century known by the name of ‘the era of the Śaka king or kings’ and ‘the era of the coronation of the Śaka king.’ Now, such an era, bearing the name of the Śaka king that has lasted to the present day, cannot have come to be generally used, unless the Śaka kings had been very powerful, and their dominions extended over a very large portion of the country and lasted for a long time. And we have positive evidence of the extent of their power. Taxila in the Panjāb, and Mathurā and the surrounding provinces were ruled over by princes who use the title of Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa. So also a very long dynasty of Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas ruled over the part of the country extending from the coast of Kāthiawād to Ujjayinī in Mālwa. Even the Maratha Country was for some time under the sovereignty of a Kshatrapa, who afterwards became a Mahākshatrapa. Evidence has been found to consider these Kshatrapas as belonging to the Śaka race, and the very title Kshatrapa, which is evidently the same as the Persian *Kshathrapa*, ordinarily Satrap, shows that these princes were originally of a foreign origin. The coins of the early princes of the Western or Kāthiawād-Mālwa Kshatrapas bear on the obverse some Greek

²⁹ See the paper written by Mr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar and published in his volume (pp. 16-25).

characters, and also a few Kharoshthi letters, together with a Brâhmî legend on the reverse. And this also points to their connection with the north. These princes give dates on their coins and use them in their inscriptions which have now been considered by all antiquarians to refer to the Saka era. It is by no means unreasonable therefore to consider these and the Northern Kshatrapas to have been in the beginning at least Viceroys of the Saka kings, and the Saka era to have been founded by the most powerful of these kings. If these considerations have any weight, the Saka kings, whose names have been given above, founded their power in the latter part of the first century of the Christian era. This goes against the opinion of all scholars and antiquarians who have hitherto written on the subject and who refer the foundation of the Saka power to about the beginning of the first century before Christ.³⁰

NORTHERN KSHATRAPAS.

The names of Northern Kshatrapas found on coins and in inscriptions are Zeionises, Kharamostis: Liaka and Patika who bore the surname Kusulaka and governed North-Western Panjâb at Taxila; and Râjub(v)ula and his son Śoḍâsa who held power at Mathurâ.³¹ The names of Liaka and Patika are found in a copperplate inscription in which the foundation of a monastery and the placing of a relic of Sâkyamuni are recorded.³² Inscriptions have been discovered at Mathurâ and Morâ in Rajputana,³³ which are dated in the reign of Śoḍâsa. There was also found a Lion pillar at Mathurâ on which there is an inscription in which the names of the mother of Śoḍâsa, his father Râjuvula, and other relatives are given as well as those of the allied Kshatrapas, *viz.*, Patika of Takshaśilâ and Miyika.³⁴ The names of two other Kshatrapas, Hagâna and Hagânumasha,³⁵ have been discovered. The coins of Zeionises and Kharamostis, and some of

³⁰ See D. R. Bhandarkar's paper referred to before, for the whole argument. Many circumstances have been brought forward, all of which point to the conclusion which we have arrived at, and thus render it highly probable. The objection against it, based on the style of the coins, has also been considered.

³¹ Numismatic Chronicle for 1890, pp. 125-129; Percy Gardner's Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of India.

³² Ep. Ind. Vol. IV., p. 54 ff.

³³ Cunningham's Arch. Rep. Vol. III., p. 30, and Vol. XX., p. 49, and Ep. Ind. Vol. II., p. 199.

³⁴ Jour. R. A. S. 1894, p. 533 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 549, and Cunningham's Coins of Anc. Ind., p. 87.

Rājuvula, bear on the obverse a Greek legend and on the reverse one in Kharoshthî characters, thus showing their close connection with their Saka masters. Some of Rājuvula and those of Soḍāsa, Hagāna and Hagāmasha have a Brāhmî legend only. Rājuvula uses high-sounding imperial titles on some of his coins, whence it would appear that he made himself independent of his overlord. The date of his son Soḍāsa is 72,³⁶ equivalent, according to our view, to 150 A. D. It would thus appear that the Satraps who governed Mathurā and the eastern portion of the Saka empire declared themselves independent some time before 150 A. D.; while those who governed north-western Panjāb at Taxila, and consequently were nearer to their Sovereign Lords, acknowledged their authority till 78 Saka or 150 A. D., as is evident from Patika's mention of Moga, who has been identified with the Saka Emperor Manes, in the Taxila copperplate inscription referred to before.

KSHATRAPAS OF KĀTHIAWĀḌ-MĀLWĀ.

Silver coins of the Kshatrapas of Kāthiawāḍ or Surāshṭra and Mālwā have been found in large numbers in those provinces. The latest find was in the rock-cells and temples to the south of the Uparkoṭ, a fortress of Junāgaḍh in Kāthiawāḍ, which consisted of twelve hundred coins of different kings.³⁷ On the obverse there is a bust of the reigning prince very often with the date, and on the reverse there is in the centre an emblem which has the appearance of a Stūpa with a wavy line below and the sun and the crescent of the moon at the top. Round this central emblem is the legend giving the name of the prince with that of his father and the title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa, in Brāhmî or old Devanāgarî character and in mixed Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The first prince of this dynasty was Chashtāna, son of Ghśamotika. There are Greek letters on the obverse of his coins which have but recently been read and found to contain the name of the prince. The legend on the reverse is *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Ghśamotikaputrāsa Chashtānasa*. The coins of this prince do not bear dates; but Chashtāna is mentioned by Ptolemy as Tiastenes, a prince reigning at Ozene or Ujjayinî. And from this and other circumstances his date has been determined to be about 132 A.D. The name Chashtāna and Ghśamotika are evidently foreign and not Indian. Chashtāna had a large number of successors, some of whom are called

³⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII., p. 199, and Vol. IV., p. 55, n. 2.

³⁷ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX., p. 201.

Kshatrapas only and others Mahākshatrapas. There are others again who were Kshatrapas in the early part of their career and Mahākshatrapas in the later. The former was evidently an inferior title and showed that the bearer of it was a dependent prince, while a Mahākshatrāpa held supreme power. There are inscriptions also in which the names of some of these princes are mentioned. In one at Junāgaḍh dated 72, Rudradāman's minister Suviśākha, a Pahlava, son of Kulaipa, is represented to have re-constructed the dam that had broken away of the lake Sudarśana. In it Rudradāman is spoken of as having been at war with Śātakarṇi, the lord of the Dekkan, and subjected to his sway a good many provinces to the north of Surāshṭra. There is another inscription bearing the date 103 found at Guṇḍā, in the Jāmnagar State, in which Rudrabhūti is represented as having dug a tank and constructed it in the reign of the Kshatrāpa Rudrasimha, son of Mahākshatrāpa Rudradāman, grandson of Kshatrāpa Jayadāman, and great grandson of Mahākshatrāpa Chashtana.³⁸ A third found at Jasdan in Kāthiawāḍ and dated 127, while Rudrasena was ruling records the construction of a Sattrā or a feeding-house for travellers by one whose name appears to be Mānasasagara, and who was the son of Praṇāthbaka and grandson of Khara.³⁹ The genealogy of Rudrasena, that is given, is, that he was [the son] of Rudrasimha, grandson of Rudradāman, grandson of the son of Jayadāman, and great-grandson of the son of Chashtana. Another inscription at Junāgaḍh of the grandson of Jayadāman represents some sort of gift in connection with those who had become Kevalis, *i. e.*, perfect individuals, according to Jains. And the last that I have to notice is that found at Mulwāsar in Okhāmaṇḍala which refers itself to the reign of Rudrasena and bears the date 122.⁴⁰

The following is a complete list of the Kshatrāpa princes with the dates occurring on the coins, and in the inscriptions:—

I. *Mahākshatrapas.*

1. Chashtana.

II. *Kshatrapas.*

1. Chashtana.

2. Jayadāman son of Chashtana.

³⁸ Bhojnagar Coll. of Inscr., p. 22.

³⁹ *Ib.* p. 22 facs. and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 234.

⁴⁰ Bhojnagar Coll. of Inscr., p. 7 and p. 23; see also Jour. B. B. R. A. S., April 1899 pp. 380 ff.

I. *Mahākshatrapas.*

2. Rudradāman son of Jayadāman, 72.
3. Dāmaghsada son of Rudradāman.
4. Rudrasimha son of Rudradāman, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118.
5. Jivadāman son of Dāmaghsada, 119, 120.
6. Rudrasena son of Rudrasimha, 122, 125, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144.
7. Samghadāman son of Rudrasimha, 144.
8. Dāmasena son of Rudrasimha, 145, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.
9. Dāmajadaśrī son of Rudrasena.
10. Yaśodāman son of Dāmasena, 161.
11. Vijayasena son of Dāmasena, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172.
12. Dāmajadaśrī son of Dāmasena, 172, 174, 175, 176.
13. Rudrasena son of Viradāman 17(8?), 180, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 194.
14. Viśvasimha son of Rudrasena, *dates illegible*.
15. Bhartridāman son of Rudrasena, 203, 207, 210, 211, 214, 217, 220?

II. *Kshatrapas.*

3. Dāmaghsada son of Rudradāman.
4. Rudrasimha son of Rudradāman, 102, 110, 112.
5. Satyadāman son Dāmaghsada.
6. Rudrasena son of Rudrasimha, 121.
7. Prithvisena son of Rudrasena, 144.
8. Dāmjadaśrī son of Rudrasena, 154, 155.
9. Yaśodāman son of Dāmasena, 160.
10. Vijayasena son of Dāmasena, 160, 161, 162.
11. Viśvasimha son of Rudrasena, 198, 199, 200, 201.
12. Bhartridāman son of Rudrasena, 201, 202.
13. Viśvasena son of Bhartridāman, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226.

I. *Mahākshatrapas.*

16. Svâmi-Rudrasena son of
Svâmi-Mahākshatrapa
Rudradâman, 270, 271,
272, 273, 288, 290, 292,
293, 294, 296, 298, 300.
17. Svâmi-Simhasena sister's
son of Svâmi-Rudrasena,
304.
18. Svâmi-(Rudra?)sena son of
Svâmi-Simhasena.
19. Svâmi-Rudrasimha son of
Svâmi-Mahākshatrapa
Satyasena, 310.

II. *Kshatrapas.*

14. Rudrasimha son of Sovâmi
Jivadâman, 227, 229,
230, 231, 240.
15. Yaśodâman son of Rudra-
simha, 239, 240, 241,
242, 243, 244, 249, 252,
253, 254.

Though the Kshatrapas occupied a subordinate position, they issued coins in their name, and from that it would appear that they were put in charge of a separate province. Probably the Mahākshatrapas reigned at the capital, whether it was Ujjayini as in Chashtana's time, or any other town, and the Kshatrapas in Kâthiawâd.

THE RULE OF SUCCESSION AMONG THE KSHATRAPAS AND THE
IMPERIAL ŚAKAS.

It will be seen that Rudradâman, the second in list I., was succeeded by his son Dâmaghsada, and he by his brother Rudrasimha and not by his son Satyadâman, who was only a Kshatrapa under his uncle. After the two brothers, their sons became Mahākshatrapas successively; and after Rudrasena, the eldest son of Rudrasimha, his two brothers held the supreme power one after another, and two sons of Rudrasena were only Kshatrapas under their uncle. Similarly, three sons of Dâmasena (Nos. 10, 11 and 12) reigned one after another. The position of Kshatrapa under the Mahākshatrapa was occupied by the brother of the latter, as in the case of No. 4 in list II.; in the absence of the brother, by the elder brother's son, and in his absence, his own son. After the brothers had been in power succes-

sively, their sons, beginning with those of the eldest, got possession of the throne, as in the case of Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 in list I. Thus, according to the custom of this dynasty, the rightful heir to the throne was the next brother, and after the brothers, the sons, in the order of their father's seniority. Dr. Bühler conjectures the existence of a similar custom among the northern Kshatrapas from the fact of Kharoshta's bearing the title of *Yuvarāja*, while his brother Sodāsa was a reigning Kshatrapa.⁴¹ But it can be distinctly traced among the imperial Sakas. For, while the coins of Vonones represent him in Greek characters on the obverse as "King of kings," they show on the reverse in Kharoshthī characters that his brother Spalahores held power under him, as the brother of a Mālwa Mahākshatrapa did under the latter. On other coins we have Spalgadames, the son of Spalahores, associated on the reverse with Vonones on the obverse. This Spalgadames is again connected on the obverse with Spalirises, who is styled "the king's brother." There are other coins on which Spalirises appears in both the Greek and Kharoshthī legends as "King of kings." Still others we have, on which he, as supreme sovereign, is associated with Azes on the reverse in Kharoshthī characters. There is one coin described by Sir A. Cunningham, in which Azes on the reverse is associated with Vonones on the obverse. No coin has been discovered on which Vonones appears on the reverse in Kharoshthī characters. All this shows that Vonones was the first supreme sovereign; that Azes was dependent first on him and afterwards on Spalirises; and consequently that Spalirises succeeded Vonones; and that the *Maharāja*, or 'Great King,' whose brother Spalirises is represented to be, must have been Vonones. The latter had another brother named Spalahores; but since he is not represented as an independent sovereign on the obverse in Greek characters on any coin, and instead of him his son's name is associated with Vonones, he must have died during the life-time of the latter, and Spalirises, another brother, assumed Spalahores' position, and Spalgadames was at one time subordinate to him, and also at another time directly to Vonones. Subsequently Spalirises, being Vonones' brother, obtained supreme power after his death. The phrase *Mahārājabhṛātā*, or "king's brother," is used pointedly to indicate the right of the person to be crown prince and subsequently to be successor. The prevalence of this custom among the imperial Sakas

⁴¹ Jour. R. A. S., 1894, p. 532.

shows that Mahākshatrapas and Kshatrapas of India were intimately connected with them, *i. e.*, derived their authority originally from them and were Śakas.⁴²

FORTUNES OF THE KSHTRAPA FAMILY OF KĀTHIDWĀD-MĀLWĀ.

Chashtāna was at first a Kshatrapa and then a Mahākshatrapa, probably because he first acknowledged the supremacy of his Śaka overlord and afterwards assumed independence. Jayadāman, his son, was a Kshatrapa only; and the reason appears to have been the same as that given by me in the "Early History of the Dekkan," *viz.*, that Gotamīputra and Pulumāyi invaded Ujjayinī and deprived him of supreme power. Rudradāman, his son, then acquired his lost kingdom and assumed the title of Mahākshatrapa.⁴³ After Rudradāman the succession is regular up to Bhatridāman, *i. e.*, till about 226 Śaka, or 304 A.D. Then up to 270 Śaka, or rather 288, *i. e.*, for about 62 years, we have no Mahākshatrapa. This must have been due to a prince or princes of some other family having established their sway over Mālwa; and we have an inscription at Sānchi of Vāsushka, Bazdeo, or Vāsudeva who belonged to the Kushana family to be mentioned hereafter, bearing the date 78.⁴⁴ If the interpretation of the date of the princes of that family given in the paper referred to above and explained below is correct this corresponds to 278 Śaka. Very likely, therefore, Kanishka, the first or most famous prince of the family, whose dates range from 205 to 228 Śaka, subjugated Mālwa about the year 226 Śaka, and he and his successors retained possession of the province till about 288 Śaka. The earliest date of the restored Mahākshatrapa is 270, but his coins are continuous only for four years. Then there is a gap of 15 years between 273 and 288, which shows that his power was not firmly established in 270, and that he was driven out again in 273. But a short time after, the Kushanas were humbled by the rising Guptas; and this last circumstance must have been availed of by the Mahākshatrapas to regain their power, which they did in 288 Śaka. It was, however, not long before the rising power turned its attention to Mālwa also and the Mahākshatrapa dynasty retained its regained sovereignty for about 22 or 23 years only, and was finally exterminated by the Guptas in 310 or 311 Śaka,

⁴² Percy Gardiner's *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, pp. 98-102; and *Num. Chr.*, 1890, p. 138.

⁴³ *Second Ed.*, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., p. 369.

i.e., 388 or 389 A. D. There must have been some minor revolution before this, when a prince of the name of Ísvaradatta made himself a Mahākshatrapa and issued coins dated in the first and second years of his reign. He does not appear to have belonged to this dynasty.

KSHATRAPAS AND ŚĀTAVĀHANAS IN THE DEKKAN.

From an inscription at Junnar and others in the Nāsik and Kārli caves, we see that the sovereignty of Satraps was established over Mahārāshṭra also. But we find the name of one Mahākshatrapa only, *viz.*, Nahapāna, and after him we have no names of Satraps that may be supposed to have ruled over the country, and find instead that the princes of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race were in possession of Mahārāshṭra. An inscription in one of the caves at Nasik speaks of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi as having beaten the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, and left no remnant of the race of Khakharāta. In the inscriptions, Nahapāna is also named Kshaharāta, which is but another form of Khakharāta. Gotamīputra therefore must be understood to have destroyed the lineal successor of Nahapāna. Again, in the inscription alluded to above he is also represented to have re-established the power of the Śātavāhana family. Thus, the Śātavāhanas were in possession of Mahārāshṭra before the Śakas invaded the country. The principal seat of the family was Dhanakāṭaka, but the younger princes ruled over the Dekkan and had Paithān for their capital. The earliest prince of this dynasty whose name is found in the inscriptions was Kṛishṇa. The name of one still earlier Simuka Śātavāhana also occurs, but not as a prince reigning at the time. Kṛishṇa was followed by Śātakarṇi. Śātakarṇi's successors must have been in possession of the country till the latter part of the first century of the Christian era, when the Śakas established their power. These, however, were driven out of the country by Gotamīputra, and we have the names of Puṣumāyi, Yajñasṛī Śātakarṇi, Chatusparṇa Śātakarṇi and Maḍharīputra Śakasena, the successors of Gotamīputra, in the inscriptions in the caves and on the coins found at Bassein and Kolhapur, and not that of any Kshatrapa. So that the Śakas ruled over the Dekkan for about one generation only.

The Śātavāhana dynasty is mentioned in the Purāṇas under the name of the Andhrabhṛityas, and most of the names given above, Simuka, the founder, Kṛishṇa Śātakarṇi, Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, Puṣumāyi and Yajñasṛī Śātakarṇi occur in the genealogy there given. The names of Chatusparṇa and Śakasena, however, do not occur.

This dynasty is represented in the Purāṇas to have succeeded the Kāṇvāyanas. But they do not appear to have held sway in Northern India. Nahapāna's dates occurring in the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Ushavadāta, are 40, 41, and 42, and that occurring in the inscription at Junnar of his minister Ayama is 46. On the supposition that the era is Śaka, these are 118, 119, 120 and 124 A.D. Puṣumāyi is represented as ruling at Paithan by Ptolemy, as he has represented Chashtāna to be the king of Ujjayini. They were therefore contemporaries. Hence the Śakas or Satraps were driven away from Mahārāshṭra between 124 and 132 A. D. They, however, as has been shown before, ruled over Surāshṭra and Mālwā with some intermissions till 389 A. D. In the earlier years Nahapāna is called a mere Kshatrapa in the inscriptions; but in the Junnar inscription of his minister he is called a Mahākshatrapa, which shows that like Chashtāna he at first acknowledged the sovereign power of his Śaka lord in the north, and then assumed independence.

THE INDO-PARTHIANS OR PAHLAVAS.

In the north, the Kshatrapas and the Śaka emperors soon lost their power. They were succeeded by the Indo-Parthian or Pahlava kings. Their names, determined from coins, are as follows :—

1. Gondophares.
2. Abdagases, nephew of Gondophares.
3. Orthagnes.
4. Arsakes.
5. Pakores.
6. Sanabares.

An inscription of Gondophares bearing date 103 has been discovered at Takht-i-Bahi, to the north-east of Peshāwār. This is represented as the 26th year of his reign, and if the date refers to the Śaka era, and is equivalent to 181 A. D., Gondophares began to reign in 155 A. D. His coins are found in Seistan, Kandahar, and even in Western Panjāb. He had probably dispossessed the Śakas of their western provinces about the time his reign began, but they continued to hold those to the east as we know from the date 78, equivalent to 156 A.D. of Moga. The date in Takht-i-Bahi inscription has been referred to the Vikrama era and supposed to correspond to 47 A. D., and Gondophares' accession to the throne placed in 21 A. D. A story that for the first time became current in the fourth century in Christian countries in the west represents St. Thomas to

have visited Gondophares and suffered martyrdom, and if regarded as true it confirms the date 21 as that of his accession. But if such a prince was remembered in the fourth century, much more reasonable is it to suppose that he was not removed from it by so many as three hundred years, but only by about 150 at the most, and probably less than that. The coins of these kings have Greek legends on the obverse and Kharoshthî in the Prâkrit dialect, as in the case of the Sakas and the Greeks. But they use high titles like the Sakas. On some of Gondophares' coins we have in the Greek legend *Easileus Basileus Megalos Gundopherroy*, and in the Kharoshthî *Maharajasa rajarajasa Devatratasa Gudapharasa*, meaning 'of Gudaphara the great king, king of kings, protected by the gods.' On his coins all the high-sounding epithets, one of which only was used by his predecessors, are found, such as *Apratihata*, *Dhramika* equivalent to *Dharmika*, *Makata*, and *Trâdata* equivalent to *trâtuḥ*. Some of his coins have not the Kharoshthî legend at all, but only Greek—which probably shows that he added Indian provinces to his dominions after he had reigned for some time. The legends on the coins of his successors are more or less corrupt. This as well as the fact of the use of all the magniloquent epithets noticed above shows that his dynasty succeeded those I have already noticed. The most important of these Parthian princes was Gondophares, and he held possession of a large extent of country; but he does not seem to have penetrated to the east of the Panjâb. The territories ruled over by his successors were much narrower.

THE KUSHANAS.

After the Indo-Parthian or Pahlava dynasty, and perhaps in the beginning, contemporaneous with it, we have another that gave itself the name of *Kushana*. The Princes of this family known to us by name are as follows :—

1. Kujula-Kadphises.
2. Wema-Kadphises.
3. Kanishka.
4. Huvishka.
5. Vâsudeva or Vâsushka.

Copper coins of a prince whose imperial titles are given thereon, but whose name does not occur, are found in large numbers in the Panjâb, Kandahar, and the Kabul valley, and even in Mâlâwâ. There are a few silver coins also. He probably belonged to this family and

preceded Wema-Kadphises. The last three princes in the above list are noticed in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and are represented as belonging to the Turushka race ; that is to say, they were Turks. And the dress, especially the cap, and the features of the royal figures on their coins appear Turkish. I have already observed that some of the Greek kings reigned contemporaneously with princes of the later dynasties. Some coins of Kujula-Kadphises, on the obverse of which is the name of the Greek prince Hermæus, have on the reverse the name of Kujula-Kapsa or Kasa without high-sounding titles. This would show that he was subordinate to Hermæus and also that some Greek prince continued to reign somewhere while the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians had supreme power. There are, however, other coins on which the name of Hermæus does not occur, which indicates that he afterwards acquired independence. But it was his successor Wema-Kadphises who appears to have conquered a large extent of the country and risen to supreme power, as imperial titles appear on his coins, while they do not on those of Kujula-Kadphises. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that his coins are not merely confined to the Kabul valley and the Panjāb as those of Kujula, but are found eastward as far as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur and along the line of railway from Allahabad to Jabalpur. Some of his coins have in the Greek legend *Basileus Basileon Megas Wema Kadphises*, and in the Kharoshthī legend *Maharajasa rajadhirojasa Sarvaloga-isvarasa Mahisvarasa Hima-Kathpi-sasa trdata*, i. e., 'Hima Kadphises the 'great king, king of kings, the sovereign lord of all people, devotee of Maheśvara and Saviour.' Several much later kings are called *Māheśvaras*, i. e., devotees of Maheśvara or Siva, or belonging to the sect of Māheśvaras. Wema-Kadphises seems to be so spoken of on his coins ; and that he was a worshipper of Siva is shown also by the emblem of Nandin on the reverse of his coins accompanied by a human figure which, because it holds a trident in its right arm, must represent Siva. He was the first of all the kings we have noticed who used gold coinage and was in this respect followed by his successors.

THE LAST THREE KUSHANAS.

The three next kings call themselves Kushanas on their coins. The royal figure on them has a dress similar to that on those of Wema-Kadphises. But these three Kushanas seem to have struck an independent path for themselves in respect of their coins, which may perhaps point to their constituting an independent family. The

legend is only one in Greek letters. On some coins of Kanishka it is in the Greek language also and reads, *Basileus Basileon Kanheshkoy*, i. e., 'Kanishka, king of kings.' On the majority of his coins, however, and on those of his successors it is in Greek letters, and perhaps in the Turkish language, and reads *Shaonano Shao Kanheski Kushano*, *Shaonano Shao Huvishki Kushano*, i. e., 'the Shah (king) of Shahs, Kanheski Kushana, &c.' The emblems on the reverse are figures of deities from the Greek, Persian, and Brahmanic pantheon and of Buddha. By the side of these figures their names also are given in Greek characters. Thus we have Salene, Helios, and Heraklio; Miïro = Mihira, Mazdohano = Mazdaonho; Skando, Mahaseno, Komaro, Bizago, which last is equivalent to Viśākha, Boddo = Buddho, and Saka Mana Boddo = Sākya Muni Buddha.⁴⁵ Thus these Turkish kings paid an equal respect to the gods of all these four religions. But the figure of Buddha, in the sitting or meditative and the standing posture, occur on coins of Kanishka only. This may be regarded as evidence of the truth of what the northern Buddhists say as to Kanishka being their patron. In his time and under his patronage a council of priests was held to settle the canon again, and it was at this time that Buddhism, which had gradually been veering towards the Mahâyâna form, had that character definitely impressed upon it.

THEIR DATES.

There are a great many inscriptions dated in the reigns of these three kings. They are chiefly dedications of Buddhistic and Jaina objects of worship for the use of the people, and occur principally at Mathurâ. As stated before, there is one inscription bearing the date 78 and referring itself to the reign of Vāsudeva at Sâñchi. There is not a single Brahmanic inscription. The dates vary from 5 in the reign of Kanishka to 98 in the reign of Vāsudeva. Most scholars and antiquarians a few years ago believed Kanishka to be the founder of the Saka era, but the faith of some has been shaken. On this supposition the dates mentioned above run from 83 A.D. to 176 A.D. But, according to all accounts, the Guptas succeeded the Kushanas; like the latter, and unlike the previous rulers, they issued a gold coinage which is a close imitation of that of the latter. The forms of letters in the inscriptions of the Kushanas appear to belong to a later period. For these reasons

⁴⁵ Percy Gardner, p. 129, pp. 129 ff.; Cunningham Num. Chron. 1892, pp. 63 ff.

I have always believed Kanishka to have flourished later than the first century of the Christian era, and we have recently considered the whole question and come to the conclusion formerly stated that one of the Imperial Saka kings founded the Saka era. Kanishka, between whom and the Saka founder of the Saka era came the other Saka princes, the Indo-Parthians, and Wema-Kadphises, reigned much later. The practice of omitting hundreds in dates has long existed in that part of India; and, in consideration of the fact that an inscription found at Mathurā, which, though the name of the prince is omitted, contains titles used by the Kushanas and bears the date 290 and some units which are not distinct,⁴⁶ the conclusion is reasonable that the dates in the inscriptions of these three Kushana princes are abbreviated by the omission of two hundreds. These dates must be referred to the Saka era, and will thus run from 205 Saka to 298 Saka, i. e., 293 A. D. to 376 A. D. And the period here assigned to the Kushana princes agrees with all that is known of them and their relations with other princes. The chronology of the previous dynasties also has been arranged in a manner consistent with it, and there is nothing against it, except numismatic theories, which, however, in consideration of the many types available for the princes of these dynasties and the play of fancy, such as is presented to our view by the coins of the last three Kushana princes, cannot be rigidly adhered to.⁴⁷

PREDOMINANCE OF EARLY BUDDHISM AND OF THE PRĀKRIT
DIALECTS DURING THE PERIOD GONE OVER.

Thus from about the beginning of the second century before Christ, to about the end of the fourth century after, princes of foreign races were prominent in the history of India and ruled sometimes over a large portion of the country up to the limits of Mahārāshṭra. The names of no Hindu princes appear in inscriptions or on coins during this period, except in Mahārāshṭra, where, as we have seen, the Śātavāhanas drove the foreigners and governed the country, and in the south to which the foreigners did not penetrate. During this period it is the religion of Buddha alone that has left prominent traces, and was professed by the majority of the people. The vestiges of the time are Stūpas or hemispherical structures purporting to contain a relic of Buddha or of saints, and monasteries, and temples containing smaller

⁴⁶ Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. X., pp. 171-2.

⁴⁷ See D. R. Bhandarkar's paper referred to before (pp. 26 ff.).

Stûpas or Chaityas. These Stûpas or Chaityas were the objects of worship amongst the Buddhists. And wherever there is a stupendous Stûpa, we find sculptures representing Buddhistic sacred objects, such as the Bodhi or Pippala and other trees under which 'Sâkyamuni and the previous Buddhas attained perfection, wheels representing, metaphorically, the *Dharmachakra*, or wheel of righteousness, which Buddha turned, and so forth. There are sculptures also representing events in the previous births of Buddha, about which many stories were current, and which we now find in the so-called Jâtaka literature. Now, the remains of Vihâras, Chaityagrihas, and Stûpas are found in all parts of the country, including Afghanistan. Some of them contain inscriptions also recording the gifts of public or private individuals. These gifts are the big structures themselves, as well as smaller parts thereof, such as railings, pillars, and sculptures, and sometimes land or deposits of money for the maintenance of the priests. Now, from the inscriptions recording these gifts, we find the position of the persons who made them. The remains of two great Stûpas exist in Central India at Sâñchi in the Bhopal territory, and Bharaut between Jabalpur and Allahabad, near the Sattan Station of the Railway. From the form of characters existing in the inscriptions found in them, the ages of the Stûpas can be approximately determined. That at Bharaut was begun about the middle of the third century before Christ, and continued to be added to till about the end of the second century. The Sâñchi Stûpa was probably first constructed about the same time; and it continued to be an object of adoration and additional gifts till about the eighth century of the Christian era. The donors, as recorded in these two places, were oftentimes the Buddhist monks and nuns themselves, but the names of a great many lay-followers also occur. Thus we have gifts from Grahapatis or householders or land-holders; Setthhis or Setths, who occupied a prominent position in a town or village; simple traders, who are called Vâṇija or Vâṇika; Râjalipikâras or royal scribes; Lekhakas or professional writers; and even Kâmikas, or ordinary workmen. In the cave-temples in Mahârâshṭra, which began to be excavated about the middle of the first century before Christ, and continued to increase in number and to have additional decorations till the end of the second century after, and were the objects of adoration and resort up to about the end of the ninth century, we find, among the donors, princes and chiefs who called themselves Mahâbhojas and Mahârâthis, Naigamas or merchants, Suvarṇakâras or goldsmiths, Vardhakas or carpenters, Dhânyakaśrenis

or guilds of corn-dealers, and Grihapatis or ordinary householders. There are some Sakas and Yavanas also amongst them. The great cave-temple at Kârli was originally excavated by Bhûtapâla, the Set of Vaijayantî; the lion-pillar in the court in front was scooped out by a Mahârâthi named Agimitra. One of the cave-temples at Nâsik was the gift of Gotamî mother of Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi and grandmother of Puṣumâyi. A monastery there was the benefaction of Ushavadâta, son-in-law of Nahapâna, who deposited sums of money also with the guilds of weavers and another guild at Govardhana near Nâsik, out of the interest on which new garments were to be given to the priests in the rainy season. Such money-benefactions were also made by private individuals, as recorded in the inscriptions at Nâsik and Kânheri. The period that we have been speaking of has left no trace of a building or sculpture devoted to the use of the Brahmanic religion. Of course, Brahmanism existed, and it was probably, during the period, being developed into the form which it assumed in later times. The large but unfortunately mutilated inscription at Nânâghât, which is to be referred to the second half of the first century before Christ, opens with an invocation to Dharma, Indra, Saṃkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva, and seems to speak of the Dakṣiṇâ, or fees given by a royal lady for the performance of several Brahmanic sacrifices. Gifts were made even by princes and chiefs to Brahmins. Ushavadâta, the son-in-law of Nahapâna, was a patron of both Brahmins and Buddhists. Some of the Satraps of Surâshṭra and Mâlwa were probably adherents of Brahmanism, as is indicated by their adoption of the name of the god Rudra as a component of their own names. Wema-Kadphises was, as we have seen, a worshipper of Śiva. In the South, we have inscriptions of Śivaskandavarman, a ruler of Kâñchî, of Hârîtiputra Sâtakarṇi and of a king of Banayâsi which are to be referred to the early part of the third century after Christ, and in which grants of land to Brahmins are recorded ^{47a}. But the religion certainly does not occupy a prominent position, and Buddhism was followed by the large mass of the people from princes down to the humble workman. Another peculiarity of the period was the use of the Pâli or the current Prâkrit language in inscriptions. Even the Brahmanic inscription at Nânâghât and those in the south just noticed are composed in this dialect. Sanskrit was the language of learned Brahmins and Prâkrit of ordinary people of all castes.

^{47a}. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 84 ff. and Vol. I. p. 2 ff. Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV. p. 28.

The use of the latter, therefore, indicates a greater deference for these people than for Brahmanic learning. The inscriptions in Kâthiawâd, however, of the reigns of the Satrap kings are in Sanskrit and those of Ushavadâta are in mixed Sanskrit and Prâkrit. But in the middle of the fourth century, the whole scene changes, and we now proceed to the consideration of the events which it presents to our view.

CHANGE OF SCENE,—THE GUPTAS.

I have already observed that the Guptas succeeded the Kushanas. The first prince was named Gupta, and his son was Ghatotkacha, both of whom are styled *Mahârâja*. Ghatotkacha's son was Chandragupta I., who is styled *Mahârâjādhirâja*, or "King of kings" in the inscriptions. It was during the time of this king that the power of the Guptas must have begun to rise. But his son Samudragupta seems to have been one of the most powerful princes of this dynasty. There is a long inscription describing his exploits on the same pillar at Allahabad, which contains inscriptions of Aśoka. There he is called *Parâkramāditya*, which title is also to be found in other inscriptions as well as on his coins. He is represented to have conquered and re-established in their dominions Mahendra, king of Kosala, Vyâghrarâja, king of Mahâkântâra, Maṇṭarâja of Keraḷa and many other kings of Dakṣiṇâpatha, to have rooted out kings reigning in Âryāvarta of the names of Rudradeva, Matila, Nâgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapati-nâga, Nâgasena, Achyutanandin, Balavarman and others, and probably established his supremacy over their provinces; reduced to submission the chiefs of the forest regions; exacted tribute from and subjected to his power the kings of Samatâṭa, Dâvaka, Kâmarûpa, Nepâla, Karîpura, and other countries on the borders, and tribes of Mâlavas, Ârjunâyanas, Yaudheyas, Mâdrakas, Âbhîras, Prârjunas, Sanakânîkas, and Kâkakharaparikas; to have re-established certain royal families which had lost their kingdoms; and to have formed alliances with Daivaputra Shâhi Shâhânushâhi, princes of the Śaka and Muruṇḍa tribes, and with the Saimbalakas, who propitiated him with presents.⁴⁸ There is an inscription referring itself to his reign found at Eraṇ in the Sâgar district, which bears evidence to the fact that his dominions extended up to that district.⁴⁹ He was followed by Chandragupta II., one of whose inscriptions dated in the year 82, is found at Udayagiri, near Bhilsâ, in Eastern Mâlwa.⁵⁰ It must here be remarked that the Guptas established an era of their

⁴⁸ Dr. Fleet's *Insc. Early Gupta Kings*, No. I.

⁴⁹ *Ib.* No. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ib.* No. 3.

own as to the initial date of which there were long controversies among antiquarians, though it was given by Alberuni, the Arabic traveller, as corresponding to 242 of the Śaka era. But the question is now settled. Alberuni's statement has been found to be correct and the first year of the Gupta era fell in 318-19 A. D. Chandragupta's date 82, therefore, corresponds to 400 A. D. Another inscription of the same occurs at Mathurā, showing that the Guptas had extended their power to that province which was subject before to the Kushanas.⁵¹ There is one more at Gadhwā, near Allahabad, dated in the year 88, corresponding to 406 A. D., another at Sāñchi, dated 93, corresponding to 411 A. D., and a third at Udayagiri, which bears no date.⁵² These inscriptions show that the dominions of the Guptas embraced in the time of Chandragupta II., the whole of the North-Western Provinces and Mālwa and the Central Provinces. In the Udayagiri inscription which bears no date that monarch is represented as "wonderful sunlike Brilliance" itself, and Śāba Virasena, who was his minister and a native of Pāṭaliputra as having accompanied the king in his career of conquest (*lit.* "the king whose object was to conquer the whole world") to the place, *i.e.*, Udayagiri, or the region in which it was situated. The conquest of Mālwa by Chandragupta thus alluded to in this inscription took place before 400 A. D. the date of the first Udayagiri inscription. The latest date of the Ujjayinī Mahākshatrapas is, as we have seen, 310 Śaka or 388 A. D. These were exterminated by him in that year or about a year after, a conclusion which follows from the facts that the Kshatrapas issued new coins nearly every year, and there is no issue later than 310 Śaka. Chandragupta II. was followed by Kumāragupta. There are six inscriptions of his reign,—two at Gadhwā, one at Bilsād, Etā district, North-Western Provinces, one at Mankuwar, Allahabad district, one at Mathurā, and one at Mandasor in Western Mālwa. One Gadhwā inscription bears the date 98, corresponding to 416 A. D., that at Bilsād, the year 96, corresponding to 414 A. D., that at Mathurā, the year 113, *i. e.*, 421 A. D., that at Mandasor, the year 493 of the Mālava era, corresponding to 437 A. D., and that at Mankuwar the year 129, *i. e.*, 447 A. D. The latest known date of Chandragupta II. is 411 A. D. and the earliest of Kumāragupta 414, wherefore the latter must have acceded to the throne in the interval between those two years. Kumāragupta was followed by his son

⁵¹ *Ib.* No. 4.⁵² *Ib.* Nos. 7, 5, 6.

Skandagupta, of whom we have five inscriptions. One of them, that at Junâgaḍh in Kâthiawâd, represents the dyke of the celebrated Sudersâna lake to have burst in 136 and to have been repaired in 137. These years correspond to 454 and 455 A. D. Another at Kalâur, Gorakhpur district, North-Western Provinces bears the year 141, corresponding to 459 A. D.; a third, engraved on a copperplate, and found in a stream at Indor in the Bulandshahr District, gives the year 146, *i. e.*, 464 A. D.⁵³ There is another at Bihâr, and the last or fifth is engraved on a pillar at Bhitâri, Ghazipur district, North-Western Provinces.⁵⁴ In this inscription a new foreign race makes its appearance for the first time—that of the Hūnas or Huns. Skandagupta is represented to have defeated them and to have subjugated a tribe of the name of Pushyamitras. After Skandagupta, the power of the dynasty began to decline. There is an inscription at Eraṇ in the Sâgar district which bears the name of Budhagupta, and the date 165, corresponding to 483 A. D.⁵⁵ This Budhagupta, however, and even Skandagupta are not mentioned in the genealogy of the main branch found engraved on a certain seal discovered at Bhitâri.⁵⁶ Very likely, therefore, the family broke up, about the time of Skandagupta, into two or three branches which ruled over different provinces. The Vâyu and Vishṇu Purâṇas, after a confused list of foreign princes and the rulers of certain provinces, state that the Guptas will rule alongside of the Gaṅgâ, and over Prayâga, Sâketa, and Magadha.

HUNAS OR HUNS AND THE AULIKARAS.

In the inscription of the reign of Budhagupta mentioned above a Brahman Mahârâja of the name of Mâtṛi-Vishṇu and his brother Dhanya-Vishṇu record the erection of a *Dhvajastambha* or flagstaff to the god Janârdana. In another of the first year of a prince named Toramâṇa, Dhanya-Vishṇu speaks of his brother Mâtṛi-Vishṇu as having died in the interval, and of his erecting a temple to the Boar or Varâha incarnation of Vishṇu.⁵⁷ There is another inscription at Gwalior, dated in the 15th year of Mihirakula, who is represented as Toramâṇa's son, and it records the erection of a temple of the sun by Mâtṛicheta.⁵⁸ Toramâṇa belonged to the Hūna race, so that it would appear that a short time after 174, G. E. or 492 A. D. the latest date of Budhagupta occurring on one of his coins, *i. e.*, about 500 A. D.,

⁵³ *Ib.* Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 218.

⁵⁴ *Ib.* Nos. 12-16.

⁵⁵ *Ib.* No. 19.

⁵⁶ *Jour. Beng. As. S., Vol. LVIII, pp. 88 f.*

⁵⁷ *Inscr. E. G. Kings, No. 36.*

⁵⁸ *Ib.* No. 37.

the Hūṇas established their power up to the Central Provinces. But since only two princes of the race are mentioned, it appears that they did not retain it for a long time. An inscription at Mandasor in Western Mālwa represents Yaśodharman to have subjugated Mihirakala.⁵⁹ We have an inscription of the same prince, dated 589 of the Mālava era corresponding to 533 A. D.⁶⁰ The engraver of both is the same person, and his name was Govinda. From the manner in which the different statements are made in this inscription, it appears that the family of the prince, which was known by the epithet of Aulikara, was brought into importance by Viśhṇuvardhana, who was a predecessor of Yaśodharman, and it was he who first assumed the title of "Supreme Lord, King of kings." From this date of Yaśodharman, therefore, it may be safely concluded that the two Hūṇa princes could not have reigned for more than forty years on the Cis-Satlaj side of India.

VIGOROUS BRAHMANIC REVIVAL AND RENOVATION.—SUPERSESSION
OF THE PRĀKRITS BY THE SANSKRIT.

Now, in Chandragupta's inscription at Mathurā, and Skandagupta's Bihar and Bhihārī inscriptions, Samudragupta is represented as having performed the *Aśvamedha*, which is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use for a long time. This is the first instance of the Brahmanic revival under this dynasty. This achievement was considered so important that Samudragupta struck golden coins or medals, on the obverse of which is the figure of a horse let loose, and the title *Aśvamedhaparākrāma*, or "one who performed the achievement of a horse-sacrifice" on the reverse.⁶¹ Similar coins bearing on the reverse the legend *Aśvamedha-Mahendra* have been found. *Mahendra* was a title assumed by Kumāragupta, as is evident from some of his coins on which his proper name as well as the title occur.⁶² It appears, therefore that he too performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty. Chandragupta II., Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta are called Parama-Bhāgavatas on their coins, which shows that they were worshippers of Bhagavad Vāsudeva. One of the two Udayagiri inscriptions dated 82 G.E. = 400 A. D. is engraved on a panel over two figures,—one of a four-armed god attended by two female figures, and the other of a twelve-armed goddess. The god may be Viśhṇu and

⁵⁹ *Ib.* No. 33.

⁶¹ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Jan. 1889, p. 65.

⁶⁰ *Ib.* No. 35.

⁶² *Ib.* pp. 110, 105, 108.

the goddess Chandi. The other Udayagiri inscription records the dedication of a cave to Sambhu. The Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta speaks of the building of a Pratoli or gallery in the temple of Swāmi-Mahāsena by Dhruvaśarman in the year 414 A. D. The Bihār inscription represents the erection of a *yūpa* or a sacrificial post, and that on the Bhitāri pillar records the installation of an image of Śāringin and the grant of a village by Skandagupta. In the Junāgaḍh inscription, a temple of Chakrabhrit (Vishṇu) is spoken of as having been erected in 450 A. D. by Chakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, Skandagupta's governor of Surāshṭra. The Indor inscription of the time of Skandagupta records the endowment of Devavishṇu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in a temple of the sun. The Mandasor inscription speaks of the erection of a temple of the sun by a guild of weavers in 437 A. D. and its repair by the same in 473 A. D. According to Budhagupta's Era inscription, Mātrivishṇu and his brother Dhanyavishṇu erected, as mentioned above, a *Dhvajastambha*, or flagstaff, to the god Janārdana in 483 A. D. Mātrivishṇu is called "a great devotee of Bhagavat," i. e., Vishnu.⁶³ The inscriptions of minor chiefs and private individuals during this period record grants of villages to Brahmans,⁶⁴ in the years 474, 481, 492, 495, and 509 A. D., to the temples of Pishṭapurī⁶⁵ (527 A. D. and 532 A. D.), Bhagavat or Vishṇu⁶⁶ (495 A. D.), and Āditya or the sun,⁶⁷ (511 A. D.), the erection of a *dhvaja* of Vishṇu,⁶⁸ grants of villages for the performance of the five great rites,⁶⁹ (570 A. D.), the erection of a *yūpa*, or sacrificial post on the completion of a Puṇḍarīka⁷⁰ sacrifice, the establishment of Sattras or feeding places for Brahmans and others,⁷¹ &c., &c.

Here we have ample evidence of a powerful upheaval ; and the sacrificial rites and the gods and goddesses adopted into the Brahmanic Pantheon to which, except in one instance, there was not even an allusion in the epigraphical records of the country for more than five centuries, suddenly present themselves to our view about the end of the fourth century ; and appear uninterruptedly for the whole of the subsequent period of about two centuries covered by the inscriptions

⁶³ अत्यन्तभगवद्भक्त.

⁶⁴ Inscr. E. G. Nos. 21, 22, 26, 27, 23.

⁶⁵ *Ib.* Nos. 25 and 31.

⁶⁶ *Ib.* No. 27.

⁶⁷ *Ib.* No. 28.

⁶⁸ *Ib.* No. 32.

⁶⁹ *Ib.* No. 38.

⁷⁰ *Ib.* No. 59. The date of the

inscription is 428 ; but the Era is not specified. If it is the Mālava Era the date is 372 A. D. ; if the Śāka, is 506 A. D. I incline to the latter supposition.

⁷¹ *Ib.* No. 64.

published in a collected form by Dr. Fleet. The worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Sun, and Mahāsena seems to have become popular with all classes from princes and chiefs to ordinary individuals. But a still more significant change is the universal adoption of the Sanskrit language for the documents inscribed on stone and metal instead of the Pāli or Prākṛit. It indicates the enhancement of Brahmanic influence. The Vernacular dialects had acquired such an importance that not only were they mostly used, as we have seen, in inscriptions, but a number of literary works presupposed by Hāla's *Saptaśatī* and others like the *Bṛihat-kathā* attributed to Guṇāḍhya were composed in them in the second or third century of the Christian era. Buddhism had, of course, used one of them for all its religious and literary purposes. But now we find that Sanskrit, or the language of learned Brahmans, rose in general estimation and acquired such an overwhelming importance that the Vernaculars were driven out of the field. It was more generally studied, and a new and more brilliant period in the history of Sanskrit literature dawned about this time.

REVIVAL IN THE SOUTH.

The influence of this vigorous Brahmanical revival in the north extended itself to the Dekkan. Of the early Chālukyas whose dynasty was established about the end of the fifth century, Pulakeśī I. solemnised the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and several other princes belonging to the family performed the other great sacrifices, and grants of land were made to Brahmans. A cave temple to Viṣṇu was dedicated by Maṅgalīśa in Śaka 500 or 578 A. D., at Bādāmī. And other temples to the same god and to Śiva or Maheśvara were constructed in several other places. The worship of Śiva in the terrific form of Kāpālikeśvara seems also to have come into existence.

DECLINE OF BUDDHISM—RISE OF MĀHĀYĀNISM.

While Brahmanism thus rose in importance and popular favour, the influence of Buddhism declined in a corresponding degree. The number of records of Buddhist gifts during this period is smaller. In the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta (411 A. D.) is recorded a grant by a royal military officer for feeding ten Buddhist mendicants and lighting two lamps in the jewel-house.⁷¹ The Mānkuwar inscription of Kumāragupta (447 A.D.) records the installation of an image of Buddha by a Bhikṣu of the name of Buddhāmītra.⁷² Harisvāmiuf,

⁷¹ *Id.* No. 5.

⁷² *Id.* No. 11.

wife of Sanasiddha, records in 449 A. D. in an inscription at Sāñchi the grant of twelve Dināras as a fixed capital out of the interest on which a mendicant belonging to the Āryasaṅgha was to be fed daily, and of three Dināras for the jewel-house out of the interest on which three lamps were to be daily lighted before the Blessed Buddha, and of one Dināra for the seats of four Buddhas out of the interest on which a lamp was to be lighted daily at the seats.⁷³ An image of Buddha was set up at Mathurā in 453 A. D., another in 548 A. D., and others, at Deoriyā in the Allahabad District, Kasiā in the Gorakpur District and in Buddhagayā.⁷⁴ The last was set up by Mahānāman who also constructed a temple (Prāsāda) of Lokaśāstre in 587 A. D.⁷⁵ The language of these inscriptions unlike that of those of the preceding period is Sanskrit and it will be seen that images of Buddha were set up and worshipped like those of the Brahmanic gods. In both these respects it cannot be denied that Buddhism became subject to the same influences which were in operation in the case of Brahmanism, or rather appropriated those points in the rival system which increased its popularity about this time. The principles of faith in personal beings and devotion to them were incorporated into their creed; and Sanskrit was resorted to to confer dignity on their religious books and teachers. The use of this learned language shows, at the same time, that, like Brahmanism, Buddhism now assumed a more exclusive character and ceased to appeal to the people at large in their own language; and the sphere of its influence became much narrower. Thus it appears that the revival and renovation of Brahmanism went on side by side with corresponding changes in Buddhism which impressed on it the form and character known by the name of Mahāyāna. The earlier form of Buddhism appealing only to the moral feelings of man had split up into a number of schools and exhausted itself; and its place was taken up by Brahmanism and Mahāyānism. But the charm of the names Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha, the three jewels, was lost; and Mahāyānism was unable to regain what had been lost by primitive Buddhism. Compared with revived Brahmanism it was feeble; and from the first it had to face the severe attacks of its renovated rival.

THE JAINAS.

We have two Jaina inscriptions also in this period recording the installation of images in the years 424 A.D. and 459 A.D., at Udayagiri

⁷³ Ib. No. 62.

⁷⁴ Ib. Nos. 63, 70, 68, 69 and 72.

⁷⁵ Ib. No. 71.

and Kāṣṭhī respectively.⁷⁶ Another inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta dated 113 G. E. or 431 A. D. records the setting up of an image at Mathurā.⁷⁷ It would thus appear that that religion had not many adherents or patrons about this time.

CAUSES OF THE PREVIOUS DECLINE OF BRAHMANISM AND ITS
REVIVAL AND RENOVATION AT THIS PERIOD.

The vigorous Brahmanical revival we have been considering must have been due, in a large measure, to the natural decay of early Buddhism. It was this Buddhism that had supplanted Brahmanism in popular favour, and for the four or five centuries that it enjoyed the ascendancy it had acquired, Brahmanism and the Sanskrit language and literature were neglected. The Brahmins themselves regarded their decline as due to the triumph of Buddhism. Subandhu in one of his puns in the *Vāsavadattā* tells us that the Buddha doctrine had brought about the destruction of the system based on the words of the Veda.⁷⁸ If so, the Brahmanic revival must be regarded as synchronous with the decline of early Buddhism and the rise of Mahāyānism. According to all accounts it was Nāgārjuna, the contemporary of Kanishka, that gave a distinct form to this Buddhism⁷⁹; though the movement may have begun a little earlier. As, according to our view, Kanishka reigned in the last quarter of the third century, the revival of Brahmanism must have already begun before that period. But the ascendancy of early Buddhism was not the only cause that had kept down Brahmanism. For about a century before Christ and three centuries and a half after, there was no powerful Brahmanic prince; and this is shown by the Gupta inscriptions already noticed, which state that the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty, had gone out of use for a long time, and also by the fact that no inscription or coin reports the existence of such a prince during the period. This circumstance must have been the result of the political condition of the country. It was overrun again and again by foreign invaders, each of whom established his power for a short time and had to yield to another. The Śakas of Mālwa and Kāthiawād only retained their sovereignty for about three hundred years. The argument which has been advanced that these foreign

⁷⁶ *Ib.* Nos. 61 and 15.

⁷⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II., p. 210.

⁷⁸ कश्चिद्बौद्धसिद्धान्त इव क्षपितश्रुतिवचनदर्शनोभवत् ! p. 297, Hall's Ed.

⁷⁹ Wassiljew *Germ. Tran.* p. 128.

princes held a comparatively small portion of the country, and could not have influenced its literary and religious condition for the worse has no weight. The unsettled condition of the country consequent on their frequent invasions rendered the rise of a supreme Brahmanic ruler impossible; and the foreigners themselves could not be expected to favour Brahmanism in a manner to enable it to deprive Buddhism of its ascendancy. Some of them were no doubt Hinduized, but they were not Brahmanized. And the Brahmans themselves complained of their being neglected by the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas, as will hereafter be shown in connection with a passage from Manu and the Mahâbhârata.

PATRONS OF THE BRAHMANIC REVIVAL AND RENOVATION,—WEMA-KADPHISES.

Wema-Kadphises however seems to have become a more thorough Hindu than any other foreign prince, and in his time the Brahmanic revival may be understood to have truly begun, *i.e.*, in the middle of the third century of the Christian era. We have seen that his coins bear a figure of Nandin and Śiva on the reverse, and he styles himself a worshipper of Maheśvara or a member of the Mâheśvara sect. The Śakas had figures of Greek deities on their coins, and there are no distinct indications on them, or on those of the Parthians, of any Indian deity. But with Wema-Khadphises what might almost be called a revolution in this respect begins. His Kushana successors continue their respect for Brahmanic deities, but extend it also to those of the Greeks, and Zoroastrians, as well as to Buddha. Kadphises, however, could not have been a patron of the old Vedic religion, nor of Brahmans in particular as a sacred caste, nor of the Sanskrit language and literature. An all-sided revival and renovation could proceed only under the patronage of Hindu princes. And such were the Guptas.

THE GUPTAS,—SAMUDRAGUPTA AND CHANDRAGUPTA II. OR
VIKRAMÂDITYA ŚAKÂRI.

The fact that the inscriptions recording gifts to Brahmanic deities and for the daily sacrifices begin about the end of the fourth century shows unmistakeably that the Brahmanic revival derived its force and vigor from the patronage of the Gupta princes. Samudragupta and Kumâragupta performed, as we have seen, the horse-sacrifice, which had gone out of use. The former is represented in his Allaha-

bad inscription to have acquired the title of "Prince of poets" by writing works which served as models for learned men or pleased them.⁸⁰ He patronized poets, and thus put an end to the hostility between good poetry and worldly prosperity.⁸¹ The tradition about a Vikramāditya, who was *Sakāri* or enemy of the Śakas and drove them and other foreigners out of the country and patronized learning, is appropriately applicable only to Chandragupta II. of all the princes who flourished before him and after, and whose names have come down to us. For he conquered Mālwa, as we have seen, before 400 A. D., and probably in 388 or 389 A. D. and exterminated the Śakas, i. e., the Satraps of Mālwa, whose latest date is 388 A. D., and drove out the Kushanas since he is the earliest Gupta prince whose inscription is found at Mathurā, a town which belonged to the Kushanas.⁸² He assumed the title of Vikramāditya, which we find on his coins.⁸³ He made Ujjayinī his capital. For, certain chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in the Dhârwar district give themselves in their inscriptions the title of *Ujjayanīpuravarādhitāvara*, which, like similar titles, found in other places, signifies that they belonged to a family which once reigned in glory at Ujjayinī. They trace their descent through Vikramāditya, specified as king of Ujjayinī, and are styled full moons of the ocean of nectar in the shape of the lineage of Chandragupta. Ujjayinī was thus the capital of the Guptas from whom the Dharwar Guptas derived their descent. The Chandragupta and Vikramāditya mentioned in their inscriptions are, it will be observed, one and the same person, and it is but right that he should be mentioned above all; for it was he who drove away the foreigners and first established himself at Ujjayinī. In one place, however, instead of *Ujjayinī* we have *Pāṭalī* in the title, showing that Pāṭaliputra, the original capital, had not been forgotten by the Southern Guptas.⁸⁴ There is no other Vikramāditya whose existence is authenticated by any contemporary document and who can be construed as the destroyer of Śakas. The supposition of the existence of one in the middle of the sixth century has no ground to stand on. Now, though Chandragupta II. was Vikramāditya Śakāri, the patron

⁸⁰ विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेककाव्याक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य. L. 27.

⁸¹ सत्काव्यविरोधान्बुधगुणितगुणाज्ञाहतानेव कृत्वा

⁸² See D. R. Bhandarkar's paper, pp. (31-32).

⁸³ Jour. B. A. S., Jan. 1883, pp. 91, 82, 78, 76.

⁸⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II. Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, p. 578.

of learning, it is by no means necessary to suppose that all the celebrated nine gems flourished at his court. Tradition often jumbles together persons and things belonging to different times and places. Varāhamihira, who died in 509 Śaka, or 587 A. D., and the epoch year of whose *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is 427 Śaka, or 505 A. D., cannot have flourished at the court of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, who died between 411 and 414 A. D. But that Vikramāditya Śakāri was a patron of learning is stated by the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. He is said to have made a poet of the name of Mātrigupta, king of Kāśmīr, and Mātrigupta had a poet dependent on him of the name of Menṭha or Bhartrimeṭha, so that these two were contemporaries of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya. The date assigned by Cunningham to Mātrigupta is 430 A. D., which is not far removed from that of the Gupta prince as determined from his inscriptions. Menṭha has been associated with Vikramāditya by the compilers of anthologies who ascribe a certain verse to their joint authorship.⁸⁵

KĀLIDĀSA.

And some of the nine gems, perhaps Kālidāsa himself, may have lived during the reign of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya. Mallinātha, in his comment on verse 14 of the *Meghadūta*, states that there is in that verse an implied allusion to an opponent of Kālidāsa, named Diṇnāga. This person is supposed to be the same as the celebrated Buddhist logician of that name, known also to Brahmanic writers; and the supposition is, I think, very probable. He is said to have been a pupil of a Buddhist patriarch of the name of Vasubandhu; and the date of the latter, and consequently that of his pupil and of Kālidāsa, has been determined by Professor Max Müller to be the middle of the sixth century. But the Professor goes, I think, upon the chronological traditions reported by the Chinese, and does not attach due weight to certain facts which necessitate our placing Vasubandhu earlier. One of Vasubandhu's works was translated into Chinese in the year 404 A. D. and another about the year 405 A. D.⁸⁶ This shows that Vasubandhu must have flourished before 404 A. D. At the same time the Chinese authorities make him a contemporary of King Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī,⁸⁷ or of Sāketa, since the

⁸⁵ लिप्यतीव तमोद्भवानि वर्षतावाञ्जनं नमः which occurs in the *Mṛcchhakatika*.

⁸⁶ Cat. Bunyiu Nanjio, Nos. 1188 and 1218.

⁸⁷ Wassiljew, *Geim Trans.*, p. 84.

town was situated in that province. If he was a contemporary of that King, the King may have lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Sāketa, or Ayodhyā, over which he ruled was a province belonging to the Guptas; and the attitude of the King towards the Bauddhas was hostile, as he convoked assemblies of learned Buddhists and Brahmins, for religious disputations, in which the former were defeated and lost the King's support.⁸⁸ For these reasons the Vikramāditya, whose contemporary Vasubandhu was, must in all likelihood have been the Brahmanic Gupta prince, Chandragupta-Vikramāditya. And if he held his court at Śrāvastī and is represented to have ruled over Sāketa, the time referred to must be that previous to the conquest of Mālwā, which took place about 389 A. D., and after which the King in all probability resided at Ujjayinī. Vasubandhu therefore lived in the last quarter of the fourth century; and his pupil Dinnāga, about the end of that century; and if Kālidāsa was his contemporary, he too must have lived about that time and thus have been one of the gems at Vikramāditya's court.

LITERARY REVIVAL AND RENOVATION.

If then after several centuries of neglect on the part of princes and people, Brahmanism began to rise in influence and importance under Wema-Kadphises about the middle of the third century after Christ, and made rapid strides in the time of the Gupta Emperors, we might expect the Brahmins to make every effort to widen their influence and render it permanent. And this is what, I think, we do find. With that object they gave a new and more popular shape to the literature of their creed and re-arranged it in a manner to meet the wants and be in harmony with the changed feelings of an increased number of followers, and strengthen their hold over them. They made a great endeavour to place it on a philosophical basis and show that the creed of their opponents had no such basis. This, therefore, was the age when metrical Smṛitis, Purāṇas, and Bhāṣhyas or commentaries containing explanatory, apologetic, and controversial matter began to be written; and the general literary impulse was communicated to other branches of learning including poetry. We shall now proceed to the elucidation of this point.

⁸⁸ Hienon Tsiang's Travels, Beal's Trans. Vol. I., p. 106 ff.; Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., p. 240.

WORKS ON RELIGIOUS LAW.

In the olden times, the works on religious law existed in the form of Sûtras or prose aphorisms, and they were identified with particular schools or Śākhās of Brahmans. We have thus the Dharma and Grihya Sûtras of Āpastamba, of Baudhāyana, Kaṭha, Āśvalāyana, &c. But afterwards books written in Anuśṭubh ślokas came to be used. They prescribed the same rules as those given in the Dharma and Grihya Sûtras, and in some cases a close resemblance has been found to exist between the words and expressions used in the Sûtras and the metrical Law-books or Smritis. Thus the Sûtras on the Vināyakaśānti in the Kaṭha Sûtra are reproduced almost word for word in the corresponding portion of the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.⁸⁹ But in the new books the exposition is plainer than in the Sûtras, which were primarily meant to be supplemented by oral explanation. Here, therefore, is an attempt to disentangle the Brahmanic religious law from the narrow schools to which it was before attached, and put it in a form intelligible and applicable to all Brahmanic Hindus. Hence is the choice of the Anuśṭubh śloka instead of the old Sûtras, as it was used ordinarily for all literary purposes. But in the revised Hindu Law certain customs such as the killing of cows even for sacrificial purposes, and levirate, the feeling against which had grown strong were prohibited; while a compromise was effected in the case of others which had not become unpopular to that extent. The old precept, for instance, about eating the flesh of five species of animals was hedged round by a number of restrictions; but in order to satisfy the claims of the old Vedic religion, the slaughter of some of them was freely allowed in religious rites. These metrical Smritis, therefore, it would not be wrong to refer to about the Kushana-Gupta period. There is a passage in the Smṛiti of Manu, in which it is stated that certain native Indian tribes, such as the Puṇḍrakas and the Draviḍas, and the Yavanas Śakas, and Pahlavas, were originally Kshatriyas, but they became Śūdras by their setting the Brahmans at defiance and gradually ceasing to perform the religious rites.⁹⁰ In a chapter in the Ānuśāsanika Book of the Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma says to Yudhisṭhira "that the highest duty of a crowned king is to worship learned Brahmans; they should be protected as one protects oneself or one's children; and be respected, bowed to, and revered as if they were

⁸⁹ See Bradke on *Mānava Gr. S. Jour. Germ. Or. S.*, vol. XXXVI., p. 427ff.

⁹⁰ X-43-44.

one's parents. If Brahmans are contented, the whole country prospers; if they are discontented and angry, everything goes to destruction. They can make a god not a god, and a not-god a god. One whom they praise prospers, one whom they reproach, becomes miserable. The different Kshatriya tribes, Śakas, Yavanas, and Kāmbojas became Śūdras through not seeing or following Brahman." ⁹¹ In these passages a Kshatriya origin is supposed in order that the Śūdrahood of these tribes, which was consequent on their being beyond the Āryan pale and which, as stated before, is plainly asserted by Patañjali in the case of two of them, may appear as the result of their not paying deference to Brahman. This shows that the neglect of the sacerdotal caste by the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and other tribes was uppermost in the minds of those who invented a Kshatriya origin for them; and the passages and especially the chapter in the Mahābhārata look as if they were written when the foreign domination had come to a close and the Brahman had fully triumphed, and were anxious to preserve their newly gained influence. The chapter, therefore, must have been interpolated into the epic in the Gupta period, and the Smṛiti of Manu based on a previous Sūtra work and traditional or floating texts, ⁹² composed at about the same time. The Mahābhārata, however, already existed in its full form at the period; for it is mentioned by name in copperplate inscriptions of the years 174 G. E. (492-3 A. D.) and 177 G. E. (495-6 A. D.) and two more, and as a Śatasāhasrī or a work of a hundred thousand verses in one of the year 214 G. E. (532-3 A. D.). ⁹³ But it can hardly admit of a reasonable doubt that it was retouched about this period.

WORKS ON THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL.

The works on the sacrificial ritual and especially the Bhāṣyas or great commentaries on the Sūtras of the several Vedas or Śākhās must have begun to be written about this time. Since the sacrificial religion was being revived, the necessity of a definite and authoritative ritual was felt; and as the sacrifices had been out of use for a long time, knowledge of the ritual was rare and vague. The names of the writers of the Bhāṣyas and other works on the ritual end in the honorific title *Svāmin*, such as a Devasvāmin, the commentator on the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana; Bhavasvāmin, on that of Baudhāyana; Dhūrtasvāmin on that of Āpas-

⁹¹ Chap. 33.

⁹² See below, p. 49.

⁹³ Dr. Fleet's Early Gupta Inscr. Nos. 26, 27, 28, 30 and 31.

tamba; Agnisvâmin on that of Latyâyana, &c. This title we find used in Central India in the last quarter of the fifth century and the first of the sixth. In the copperplate charter dated 474-5 A. D., 481-2 A. D. and 509-10 A. D. issued by the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas occur such names as Gopasvâmin,⁹⁴ Bhavasvâmin,⁹⁵ Devasvâmin the son of Agnisvâmin, Govindasvâmin,⁹⁶ &c., among the grantees. In the Dekkan we find the title affixed to the names of some of the grantees in the copperplates issued by the princes of the early Châlukya dynasty in the second half of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth; and we have such names as Kêśavasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, and Devasvâmin which are the names of writers of commentaries on the sacrificial Sûtras and other works on the ritual. The title *Svâmin* is indicative of the period between the fourth and the tenth centuries; for we do not find it used later.

PURÂNAS.

The idea of recasting the Purâṇas into their present form must have originated about this time. They existed long before, since they are alluded to in the Upanishads and Śrautasûtras, but their contents must have been strictly in accordance with the rule given by Amarasiṃha in his lexicon, and embraced an account of the creation and dissolution of the world, of the different families of Rishis and princes, and of the deeds of the most heroic among them, and of the Manvantaras or different ages of the world. But now the necessity of glorifying the different gods and goddesses whose worship was rising in favour and of firmly inculcating other religious duties had been felt; and new Purâṇas were composed having the framework of the old but with new matter introduced on every occasion. Thus, if we compare the chapters on Creation in the Vâyu, the Liṅga, and Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇas, we shall find not only a similarity of contents but of language also. The Vishṇu contains an abridged account of the matter but oftentimes the words are the same. Most of the existing Purâṇas, perhaps all, were written to promote the worship of particular deities, Vishṇu, Śiva, and Durgâ in their several forms, or to strengthen the authority of the religious practices that had begun to prevail. The Vâyu appears to be one of the oldest of these works, as it is quoted in Saṃkarâchârya's Bhâṣhya. It mentions the Guptas, as I have already observed, as ruling alongside of the Gaṅgâ, over Prayâga, Sâketa and Magadha

⁹⁴ Fleet's E. G. Inscr. No. 21.

⁹⁵ Ib. No. 22.

⁹⁶ Ib. No. 23.

If this verse has undergone no corruption and was advisedly put in, the Purāṇa in which we find it must have been written before Chandragupta-Vikramāditya conquered Mālwa and Mathurā and drove out the foreigners, that is, before the last quarter of the fourth century. The Vishnu has the text in a corrupt form. As the Purāṇa editors did not care very much for the matter which did not immediately concern their purpose, they were not careful to give the original before them correctly and even misunderstood it. The Vishnu is evidently later than the Vāyu. The Purāṇas began to be recast when the worship of Hindu deities rose in popular estimation about the time of Wema-Kadphises *circa* 250 A. D., and the process continued through the Gupta period to a much later date and new Purāṇas appeared from time to time; and it has hardly ceased even to this day, since we find Māhātmyas springing up now and then though not Purāṇas in a complete shape.

FLOATING LITERATURE.

In considering the question of the recasting of the works on the religious creed of the Brahmans and those on mythology, it should be borne in mind that the art of writing was introduced into India at a comparatively late period, and even afterwards was resorted to very rarely. Hence literary works and detached verses containing religious and moral precepts and beautiful poetic sentiments were, in the olden times, composed and transmitted orally. In the case of the latter the name of the author was forgotten; and there was thus a floating mass of anonymous verses in the mouths of the learned. When, therefore, systematic writing had to be resorted to, to give fixity and permanence to the creed, and when it came to be generally used even for purposes of profane literature, these floating verses were appropriated or used by several writers. Hence it is that we often find the same verses in such works as the Smṛiti of Manu, the Mahābhārata, and even in Pāli Buddhistic works, and sometimes, though very rarely, in dramatic plays and poems also. This source, therefore, was also drawn upon by the writers of Smṛitis and Purāṇas in the Gupta period, in addition to those already indicated.

ASTRONOMY.

Like the Dharma and the legendary-lore, the astronomy of the Hindus was also recast on the same principle as that which guided

the re-edition of those two branches, *viz.*, to put it in a form suited to the condition of the new times. Hence the old astronomical elements were combined with such ones of a Greek origin as had found acceptance among the Hindus, and some new elements discovered or thought out by the writers themselves being added, the works known as the original five Siddhāntas arose.⁹⁷ As in the case of the new works on the first two subjects, the name of a profane author was not connected with these works; but it was expressly stated or left to be understood that they were composed by old Munis or gods. Dr. Thibaut thinks that two of them the Romaka and the Paulīśa must have been composed not later than 400 A.D. Probably all the Siddhāntas were written about the middle of the fourth century or even earlier, especially as they were held in reverence by Varāhamihira who wrote about them in the middle of the sixth century. A direct borrowing from any particular Greek work is not contended for by anybody. As in the case of the art of coinage, the knowledge of some elements of Greek astronomy must have reached the Hindus through the Bactrians, the Śakas, and and the other foreign races with whom they came in contact; and this was made use of in their works when the Brahmins gained or regained influence in the fourth century. All the celebrated Indian astronomers flourished after this period. Āryabhaṭa was born in 476 A.D. and Varāhamihira died, as already stated, in 587 A.D.

MĪMĀṂSĀ.

Subandhu in his Vāsavadattā tells us that the doctrine of Tathāgata or Buddha was destroyed or attacked by those who followed the system of Jaimini.⁹⁸ The earliest of these followers whose works are extant is Śabaravāmin, the author of the Mīmāṃsābhāṣya. Śabaravāmin establishes the existence of the soul as an independent entity and not identical with the feelings, which are phenomenal only, against the Bauddhas generally, and the reality of the external word against the followers of the Yogācāra School, and refutes the nihilism taught by the Mādhyamika

⁹⁷ See Dr. Thibaut's Intr. to his Ed. of the Pañchasiddhāntikā pp. xlix to l.

⁹⁸ In the run contained in the expression केचिज्जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव तथा गतमर्तध्वंसिनः ।

School.⁹⁹ The Yogāchāra School was founded by Āryāsaṅga, or Asaṅga, who was the elder brother of Vasubandhu, the preceptor of Diñnāgachārya. Āryāsaṅga was thus a contemporary of Vasubandhu,¹⁰⁰ and lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Śābarasvāmin, therefore, probably composed his Bhāshya, on Jaimini, in the fifth century and we have seen that the honorific title, *Śvāmin* which he bore, was in use in that century. Kumārila was the writer of a Vārtika on the Bhāshya, and he was a strong combatant. He flourished about the end of the seventh century. There was another school of the Mīmāṃsā, thoroughly atheistic, founded by Prabhākara. But it appears to have been soon neglected. All these writers laboured also to establish the authoritative-ness of the Vedas and their eternity against the objections urged by the Buddhists and Jainas.

LOGIC, DIALECTICS, AND SĀṂKHYA.

Buddhists and Brahmans carried on controversies in the field of logic also. The well-known passage in the beginning of Vāchaspati's work, entitled Vārtikatātparyatīkā, gives us valuable information about the matter. "The revered Akshapāda having composed the Śāstra calculated to lead to eternal bliss, and an exposition of it having been given by Pakshilasvāmin, what is it that remains and requires that a Vārtika should be composed? Though the author of the Bhāshya has given an exposition of the Śāstra, still modern (scholars) Diñnaga and others having enveloped it in the darkness of fallacious arguments, that exposition is not sufficient for determining the truth; hence the author of the Uddyota dispels the darkness by his work the Uddyota, *i. e.*, light (torch)."¹⁰¹ Vāchaspati here calls Diñnaga a modern in comparison with Pakshilasvāmin or Vātsyāyana, the author of the Bhāshya. If he had correct information, Vātsyāyana must be supposed to have lived about two or more centuries before Diñnaga. But it can hardly be expected that he should have a correct historical knowledge of the matter. It is, therefore, not unlikely, especially in view of the fact that the title *Śvāmin* is given to the author, that

⁹⁹ Ed. Bibl. Ind. pp. 19ff., 8, 9. Kumārila, in his Ślokavārtika indicates that Śābara refutes in the last two cases the doctrines of the Yogāchāra and Mādhyamika Schools.

¹⁰⁰ Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., pp. 146, 226 and 237.

¹⁰¹ See Ed. in the Vizianagram Series, p. 1.

he flourished about half a century before Diñnāga, *i.e.*, about the middle of the fourth century. Bhāradvāja or the author of the Uddyota, is, as is well known, mentioned by Subandhu, who again is praised by Bāṇa in the middle of the seventh century. He may therefore have flourished in the middle of the sixth century, or even earlier. In later times Buddhist doctrines in logic and metaphysics were criticised by the Vedāntins Sāṅkarāchārya and his pupil Sureśvara. The Sāṅkhya philosophy also was revived by Īśvarakṛishṇa, who wrote the Sāṅkhya Kārikās.¹⁰² The oldest commentary on the work is that by Gauḍapādāchārya. The Kārikās and the commentary were translated into Chinese between the years 557 A. D. and 569 A. D. The Kārikās are in the Āryā metre, and this metre is used by Āryabhata and others, and appears to have been a favourite with the writers of the period. An author quoted by Dr. Hall says that Kālidāsa composed the Kārikās in the name of Īśvarakṛishṇa, or using the name Īśvarakṛishṇa. Whether this is true or not all that we know about Īśvarakṛishṇa is not inconsistent with the supposition that he flourished in the beginning of the fifth century.

ORNATE POETRY.

Sanskrit poetry was cultivated and appreciated more generally in this period than it could have been in the preceding ages, when the language itself was not generally studied and the Prākṛits were in favour. I have already spoken about Kālidāsa and Bhartṛimēṭha. Though the dates of all the poets from whose works we have excerpts in our anthologies are not known, my general feeling is that none of the writers of ornate poetry quoted therein is older than the fourth or the end of the third century. Āsvaghosha, the author of the Buddhacharita, which has often been compared to Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, was a contemporary of Kanishka, as is admitted by all, and lived, according to our interpretation of the Kushana dates, at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. Professor Max Müller started several years ago the theory of the "Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature." It was powerfully contested by several able scholars, and now it seems almost to have been given up. But there is no question that the inscriptions place

¹⁰² Ed. Sāṅkhyasāra, Preface, p. 29. I understand the passage
इश्वरकृष्णनान्न कालिदासेन कृताः कारिकाः as in the text.

clearly before us the facts of the decline of Brahmanism, the ascendancy of early Buddhism, and the neglect of the Sanskrit language and cultivation of the Prākṛits, from about the first century before Christ to about the middle of the fourth, and a powerful Brahmanic revival about the end of the century. This phenomenon may be called "Revival and Renovation of Brahmanism and of the Sanskrit Language and Literature." Professor Max Müller placed the Sakāri Vikramāditya in the middle of the sixth century, and assigned that period to the nine gems and later dates to the whole of modern Sanskrit literature. I have identified him with Chandra-gupta-Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty, who reigned about the end of the fourth century, and referred Kālidāsa to that period. Under this supposition most of the arguments used by the late Professor Bühler lose their weight; and the only Sanskrit inscription left for him to go upon is that of Rudradāman at Girnar of the year 150 A. D. But according to my way of understanding the matter, ornate poetry was not undeveloped or unknown in the centuries of Brahmanic depression; but the language chiefly used for its cultivation was one or other of the Prākṛits or Vernaculars, and Sanskrit was resorted to rarely. I attach full weight to the argument based upon the specimens of Sanskrit poetry occurring in the Mahābhāṣya. But I maintain that, like Brahmanism itself, it had not many votaries and was not extensively cultivated. With the restoration of Brahmanic influence in the Gupta period, it received a fresh start along with the other branches of literature we have passed under review; and just as there were earlier works in those branches, so were these earlier poetic works. The decline in the previous period was due not to any positive hostility of the foreign rulers, but to the popularity of early Buddhism and of the Prākṛit languages; and the only way in which the foreigners exercised a baneful influence was, as has been already indicated, by not patronizing Brahmanic learning in the manner in which a Brahmanic universal sovereign would have done, and rendering, by their frequent incursions and their power, the rise of such a one impossible.

ART. XXI.—*The Coins of Aḥmadābād.*

By REV. G. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., Aḥmadābād.

[Communicated, May 1900.]

The story of the founding of the city of Aḥmadābād has been told in considerable detail by more than one of the Muḥammadan historians of Gujārāt. From their writings we learn that Zafar Khān, a Tānk Rājput, whose father had embraced Islām and gained preferment at the court of Fīroz Taghlaq, was in 1391 A. D. appointed by the Sultān of Dehlī his viceroy in Gujārāt. The next few years witnessed a continual shrinkage of the Dehlī kingdom, province after province successfully revolting from under the imperial power, and in 1398 the invasion of the terrible Tīmūr Lang ("Tamerlane") practically completed the process of disintegration. It became thenceforward impossible for the Sultāns of Dehlī to maintain their hold over any province so remote as Gujārāt from the seat of Government, and though Zafar Khān seems, indeed, to have rendered a nominal allegiance till 1403, in that year he openly assumed independence, and in 1407, at the request of the chief men of the province, he formally mounted the throne under the title of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh. On his death in 1411 his grandson Aḥmad Shāh succeeded to the Saltanat of Gujārāt. This monarch, fond of the air and soil of Āshāval, a town already in the tenth century sufficiently important to be mentioned in the *Tārīkh al Hind* of Al Bīrūnī, determined to found there a city that should bear his own name and become the future capital of his kingdom. Accordingly, in the very year of his accession, he took counsel with the revered saint Shaiḥ Aḥmad Khattu, surnamed Ganj Bakhsh, or "the Treasure Giver," through whose aid the mysterious personage known to Muslim hagiographers as Al Khizr, held by some to be the prophet Elijah, and by others St. George, the patron saint of England, was invoked to appear before the royal presence. From him permission was obtained to found a city on the site desired, but on the singular proviso that four Aḥmads could be found who had never missed the afternoon prayer. The saint and the Sultān had each of them fulfilled this condition, and a search over Gujārāt yielded other two, a Shaiḥ Aḥmad and a Mullā Aḥmad. These four are said to have lined out with their own hands the four boundaries of the

city and some six years thereafter its fortifications were finished. Under the fostering hand of royalty the new capital rapidly grew in importance. It soon extended beyond its original limits, so that in process of time this city with its suburbs included not merely the sites of the earlier *Āshāval* and *Karaṇāvati*, but even covered, if tradition speaks truly, an area of thirty miles, while its population exceeded two millions. *Firishta*, in his brief but glowing description of the city, writes:—

“There are 360 different mahallas, each mahalla having a wall surrounding it. The principal streets are sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast. It is hardly necessary to add that this is on the whole the handsomest city in Hindūstān, and perhaps in the world.”—*Briggs' Firishta*, IV. 14.

(To the same effect are the words of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* at the close of its account of the founding of the city:—

“All four *Aḥmads* have ever since been praised, for by the blessing of their instrumentality the city is so charming to behold that in beauty it outrivals all the cities of the earth. Travellers have agreed that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful and charming and splendid.”—*Bayley's History of Gujarāt*, 90, 91.]

Now let us address ourselves to the question—What can one learn regarding the coins of *Aḥmadābād*? for it goes without saying that a city so important and so magnificent would certainly have a mint of its own. For a full century preceding the assumption of independence by *Zāfar Khān*, or more accurately from 1297 till 1403, the province of *Gujarāt* had been tributary to *Dehlī*, and its coins were the coins of the *Dehlī Sultāns*. In those days two means were commonly employed for making widely known any change in the Government. First, the name of the new monarch was inserted in the *Khutba*, or oration delivered on Fridays in every mosque at the time of *Zōhr*, or midday prayer. By this means all the “sons of the faithful” would be advised of the fact that the sovereignty of the land had changed hands, and that their allegiance should now be transferred to the new ruler. But a second way of conveying this information—and for *Hindū* subjects at least a more effective way—was the issuing of a new coinage, which should bear engraven on it the name of the monarch who had recently gained the throne. These freshly struck coins, circulating from town to town and passing from hand to hand, admirably served the purpose of proclaiming to all and sundry throughout the province the accession of a new king.

In conformity, then, with this recognized custom, coins were struck by the Sultāns of Gujarāt immediately on their defection from the Imperial Government of Dehlī. The earliest, however, of the new coins were issued not by Zafar Khān, the founder of the dynasty, but by his son Tātār Khān. Concerning this son very conflicting accounts have come down to us. The most probable story is "that Tātār Khān, taking advantage of the age and infirmities of his father, imprisoned him in the town of Āshāval, and forthwith caused himself to be proclaimed king. After a reign of little more than two months he died from poison administered in the interest, if not at the suggestion, of his father." Short though his reign was, the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* expressly mentions that Tātār Khān assumed the royal style of Muḥammad Shāh and the royal umbrella, and had the Khutba read and coins struck in his name. (See Bayley's *Gujarāt*, 82, note †.) His full title is variously given as either Ghiyāth, or Nāṣir, al Dunyā wa al Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. (See *ibid.* 81, note *.) The coins he struck are the earliest of the Gujarāt Saḷṭanat, but whether any have survived to the present day is doubtful. Nor, so far as I am aware, is a single specimen known of the coins issued a few years later by his father Zafar Khān. Reference to these occurs in the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadi*, which states that Zafar Khān, having in the year 810 H. (1407 A. D.) assumed the title of Muẓaffar Shāh, "struck coins in his own name, and appointed his "grandson, Aḥmad Shāh, to succeed him as his heir. He continued "to dispense justice, to punish the wicked, and to protect the poor, "till his grandson, Aḥmad Shāh, poisoned him in the year of the "Hijra 813."—*Bird's Gujarāt*, 183, 184.

"The *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* gives Muẓaffar Shāh's laqab, or title, as Shams al Dunyā wa al Dīn."—*Bayley's Gujarāt*, 84, note*.

Of Aḥmad Shāh's copper coins many are still to be found in the bāzārs of Gujarāt. Several are undated, but the earliest bearing a date would seem to be the silver coin represented on page 352 of Thomas's "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings of Dehlī." Its year 828 H. (1424 A. D.) is inscribed on the obverse, which further reads

Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muẓaffar Shāh, khald Khilāfat;

while the legend on the reverse reads

Al Sultān al 'azm Nāṣir al Dunyā wa al Dīn, Abu'l Fath.

(The earliest dated copper coin of this reign is of the year 830 H. (1429 A. D.), and from that time onwards, till the close of the dynasty consequent on the subjugation of Gujarāt by the Emperor Akbar in 980 H. (1572 A. D.), coins seem to have been struck by

the successive Sultāns in considerable abundance. A few billon coins have been met with bearing dates ranging between 861 and 869 H., but the earliest in gold, so far as I can learn, is of the year 929 H.]

No catalogue has yet been published of even an approximately complete set of the coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat. The collection in the British Museum is exceedingly meagre. The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1889 (Vol. LVIII., Part I., No. I.) contains an interesting and helpful article by Mr. E. E. Oliver on "the Coins of the Muḥammadan Kings of Gujarāt," in which thirty-four of these coins, thirteen in silver and twenty-one in copper, are figured. The list given by Mr. Thomas in his "Chronicles" includes in all forty-seven, namely, six in gold, eleven in silver, twenty-nine in copper, and one in billon. As a resident for some years in Aḥmadābād, it has been my good fortune to be exceptionally favourably situated for making a collection of these special coins, and my cabinet contains—

110	specimens in silver,
590	„ „ copper,
10	„ „ billon;

or a total of 710 specimens.

With twenty-six exceptions, every year between 830 and 980 H. (that is, between 1427 and 1572 A. D.) is represented in one or other of the metals. Though my collection is thus fairly adequate as far as dates are concerned, the coins unfortunately furnish only the scantiest information regarding the mint-towns at which they were struck. A few bear in their legends the name of Muṣṭafābād, and others apparently the name Meḥmadābād, both being towns founded by Maḥmūd Begaḏā within the first twenty years of his long reign. One may safely assume that many, if not indeed most, of the Gujarāt coins of this period must have issued from Aḥmadābād, the capital of the kingdom, yet none the less I have not come across a single coin in this series that can be assigned with absolute certainty to the Aḥmadābād mint. Numbers 4, 6, and 7 of Plate I. accompanying Mr. Oliver's article are, it is true, claimed by him for Aḥmadābād, but in all three specimens the correct reading seems to be Meḥmadābād. With the exception of a few silver and copper coins of Maḥmūd Begaḏā's reign, and possibly a very few of Aḥmad I.'s and Maḥmūd III.'s, none of the coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat, *i. e.*, none struck between 1403 and 1572 A. D., afford any indication as to their

place of mintage. These coins have hitherto received such slight attention that a complete description of them would supply a missing chapter in numismatics. Their description, however, would be out of place in a paper such as the present, which is limited definitely to the coins of Aḥmadābād.

Before passing on to the next series, the coins issued in the name of the new conquerors of the province, special reference should be made to three coins, remarkable as forming a link between the earlier and the later types. The last independent Sultān of Gujarāt was Muẓaffar III. In the year 980 H. (1572 A.D.) his kingdom was annexed to the Empire of Dehli, and thereafter the victorious Akbar transported the erewhile monarch to enforced, if splendid, retirement in Āgra. Eleven years later, however, and thus in 991 H., Muẓaffar, who had meantime fallen under royal suspicion and suffered imprisonment, managed to effect his escape to Gujarāt. Here he again raised his banner, and after a brief struggle obtained possession of the city of Aḥmadābād. During the six short months that he was able to maintain his government of the province, rupees were struck in his name. These rupees, however, are quite of a different type from the Maḥmūdīs current in Gujarāt prior to his exile, but they bear a close resemblance to the Mughal rupees, meanwhile introduced by Akbar. The specimen in my possession (No. 1) is round, being .85 of an inch in diameter and 170 grains in weight; thus a striking contrast to the issue of eleven years earlier, of which the weight was but 73 grains and measurement .62 of an inch. The later and larger coin fortunately bears the record of both its date and mint, being struck at Aḥmadābād in the year 991 H. (1583 A.D.). Both on the obverse and on the reverse a square is inscribed, bordered by double lines, with dots between. The obverse reads within the square,

Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh,
with the Hijrī year 991 above the Sīn of Sultān. Outside the square the lower margin gives as the mint-town Aḥmadābād, but the three remaining margins are illegible.

The reverse contains, within the square, the Kalima—

Lā ilāha illa'l-lāh, Muḥammad rasūlu'l-lāh :

There is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.

Its margins, also illegible, seem to have read on the specimen described by Mr. Oliver the names of the four Khalīfas and their Virtues.

Besides this very rare rupee, I have been able to secure two copper coins, which, though undated, I have no hesitation in ascribing to this same brief period of Muẓaffar's second reign. One weighs 170 grains and the other (No. 2)—a beautiful specimen—85 grains. The legend on each is identical, being on the obverse merely

Muẓaffar Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh,

and on the reverse,

Dār al Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

These simple readings, so widely different from those in the Gujarāt Salṭanat series, place the coins in a class of their own, while the title Dār al Ḍarb, "Seat of the Mint," a title never found on the regular coins of the Salṭanat, is met with on Mughal coins struck in Aḥmadābād in the years 982, 986, and 993 H. Hence one may safely conclude that these two dateless coins were issued from the Aḥmadābād mint during Muẓaffar's brief resumption of regal power in 991 H.

Besides Dār al Ḍarb, two other honorific epithets of Aḥmadābād are occasionally found engraven on its coins: to wit—

Dār al Khilāfat, "Seat of the Caliphate," and

Dār al Salṭanat, "Seat of the Empire";

but none of these titles occur in the coin-legends after the year 993 H. Just once again, however, the Aḥmadābād mint was associated with an honorific title, for a rupee struck in that city during the six months of the reign of Rafī' al Darajāt in 1131 H. (1719 A. D.) supplies us with the charming title Zīnat al Bilād, "the Beauty of Towns."

Pass we now to the Mughal coins of Aḥmadābād, the coins, that is to say, struck at the Aḥmadābād mint in the name of the Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān subsequent to Akbar's annexation of Gujarāt in 1572, and prior to the issue by the Honourable East India Company of a general British currency in 1835, hence during the period covering the 270 Hijrī years from 980 to 1250. For the coins which we shall now proceed to describe in some detail, I have depended for the most part on my own cabinet, but note has been taken of all the Aḥmadābād coins entered in the published Catalogues of the British Museum (B. M.), the Lāhor Museum (L. M.), and

the Calcutta Museum (C. M.). The following Table gives the number of coins comprised in each of the four collections:—

Collection.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Total.
B. M.	14	45	2	61
L. M.	2	55	4	61
C. M.	5	20	6	31
Taylor Cabinet.	0	187	102	289

Deducting duplicates, we obtain from the above four sources a resultant aggregate collection of 370 varieties, 17 being of gold, 243 of silver, and 110 of copper, and all issuing from the Aḥmadābād mint.

(Both muhrs and rupees have come down to us of the year 980 H. (1572-73 A. D.), the year that witnessed the conquest of Gujarāt, and the type of coin then adopted continued with but slight variation till 986 H.) The muhr of 980 (see British Museum Catalogue, No. 48) reads on its obverse in the central area,

جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي

Muḥammad Akbar, the Glory of the Faith, the Victorious King,

with the year 980 fairly in the middle of the coin.

Below the central area comes

دار الخلافة احمد آباد

Aḥmadābād, Seat of the Caliphate,

and above it

خلد الله تعالى ملكه

Allah, the Exalted, keep the kingdom for ever.

The inscription on the reverse contains the Kalima within an ornamental quatrefoil, and in the four marginal segments occur the names of the four Khalifas with their virtues, thus—

بصدق ابوبكر بعدل عمر بحيای عثمان بعلم علي

By the veracity of Abū Bakr, by the rectitude of 'Ūmar, by the modesty of 'Othmān, by the learning of 'Alī.

The 980 rupee (No. 3) is very similar to the muhr, but, instead of the Dār al Khilāfat Aḥmadābād, it has merely Dār Aḥmadābād, and on the reverse a simple linear square takes the place of the ornamental quatrefoil.

Between 982 and 986 H. the rupee (No. 4) had on both the obverse and the reverse a large central square bounded by double lines with dots between. Both year and mint are entered on the obverse, the former in the right-hand corner of the square, the latter on the lower margin.

[The rupees that have thus far engaged our attention are all round and broad and thin, their diameter measuring generally a full inch. It would seem, however, that in the year 987 H. (1579 A. D.) square coins (No. 5) were for the first time struck at the Aḥmadābād mint, and the type of coin then adopted continued current till the year 1000 H. While of the same weight as the previously issued round rupees, they are of smaller dimensions, the length of each side being only '8 of an inch, but increased thickness compensates for this reduction in size. The earlier legends are still retained both on the obverse and the reverse, but a new arrangement of them is now adopted.] The obverse consists of four lines, the uppermost of which reads

Khālad Allah ta'ālā mulkahu,

with the tail of the < which comes as the final consonant of ta'ālā prolonged backwards so as to form an upper border for the central portion of the inscription. The next line reads

Muḥammad Akbar, Pādshāh,

with the Hijrī date inserted in the bosom of the Kāf of Akbar. The following line is

Jalāl al Dīn, Ghāzī,

in which again the final < is utilized so as to make a lower border line for the central area. Under this comes the fourth line, which records the mint-town as

Dār al Dār Aḥmadābād.

The reverse of these square coins contains the Kalima inscribed in a smaller square, of which the four sides are ingeniously formed by lengthening some of the letters occurring in the names and virtues of the Four Companions, the remaining letters occupying the margins.

[After the year 1000 the Hijrī date never appears on any of Akbar's coins struck in Aḥmadābād. In its place is substituted the

In the very interesting article, "Some Novelties in Mughal Coins," contributed by Dr. White King, I.C.S., and Captain Vost, I.M.S., to the "Numismatic Chronicle," Vol. XVI, Third Series, mention is made of an Almadābād coin worthy of special note, since presenting in association with the Hijrī year, part of the later Akbarī Creed. The coin is a square quarter-rupee, measuring on each side 0·55 inch and bearing date 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.). Read from below upwards the legend on the obverse is ضرب الله اكبر and on the reverse ضرب احمد اباد

(solar) year reckoned according to the *Ilāhī San*, or 'Divine Era,' instituted by Akbar, and dating from the vernal equinox of 963 H., the year of his accession to the throne. Thus 1000 of the *Hijrī*, era corresponds to 1000-963, that is to 37, of the *Ilāhī*. (Now in that year and the next the coins (No. 6) that issued from the *Aḥmadābād* mint were in the main identical with the square rupees current during the preceding thirteen years, save in the noteworthy particular that, instead of the *Hijrī* dates 1000 and 1001, the years are now entered as 37 and 38.) In this respect these rupees reflect the religious changes then in process at the Imperial Court. Akbar had already abolished the official reckoning of the year from the date of Muḥammad's flight from Mecca, but he had not yet renounced the Muḥammadan Profession of Faith; and accordingly we find that the coins struck just at this stage in the process of change bear on their obverse the *Ilāhī* year, but on their reverse the *Kalima*. In the nature of things, so ambiguous a position could not continue long, and Akbar's defection from Islām soon became more pronounced. The revolt initiated by the institution of the *Ilāhī* era now culminated in Akbar's promulgation of a new creed, intended to supplant the Muslim *Kalima*. This new-fangled formula was, and still is, of doubtful interpretation. It may read

الله اكبر جل جلاله

Allah is most great, glorified be his glory;

but the more probable rendering is that accepted by the late Mr. Charles Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, to wit,

اكبر الله جل جلاله

Akbar is Allah, glorified be his glory.

It is most interesting to notice how Akbar's changing moods found expression not only in his official edicts, but also on his current coins. We have already seen that until the year 1000 H. the inscriptions on the *Aḥmadābād* rupees are all strictly orthodox—not yet had the religious vagaries of the imperial heretic extended to *Aḥmadābād*, or at least to the *Aḥmadābād* mint. Then in 1000 and 1001 H., or more accurately in 37 and 38 *Ilāhī*, the *Aḥmadābād* coins present the incongruous medley of the so-called Divine Era in association with the old Islāmic creed—clearly the change at Court had now begun and religious strife was brewing. And, lastly, from *Ilāhī* 38 right on to the close of Akbar's reign in *Ilāhī* 51, the

Muhammadan era and the Muhammadan creed were alike banished from the coins of Ahmadābād, which now exhibit, with consistent heterodoxy, only the Ilāhī Era (with Persian month) and the Akbarī Creed—evidently the divorce from Islām was now complete. Even after this radical change in the inscriptions had been effected, the square form of coin was still retained during the two years 38 and 39 Ilāhī (No. 7), and of this type beautiful specimens may be seen not only of the full rupee, but also of the smaller denominations, the half, the quarter, and the eighth. From 39 to 51, however, the round coin entirely supersedes the square.

Most of the rupees of this period (No. 8) are characterized by a severe simplicity of design. The obverse legend, in two lines of long heavy letters, reads

Akbar Allah, jalla jalālūhu.

The reverse contains in its upper line the name of the ancient Persian month and the word Ilāhī written in full, with the tail of the final \leftarrow sprawling backwards right across the coin. Below this come the figures of the Ilāhī year, and to the left the place of mintage, Ahmadābād, while below both stands the technical term Darb, "minted at."

The rupees, however, struck during part of the Ilāhī year 47 (No. 9) furnish a striking exception to the prevailing plainness of the Ahmadābād coins of the period, and relieve the general monotony of design. On the obverse is Akbar's Creed within a linear square, bearing on each of its sides a simple ornamental device. This all is encompassed by a wavy diamond border, itself inscribed in a double circle with dots between. The field of the reverse is an octagon, each of the eight sides of which supports a somewhat florid decoration, the whole circumscribed, as on the obverse, by two concentric circles with intervening dots. The issue in Ahmadābād of these remarkably beautiful rupees seems to have been limited to the first eight months of the Ilāhī year 47, but specimens are known of rupees of a very similar design minted at Lāhor in each of the four years from 47 to 50 Ilāhī.

In now briefly summarizing the results arrived at regarding the gold and silver coinage of Ahmadābād in Akbar's reign, we find as to the gold that only four muhrs in all are preserved in the British Museum and the Museums in Calcutta and Lāhor. These muhrs are dated 980, 982, 983, and 986 H., and resemble in type the rupees of the same years.

The silver coinage admits of division into five sufficiently distinct periods :—

1. From 980—986 H. (Nos. 3 and 4), when the rupees were round and thin, and bore on their obverse the Hijrī year of issue, and on their reverse the Kalima, associated in the margins with the names and virtues of the Four Khalifas.

2. From 987—1000 H. (No. 5), during which years the chief change introduced was in the shape of the rupee, which was now made square and thick instead of round and thin.

3. The Ilāhī years 37 and 38 (No. 6), when these square rupees, while retaining on the reverse the Kalima, present on their obverse the Ilāhī in place of the Hijrī year.

4. The Ilāhī years 38 and 39 (No. 7), when the Kalima too was banished from the rupee, which, still a square coin, now bears not only the Ilāhī year, inscribed on the *reverse*, but also on its obverse the Akbarī Creed.

5. From Ilāhī 39—51 (Nos. 8 and 9), throughout which period the rupee, having reverted to its original round shape, remained otherwise unaltered, with both Ilāhī year and Akbarī Creed.

These variations are shown in the following Table :—

Period.	Form.	Year.	Creed.
980—986 H. ...	Round.	Hijrī.	Kalima.
987—1000 H. ...	Square.	„	„
Ilāhī 37 and 38 ...	„	Ilāhī.	„
Ilāhī 38 and 39 ...	„	„	Akbarī.
Ilāhī 39—51 ...	Round.	„	„

[Though most of the specimens now to be met with have lost a few grains by wear, the original weight of the rupee in all the five periods was uniformly 180 grains.]

No reference has hitherto been made to Akbar's copper coinage in Ahmadābād, partly because it differs in its type so widely from the contemporary muhr and rupee, and partly because, being so little

known, it merits special detailed treatment. [While the British Museum contains but two Ahmadābād copper coins of Akbar's reign, the Lahor Museum three, and the Calcutta Museum five, it has been my good fortune to find, and nearly all in Ahmadābād itself, no less than 80 varieties. These coins thus form a unique collection, new to numismatics. The earliest specimen published of a copper coin of Akbar's is of the year 981 H., and hence of the year following the annexation of Gujarāt. From that date till 995 H., the one same type (No. 10) was consistently maintained.] Round in shape, on both the obverse and the reverse, the horizontal diameter was traced in dots closely flanked by two straight lines joined at their extremities by simple curves. The lower semi-circle of the obverse contains the legend

Darb Fulūs,

and the upper

Dār al Saltānat, Ahmadābād.

The inscription on the reverse, read from below upwards gives the Hijrī year, expressed in *words*, beneath which comes the same year in figures, preceded by the introductory formula *Fi sanah*, "in the year." Like most of the Mughol coins of the period, these fulūs are much worn, and have in consequence suffered considerable reduction in weight. (As they now turn the scale between the limits of 290 and 315 grains, one may infer with probability that the original weight was 320.) A unique Quarter Fulūs (No. 11) in my possession weighs 77 grains. The diameter of a Fulūs averages .9 of an inch, and the thickness of its edge .2.]

So far as I am aware, no specimen is forthcoming of an Ahmadābād Fulūs bearing a later Hijrī date than 995, and the next earliest dated coin is of the Ilāhī year 38, corresponding to 1001 H. and 1593 A. D. Hence with reference to the copper coinage of Ahmadābād current during the six years subsequent to 995 H., we are dependent entirely upon conjecture, and it becomes thus impossible to fix with precision the year in which the Ilāhī Era was first introduced on the Fulūs. It was, however, there in 38 Ilāhī (No. 12) and continued in vogue till the close of Akbar's reign. The design of the Ilāhī differs only slightly from that of the Hijrī Fulūs. On both we have alike on obverse and on reverse the horizontal diameter composed of dots flanked by a double line. In the obverse inscription of the Ilāhī Fulūs the only change now introduced is that the honorific epithet Dār al Saltānat, which, it will be remembered, had hitherto been prefixed to the mint-town Ahmadābād, is altogether

omitted. The reverse inscription, however, is entirely new. The upper semi-circle contains the word *Ilāhī* written in full, and to its right the year in figures, while the lower segment is reserved for the Persian name of the month in which the coin happened to be struck.

[In *Ilāhī* 40 a coin of quite a different type comes in evidence. No longer a *Fulūs*, it is now a *Tanka*] (No. 13), which designation is stamped on the coin itself. Its obverse reads in the upper line

Tanka Akbar *Shāhī*

with the final \leftarrow retracted backwards right across the face of the coin : and in the lower line

Darb Ahmadābād,

while, as a border round the rim, we have a double circle with intervening dots.

The reverse bears in the upper half the year in figures, followed by the word *Ilāhī*, of which also the final \leftarrow sweeps across the coin from left to right. The lower half records the Persian month of issue. Here, too, again we have, as on the obverse, the circumscribing double circle with dots between.

[These copper Tankas were current during the seven years from *Ilāhī* 40 to 46, and were of the following four denominations :—

1. The Large, or Double, Tanka, originally of 640 grains, hence twice the weight of the earlier *Fulūs* (No. 13).
2. The Small Tanka of 320 grains (No. 14).
3. The Half Small Tanka of 160 grains (No. 15).
4. The Quarter Small Tanka of 80 grains (No. 16).]

Of these the Double Tanka is not only a heavy, but a somewhat massive coin, being three-tenths of an inch thick, and measuring eleven-tenths of an inch in diameter.

[Yet once again the copper coins of Ahmadābād underwent a radical change, for in the *Ilāhī* year 46 the *Tānkis* superseded the Tankas, and thereafter held the field till Akbar's death, five years later. The coins of this final type are of three denominations, known as :—

1. The *Chau Tānkī* of 250 grains' weight (No. 17).
2. The *Do Tānkī* of 125 (No. 18).
3. The *Yak Tānkī* of 62 (No. 19).]

On these the obverse legend reads from above downwards

Akbar *Shāhī* *Chau* (or *Do* or *Yak*) *Tānkī*,

the long tail of the \leftarrow both in *Shāhī* and in *Tānkī* being elongated backwards.

The reverse upper half gives the Persian month, followed by the word *Ilāhī* with its final — too retracted, as usual, across the coin. Beneath this long line comes the year in figures, the mint-town *Ahmadābād*, and, lowest of all, the technical term *Ḍarb*. The average diameter of a *Chau Tānkī* piece is .8 of an inch, of a *Do Tānkī* .65, and of a *Yak Tānkī* .5.

[Thus, of Akbar's copper coins struck at the *Ahmadābād* mint, there are three distinct classes, the *Fulūs*, the *Tanka*, and the *Tānkī*, each having its own sub-classes.] My cabinet contains of the *Fulūs* eighteen specimens; also one Quarter *Fulūs*. It would seem that no Half *Fulūs* has yet been found. Of the large *Tankas*, I possess seven specimens, of the Small *Tankas* twelve, of the Half Small *Tankas* six, and of the Quarter Small *Tankas* three. Lastly, of the *Chau Tānkīs* twenty-seven specimens are in my collection, of the *Do Tānkīs* five, and of the *Yak Tānkīs* one.

The following Table shows the class of copper coin current in *Ahmadābād* at different periods in Akbar's reign, subsequent to his conquest of *Gujarāt*.

Period.		Class of Copper Coin.
980—995 H.	...	<i>Fulūs</i> (also $\frac{1}{4}$ F.) with <i>Hijrī</i> year (Nos. 10, 11).
996—1001 H.	...	<i>Deest</i> .
<i>Ilāhī</i> 38—40	...	<i>Fulūs</i> with <i>Ilāhī</i> year (No. 12).
<i>Ilāhī</i> 40—46	...	<i>Tanka</i> (Large, Small, $\frac{1}{2}$ Small, and $\frac{1}{4}$ Small) (Nos. 13—16).
<i>Ilāhī</i> 46—51	...	<i>Tānkī</i> (<i>Chau</i> = 4; <i>Do</i> = 2; and <i>Yak</i> = 1) (Nos. 17—19).

Having now completed our survey of the coins struck at the mint of *Ahmadābād* in Akbar's name we pass on to the consideration of a little known, but especially interesting, group of rupees and *Chau Tānkīs*, bearing the name of Akbar's son and successor, *Salim*, more familiar to students of history under the name of *Jahāngīr*, which he assumed on his accession to the throne. Of these coins the British Museum has only two specimens, and the *Lāhor Museum* three, but

in Ahmadābād itself I have been able to secure thirteen in all, nine in silver and four in copper.

The rupee (No. 20) bears on its obverse the inscription.

سالم شاه سلطان اکبر شاه

The Sultān Salīm Shāh, (son of) Akbar Shāh.

followed by the Persian month and year, but with a marked absence of the heretical term Ilāhī.

The reverse reads

مالک الملک مسکه زد بر زر ضرب احمد آباد

The king of the kingdom struck coin in gold, minted at Ahmadābād.

One coin (No. 21), which is, I believe, unique, contains on its obverse alone the full legend

Sultān Salīm Shāh Akbar Shāh

Mālik al Mulk Sikka zad bar zar;

while its reverse follows in every detail the type of Akbar's latest rupees, reading Ilāhī with the tail of the < retracted backwards, above which comes the Persian month Abān, and below the year five, with the words Darb Ahmadābād.

The copper coins (No. 22) of this group resemble this last rupee in their reverse, but the obverse inscription, as usual with coins of the baser metal, is much simpler, reading merely

Shāh Salīmī Chau Tānkī.

Of the total thirteen coins the regnal year is visible on nine, each of which is dated either two or five. I have never seen a single specimen of any other year. Stanley Lane-Poole, referring to the two Salīmī coins in the British Museum, hazards the suggestion that they may have been struck during Salīm's governorship of Gujarāt; and, if this conjecture be correct, that governorship must thus, on the evidence of the coins themselves, have lasted as long as five years. But the Prince Murād was the only one of Akbar's sons who held the viceroyalty of Gujarāt, and during the three and thirty years of Akbar's reign, subsequent to his annexation of the province, it is impossible to make out the five years required for Salīm's governorship. Those thirty-three years are all covered by the tenures of office of nine viceroys, the name and date of each of whom are perfectly well known.

It remains, then, a difficult problem to explain how coins came to be struck at all in Ahmadābād in the name of Salīm Shāh Sulṭān, and especially puzzling is it to account satisfactorily for the years two and

five. The late Mr. Rodgers, in the very last letter he wrote me suggested that these coins may have appeared when Salīm was in rebellion against his father, being issued possibly by partisans in fond anticipation of the rebel prince effecting a victorious entry into Ahmadābād. A like anticipatory issue of rupees took place, as we shall see, in the fateful year of Nādir Shāh's invasion of India. But this ingenious hypothesis seems incompatible with the year five found on several of the coins, for the rebellion raised by Salīm is explicitly termed in Catrou's Manouchi (page 134) "the disobedience of a few months."

* * * *

[Of the coins struck at Ahmadābād during the first six years of Jahāngīr's reign, that is, from 1014—1019 H., or 1605—1610 A.D., one of the most notable features is their increased weight—the rupee, which in Akbar's reign had remained constantly at 180 grains, now rising in the first three years to 215, and in the next three to 222.] This increase was effected for the most part by adding to the thickness of the coins. The copper coins of the same period were also enhanced very considerably in weight, two in my possession, of the second regnal year, weighing ~~367 and 372~~ grains over against the 320 of Akbar's Fulūs and (Small) Tanka, and a third coin, of the fourth year, as much as 393 grains.]

[Between the years 1014 and 1017 H. the Ahmadābād rupees (No. 23) were all of a uniform type. Their obverse inscription reads from below upwards,

نورالدين محمد جهانگیر پادشاه غازی

The Light of the Faith, Muhammad Jahāngīr, the Victorious King, and quite at the bottom Sanah, with the figure denoting the regnal year.

The reverse gives the Kalima, below which comes Darb Ahmadābād and the Hijrī year.

It is well known that on the larger number of Jahāngīr's coins Persian distichs, or *bait*s, were engraven, with which, in many cases, the name of the mint-town was blended. [The first of such coins to issue from the Ahmadābād mint would seem to have been struck in the fourth year of his reign, and the type of coin then introduced (No. 24) continued in vogue for the three years from 1017 to 1019 H. The Kalima, which, as we have just noticed, had a place on the immediately preceding rupees, is now abandoned, and does not re-appear on any of

the later coins of this reign. In its stead, the first couplet that found favour was as follows:—

سکه زد در احمدآباد از عنایات اله
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

Shāh Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Pādshāh,
Struck coin in Ahmadābād by the blessings of God—

which distich was contained part on the obverse and part on the reverse. The Hijrī year was inserted to the left of the initial word Sikka, and the regnal year in the curve of the Nūn of Ibn.

In 1020 H. this “Ināyāt Couplet” was in its turn surrendered, and during the following seven years quite a number of designs and inscriptions were adopted one after the other. First, from 1020—1022 H. (Nos. 25 and 26), we have on the obverse of the rupee the simple legend

Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr Shāh (ibn) Akbar Shāh ;

while the reverse, clearly reflecting Jahāngīr’s now more open estrangement from Islām, exhibits once more the year dated according to the heretical Ilāhī era and the Persian month, with which, however, are also associated the Hijrī year in figures and the customary formula Darb Ahmadābād.

Next, from 1022—1026 H. (No. 27), an altogether new legend finds a place on the Ahmadābād rupee, which now reads, partly on the obverse and partly on the reverse,

بنام شاه نورالدین جهانگیر مزین باد

Let it be beautified by the name of Shāh Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr.

The obverse further gives in figures the Ilāhī year in the top line to the left of the Mīm of Nām, and the Hijrī year in the lowest line to the left of the Re of Jahāngīr ; while the reverse contains the word Ilāhī in full, also the Persian month, coupled with the generic term Māh, “month,” and, quite at the bottom, Darb Ahmadābād.

It is nowise strange that the year 1027 H. (1617-18 A. D.) was specially rich in coins, variously fashioned at the Ahmadābād mint, for it was in this year that Jahāngīr held his court in that city. He records in the Tārīkh i Salīm Shāhī:—

“I remained in the province (of Gujarāt) a period of five months, amusing myself in the sports of the field, and making “excursions to view the different parts of the country.”—(Price’s Translation, p. 117.)

(The earliest coin of this year, 1027 (No. 28), bears inscribed on obverse and reverse, read consecutively, the couplet

بهشت كشور اين ز هميشه باد روان
ز نقش نام جهانگير پادشاه جهان

In the seven climes may this money be always current

Through the stamp of the name Jahāngir, king of the world.

The mint-town Ahmadābād is entered on the reverse, while the obverse gives the Hijrī year 1027 and the regnal year 12; the latter associated with the technical expression, now for the first time introduced on the Mughal coins of India, Sanah Julūs, "in the year of the accession." Of this very rare type of coin I have been so fortunate as to secure two specimens, a rupee and a half-rupee.

(This same Hijrī year 1027, but the 13th after the accession, is the date of the earliest known Nithār of Ahmadābād. Nithār coins formed the "largesse" money, or jeton, distributed amongst the crowds assembled to witness the pageantry of a royal procession. They are, as Lane-Poole has candidly remarked, "economically thin for their diameter.") This Ahmadābād Nithār, for example, of 1027 H., now in the Lāhor Museum (L. M. Catal. p. 156, No. 187), though 7 of an inch in diameter, weighs only 43½ grains, or less than a four-anna piece.) The obverse reads simply,

Sanah 13 Julūs, Nithār Jahāngirī,

and the reverse,

Sanah 1027, Darb Ahmadābād,

the legend on each side being inscribed in a double circle, the inner linear and the outer dotted.

(Quite the most remarkable coins, however, minted at Ahmadābād in the year 1027 H. and 13th after the accession, are the well-known Zodiacal Rupees. Regarding the introduction of the Zodiacal coinage, the Emperor wrote in the Wāq'at i Jahāngirī :

"Formerly it was customary to strike my name on one side of the coin, and that of the place and the month and the year of the reign on the reverse"—this, we have already seen, had been the custom from 1020 to 1022 H.—"It now occurred to my mind," Jahāngir adds, "that, instead of the name of the month, the figure of the sign of the Zodiac corresponding to the particular month should be stamped This was my own innovation. It had never been done before."—(Dowson's Elliot, VI. 357).]

It certainly was an innovation counter to the iconoclastic spirit of Islām, and in the graven Zodiacal rupees of the Ram, the Bull, &c., many of the Emperor's co-religionists must have discerned a distinct infraction of the Qur'ānic injunction,

"O ye who believe! verily wine, and al maisar, and statues, and divining (arrows), are only an abomination of Satan's work; avoid them that haply ye may prosper."—(Sūra V. 92.)

Of the Zodiacal coins, it would seem that "with one or two exceptions, the gold muhrs were all struck at Agra, and the silver rupees at Ahmadābād"—this at least was the conclusion arrived at by the late Honourable Mr. James Gibbs, C.S.I., and communicated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in a paper read by him as President in the year 1878 (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., No. 36 Vol. 14). Three legends in all are met with on the Zodiacal rupees of Ahmadābād :—

First (Nos. 29 and 30), the simple formula,

ضرب احمد اباد جهانگیر پادشاه اکبر پادشاه

Struck at Ahmadābād, King Jahāngīr (son of) King Akbar, with the Hijrī year 1027 over the elongated Be of Akbar.

This inscription occurs on

Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Pisces,

Mr. Gibbs's specimen of this last being possibly of the year 1026 H.

My cabinet contains a Gemini rupee (No. 31) remarkable as being undated, owing to the letters of the inscription being so large as not to afford room for the digits of the Hijrī year.

Second (Nos. 32 and 33).—The "Zewar Couplet"—

زر احمد اباد را داد زیور

جهانگیر شاه شهنشاه اکبر

King Jahāngīr, (son of) Akbar, King of Kings,

Gave adornment to the money of Ahmadābād,

with the Hijrī year 1027 at the bottom of the coin and to the left of the initial word Zar.

This legend is found on

Cancer, Leo, and Scorpio (B. M. No. 374).

Third (No. 34).—The "Ināyāt Couplet"—

سکه زد در احمد اباد از عنایات اله

شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

Shāh Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Pādshāh,

Struck coin in Ahmadābād by the blessings of God,

with Hijrī year 1027 entered to the left of the lowest line.

This distich, though very rarely met with on Zodiacal coins, is inscribed on a beautiful specimen of the Cancer rupee purchased by me in Aḥmadābād; also on an undated Aquarius Muhr in the British Museum.¹

Of all these Zodiacal coins, the reverses, struck from dies probably engraved by a European artist, and one of no mean order, exhibit on a background of Solar rays some one of the twelve conventional signs of the Zodiac, while in a few cases (Cancer, Leo) even the stars of the constellation are represented. Beneath the sign comes the regnal year 13 and the phrase *Sanah Julūs*, or, in the case of Gemini, Cancer, and Scorpio, the word *Sanah* alone.

The description now given covers, I believe, all the genuine Aḥmadābād Zodiacal coins hitherto published, with the single exception of a Capricornus in the late Colonel Seton Guthrie's collection. Of this coin the only information I can glean is that it was a rupee of 1027 H., and thus presumably from the Aḥmadābād mint.

Of the complete series of the twelve Zodiacal Aḥmadābād rupees, it will be seen that four, Virgo, Libra, Sagittarius, and Aquarius are quite unrepresented in the published Catalogues. That all the twelve were issued there is no room to doubt, and James Forbes, writing his "Oriental Memoirs" in 1813, expressly states: "I once saw an entire collection of these rupees in silver, and a few others procured by chance of the same metal." (2nd Ed., Vol. II., 215.) While poor imitations of the whole series are still sometimes exposed for sale—in Bombay I have been offered the twelve for Rs. 25—it is much to be feared that the complete sets, formerly met with, as Forbes quaintly puts it, "in the cabinets of the curious," have long since been broken up and dispersed.

The last coin to be mentioned as having been struck in Aḥmadābād in the year 1027 H. is one closely resembling the rupees issued in the years 1017 to 1019 H. It bears the same inscription as those—to wit, the *ʿInāyāt bait*, but with a slight difference in the arrangement of the words, and the weight is now the normal 180 grains, instead of the 222 of the rupees of that earlier period. The obverse gives the regnal year 13 over the word *Sanah*, which in a unique coin I secured (No. 35) stands in the topmost line, but in all other specimens (No. 36) comes at the left of the middle line. The Hijrī year is

¹ This is, I have no doubt, the true reading of the coin No. 357, only partially deciphered in the British Museum Catalogue.

entered at the base of the reverse. This type of coin, introduced in 1027, was current through the six succeeding years, 1027—1033 H.

Next to be issued were the celebrated muhrs and rupees that bear along with Jahāngīr's name that of his beautiful and ambitious queen, Nūr Jahān. The issue of these coins from the Sūrat mint seems to have been fairly plentiful, but it is only by exceptional good fortune that one lights upon either muhr or rupee of this type struck at Ahmadābād (No. 37). The obverse and reverse, read consecutively, yield the following felicitous couplet:—

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور

ز نام نور جهان پادشاه بیگم زر

By the order of Shāh Jahāngīr money gained a hundred beauties

Through the name of Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam.

In the rupees the mint-town Ahmadābād comes at the foot of the obverse, and the Hijrī and regnal years on the reverse, also at the foot; but on the unique muhr in the Lāhore Museum (L. M. Catal. p. 128, No. 18) the words

Sanah 23 Julūs, Sanah 1037,

are inscribed within a mēhrābī, or arched, area, while a similar pattern on the reverse contains the words

Darb Ahmadābād.

This type, both in gold and silver, continued during the last four years of Jahāngīr's reign, or from 1034—1037 H. (1624—1627 A. D.).

The distinguishing features of the silver coins, exclusive of Nithārs, struck at Ahmadābād in successive periods of Jahāngīr's reign, may be tabulated as follows:—

No.	Period.	Weight.	Legend.	Year.	Month.
No. 23	... 1014-1017 H. ...	215 grains.	Kalima ...	Hijrī and regnal.	None.
No. 24	... 1017-1019 H. ...	222 „ ...	'Ināyāt ...	„ ...	„
Nos. 25 & 26...	1020-1022 H. .	180 „ ...	Simple ...	Hijrī and Ilāhī.	Persian and word Māh.
No. 27	.. 1022-1026 H. ...	„ „ ...	Muzaiyan.	„ ...	„

No.	Period.	Weight.	Legend.	Year.	Month.
No. 28 ...	1027 ¹² H. ...	„ „ ..	Kishwar...	Hijrī and Julūs.	None.
Nos. 29-34 ...	1027 ¹³ H. ...	„ „ ...	Zodiacal...	„ ...	„
Nos. 35 & 36...	1027-1033 H....	„ „ ...	‘Ināyāt ...	Hijrī and regnal.	„
No. 37 ...	1034-1037 H....	„ „ ...	Nūr Jahānī	„ ...	„

Of the Aḥmadābād gold coins of Jahāngīr's reign, mention has been already made of the undated Aquarius in the British Museum, and of the 1037 H. Nūr Jahānī in the Lāhor Museum. Besides these, only four other muhrs have been catalogued. They are dated 1028, 1029, 1030, and 1033 H., and are all of a uniform type. As in the Nūr Jahānī muhr, so in these also, a mēhrābī area is engraven on both the obverse and the reverse, the former containing the words

Jahāngīr Shāh Akbar Shāh,

and the latter

Sanah Julūs, Sanah

with both regnal and Hijrī years expressed in figures.

The secondary inscription, contained in the segments above and below these Mēhrābī areas, supplies the distich

بشرق وغرب مهر احمدآباد

الهی تا جهان باشد روان باد

In East and West may the stamp of Aḥmadābād.

O God, be current while the world lasts.

[None of the published Catalogues record any copper coins of Jahāngīr's from the Aḥmadābād mint, but my own cabinet contains five specimens, four of which are fully dated.] On all five the obverse reads merely روان Rawānī, with the tail of the < reverted so as to form a complete diameter of the coin. Beneath this on the four dated specimens comes the word Sanah and the regnal year. The reverse inscription on all is just Fulūs Aḥmadābād, and the Hijrī year present on the four is expressed in figures at the bottom. The two earliest specimens (No. 38) bear each the same date, namely, 1016 H. and regnal year 2, and weigh 367 and 372 grains respectively, over against the 320 grains of the Fulūs in Akbar's time. The one undated specimen,

being of weight 89 grains, is clearly a Quarter Fulūs of the 1014—1017 period of coinage. The next coin (No. 39), an exceptionally fine specimen dated 1017 H. and regnal year 4, differs from the others by having on both its sides an ornamented horizontal diameter formed of dots flanked by a double line. (Its weight rises to the high figure of 393 grains, while as to measurements its diameter is .9 of an inch and its edge .3.) The latest of the five coins is of 1019 H. and regnal year 6. Though stamped with the technical designation Fulūs, it weighs only 247 grains, and is thus clearly intended to be a reversion, in the matter of weight at least, to Akbar's Chau Tānkī of 250 grains.]

* * * *

The inscriptions on the muhrs and rupees struck in Aḥmadābād in 1037 H., the first year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, were retained with only the slightest change till the close of his reign in 1069 H. The obverse reads

صاحب قرآن ثانی شهاب الدین
محمد شاه جهان پادشاه غازی

Second Lord of Conjunction, Flame of the Faith,
Muḥammad Shāh Jahān, the Victorious King;

and the reverse gives the Kalima.

The arrangement of the words differs on the coins of the different periods of this reign, but the chief variations have reference to the position of the name of the mint-town Aḥmadābād and to the methods of indicating the year of issue of the coin.

Of three rupees struck in the first year each has distinguishing features of its own. In two (Nos. 40 and 41) of the three, Shihāb al Dīn comes in the lowest line of the obverse, while in the third (No. 42), and in all subsequent coins of this type, Sāhib Qirān ḥānī occupies the lowest line, and Shihāb al Dīn the one next above it. Again, on one (No. 40) of the three coins, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād stands at the base of the reverse, above which come the figures of the Hijrī year. But on the other two (Nos. 41 and 42), the Hijrī year is written not above but under Aḥmadābād, and with its figures are now associated the words Sanah Hijrī, this being the first occurrence of the term Hijrī on any of the coins of India. Further, on all three coins the regnal year 1 on the obverse is now for the first time written in full, سنه احد, Sanah aḥad, and hereafter in all the later reigns the first year is invariably thus indicated.

In the coins of 1038 H. the newly adopted term *Hijrī* gives place to *Ilāhī* and the Persian month, coupled with the word *Māh*, these all being written in full on the reverse, while the *Hijrī* year now stands instead of the regnal year on the obverse. This type (No. 43) obtained both in muhrs and rupees for the six years from 1038 to 1043 H.

The latter year, however, witnessed the introduction of an entirely different design (No. 44) for the gold and silver coins struck in *Aḥmadābād*, a design suggesting that of the rupees current shortly after Akbar's conquest of *Gujarāt*. Compare No. 4 with No. 44. This type is specially important since maintained from 1043 H. right on till the close of the reign in 1069 H.

A large square, generally knotted at the corners, is marked out on both the obverse and the reverse. Within the obverse square the legend is

Shāh Jahān Pādshāh Ghāzī.

with the regnal year entered generally in the right hand margin, but in the earlier coins in or near the curve of the *Nūn* of *Jahān*.

The left hand margin reads *Ḍarb Aḥmadābād,*
 „ upper „ „ *Shihāb al Dīn,*
 „ right hand „ „ *Muḥammad Ṣāhib,*
 and the lower „ „ *Qirān thānī.*

On the reverse the *Kalima* is inscribed within the square area, the *Hijrī* year in small figures finding a place in the coins of early issue in the lower left hand corner, and in the later coins (No. 45) in the left hand margin, while the four margins contain each the name of one of the four *khalifas* associated with his distinguishing "virtue," thus

بصدق ابوبكر
 وعدل عمر
 بارزمن عثمان
 وعلم علي

By the veracity of *Abū Bakr*,
 and the rectitude of 'Omar,
 by the mildness of 'Othmān
 and the learning of 'Alī.

The various methods of indicating the date of issue of the gold and silver coins of *Aḥmadābād* in successive periods of *Shāh Jahān*'s reign admit of tabulation as follows :—

Period.	Hijrī year.	Regnal year.	Month.
1037 H. ...	Figures alone on reverse.	Sanah ۱۰۳۷ on obverse.	None.

Period.	Hijri year.	Regnal year.	Month.
1037-1038 H....	Figures & Sanah Hijri on reverse.	Sanah 33 on ob- verse.	None.
1038-1043 H....	Figures alone on obverse.	Ilāhī Sanah on reverse.	Persian and word Māh.
1043-1069 H....	Figures alone on reverse.	Figures alone on obverse.	None.

I have been so fortunate as to secure a unique Aḥmadābād nithār in silver (No. 46) of this reign. Though thin, it is in excellent condition. The obverse reads from bottom upwards.

Nithār Shāh Jahān 1069.

and the reverse

Sanah 33, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

[Of Copper Coins of this reign struck in Aḥmadābād my cabinet contains six unique specimens, of which one is a Fulūs of 309 grains, and each of the others a Half Fulūs, weighing from 154 to 156 grains. Of the six the four earliest are dated.

Ilāhī 6 Farwardīn.

„ „ Isfandārmuz (No. 47).

„ 7 Mihr.

„ x Mihr with the Hijri year 1043.

On all four the obverse inscription is simply

Fulūs Shāh Jahānī.

with the regnal year under the Sīn of Fulūs or in its loop.

The reverse contains in the upper portion the word Ilāhī, preceded by the Persian month and the word Māh written in full, while the lower half reads Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, below which comes on one of the coins the Hijri year 1043 in figures.

The two remaining Copper Coins (No. 48) are of 1044 H. regnal year 8, and 1046 H. regnal year 10. They are of an identical type, the obverse reading, as in the preceding group of four,

Fulūs Shāh Jahānī

with the regnal year in the loop of the Sīn of Fulūs, while the reverse legend is merely

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād

with the Hijrī year under the elongated Be of Darb.

* * * *

During his brief and abortive rebellion the ill-fated Murād Bakhsh caused coins to be struck at Aḥmadābād in both gold and silver. The unique gold specimen, now in the British Museum, (Br. Mus. Catal. No. 692) bears within a square on the obverse the inscription

محمد مراد بخش پادشاه غازی

Muhammad Murād Bakhsh, the victorious king.

and in the margins

ابوالمظفر مزوج الدین ضرب احمد آباد الهی احد

The father of the victorious, wedded to the Faith (?), struck at Ahmadābād, in 1 of the Divine era.

The square on the reverse contains the kalima, and its margins record the names and virtues of the Four Khalifas, the Hijrī date 1068 being inscribed between the 'Ilm and 'Ali of the last, or upper margin.

The inscription and design borne on Murād Bakhsh's Aḥmadābād rupees (No. 49) are the same as on his muhrs, save that Sanah aḥad seems to have been substituted for the Ilāhī aḥad in the upper margin of the obverse.

* * * *

In the reign of Aurangzeb an altogether new inscription was devised for the current coins. We have seen that every muhr and rupee struck at Aḥmadābād from the time of the accession of Shāh Jahān in 1037 H., bore, stamped on its reverse, the Kalima or Muslim Creed. The abolition from the coinage of this Symbol of the Faith was reserved, strange to say, for Aurangzeb, who beyond all other Emperors of India affected the rôle of an avowed, even a fanatical, champion of orthodoxy. Apprehensive that some of the coins bearing the sacred Formula of the Faith might "pass into many unworthy places and fall under the feet of infidels" Aurangzeb introduced a new legend which, so far as I can discover, appears on every rupee struck in Aḥmadābād during his long reign of nearly fifty years, 1659-1707 A. D., (1069-1119 H.)

The obverse (No. 50) bears the Persian distich,

مسکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر

Shāh Aurangzeb 'Alamgir

Struck money through the world like the shining moon.

On the obverse is also entered the Hijri year, which, in the coins of the earlier part of the reign, stands over the "dar jahān" in the lowest line, but in those issued towards its close (No. 51) near the top of the coin and over the Gāf of Aurang.

The reverse inscription reads

سنة جلوس میمنت مانوس

In the year of the reign of tranquil prosperity,

with the figures of the regnal year superscribed over the word *Sanah*, In the lower portion of the reverse the mint-town is indicated by the usual formula *Darb Aḥmadābād*. This reverse legend appears on the rupees of most of the succeeding Emperors.

Of Aurangzeb's gold coins struck at Aḥmadābād not a single specimen is now known to collectors, and of his copper coins just one. Much worn, it now weighs only 211 grains. On the obverse the letters, with difficulty decipherable, seem to read *Fulūs bād Shāh 'Āmagīr*, 1097, but the reverse, though unfortunately illegible in the upper half, contains quite clearly in the lower the words *Darb Aḥmadābād*.

* * * *

On Aurangzeb's death in 1118 H. (1707 A. D.) his son A'zam, in the absence of an elder brother, strove to secure the throne for himself. Slain within three months in a battle fought on the plains near Āgra, he had none the less, during his short term of usurpation, caused coins to be struck in his name at Aurangābād, Burhānpūr and Aḥmadābād. A solitary rupee from the last mint is in the British Museum (Br. Mu. Catalogue, No. 850). The obverse bears the couplet

سکه زد در جهان بدولت و جلاله

پادشاه ممالک اعظم شاه

The king of the realms, A'zam Shāh,

Struck money through the world with prosperity and majesty,

with the Hijri year 1119 under the final *Shāh*.

The obverse gives

ضرب احمد اباد سنة احد جلوس اشرف

Minted at Aḥmadābād in the year 1 of the most noble reign.

* * * *

A'zam's elder brother, Mu'azzam, on ascending the throne, took the title of *Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur*, which duly appears on the very few rupees (No. 52) now known of his reign from the Aḥmadābād mint. These coins are the first to bear on the obverse an inscription which, with, of course, the necessary change of name, continued

in vogue through the reigns of nearly all the succeeding Emperors. It reads

سکه مبارک شاه عالم بهادر پادشاه غازی

The auspicious coin of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādūr, the victorious king.

The lowest line also gives the Hijrī year.

The reverse repeats the formula introduced by Aurangzeb,

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah julūs maimanat ma'nūs.

* * * *

Shāh 'Ālam's successor on the throne was his third son, the profligate Jahāndār, whose reign had reached only eleven months when he met his death at the hands of Farrukh Siyar. Jahāndār's coins were issued certainly from twelve, perhaps from thirteen, different mints, but no specimen, so far as I am aware, has been catalogued from the mint of Aḥmadābād.

* * * *

Of Farrukh Siyar's reign, 1124-1131 H. (1713-1719 A. D.), two Aḥmadābād coins are known, both of them rupees, one of his sixth, and the other of his seventh, regnal year. On these (No. 53) the obverse bears the couplet

سکه زد بر سیم و زار از فضل حق : پادشاه بحرو بر فرخ سیم

Farrukh Siyar, king of sea and land,

Struck coin of silver and gold by grace of the truth,

the Hijrī year coming to the left of the Kāf of Sikka.

The reverse has the regular *julūs* formula introduced by Aurangzeb

* * * *

Farrukh Siyar was succeeded in 1131 H. (1719 A. D.) by Rafī' al Darajāt, who held the throne for little over six months. Of this short reign two rupees from the Aḥmadābād mint are known, one entered as "unique" in the Lāhor Museum Catalogue (page 207, No. 4), and one—its duplicate—in my own cabinet (No. 54). The couplet on the obverse reads

زد سکه بهند با هزاران برکات : شاهنشاه بحرو بر رفیع الدرجات

Rafī' al Darajāt, Emperor of sea and land,

Struck coin in India with a thousand blessings ;

and at the right of the top line comes the Hijrī year.

In this distich the presence of the word "barakāt" is probably due to the Emperor's title of Shams-ul-Dīn Abu'l Barakāt.

The reverse of this rupee is of special interest as furnishing the honorific epithet Zinat al Bilād (the Beauty of Towns), the only title

applied to Aḥmadābād since the earlier issues of Akbar's reign. Read from below upwards, the inscription is

سنه احد جلوس مہمنت مانوس .: ضرب زینت البلاد احمد آباد

In the year 1 of the reign of tranquil prosperity,

Struck at Aḥmadābād, the Beauty of Towns.

* * * *

On Rafī' al Darajāt's death his elder brother, Rafī' al Daulat, whose name appears on coins as Shāh Jahān (II.), succeeded to the throne. His reign lasted but three months. The only Aḥmadābād coin, hitherto known, struck in his name is a rupee that came into my possession just a few days ago, but unfortunately too late to be photographed with the coins on Plate V., on which its place would come between Nos. 54 and 55. Its severely simple inscriptions are of the type represented by the rupee of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur's reign (No. 52). On the obverse the arrangement is as follows:—

پادشاه غازی

شاه جهان

س—دک

مبارک ۱۱۳۱

The auspicious coin of Shāh Jahān, the victorious king, 1131.

The inscription on the reverse is identical with that on Aḥmad Shāh's rupee, shown as No. 56 of Plate V.

* * * *

The successor of Shāh Jahān II. was Muḥammad Shāh, 1131-1161 H. (1719-1748 A. D.), nine of whose rupees (No. 55) are in my cabinet. They all bear the inscriptions which we have already associated with the reigns of Aurangzeb and Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, being on the obverse

Sikka mubārak Pādshāh Ghāzi Muḥammad Shāh,
with the Hijrī year;
and on the reverse

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah julūs maimanat ma'nūs
with the regnal year.

Of Muḥammad's Copper Coins of Aḥmadābād I have four specimens, all poor, one of the 26th and one of the 28th regnal year, and the remaining two with dates illegible. These coins weigh

between 208 and 214 grains each, which, considering their worn condition, may well represent an original weight of 250 grains.

The obverse seems to read

Fulūs Muḥammad Shāh

while the reverse is clearly

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah julus,

with the figures of the regnal year over Sanah.

It was during the reign of this Muḥammad Shāh that the Persian usurper Nādir Shāh invaded India, and massacred so ruthlessly the inhabitants of Dehlī. Mirzā Muḥammad Bakhsh expressly records:—

“The Persians and others of Nādir’s army, having dismounted
“and picketed their horses, were plundering and ransacking
“without check. They had broken open the chests with blows
“of axes and swords, torn in pieces the bags of gold and silver,
“and, having scattered the contents on the ground, were engaged
“in picking them up. Furniture, especially the culinary utensils
“of silver and copper, fell into the hands of the plunderers.” —

Dowson’s Elliot, VIII., 233, 234.

Later on, however, it appears the men were compelled to surrender the silver they had thus attached as booty, and from it Nādir Shāh caused rupees to be struck in his own name at the mint of Dehlī, then known as Shāhjahānābād. But Nādir’s coins issued also from the mint of Aḥmadābād — a fact the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Persian invader, after the sack of Dehlī, proceeded homewards without even putting foot in the province of Gujarāt. The probable explanation is that these coins were struck at a time of panic, when the hearts of the Aḥmadābādīs failed them for fear, in dread anticipation of Nādir’s arrival before the gates of their city. The Gujarāt Viceroy may have hoped by this acknowledged symbol of submission to mollify the cruel conqueror, and assure him of the city’s loyalty to him as lord.

The legend on the obverse of these coins is

پست سلطان برسلطین جهان .: شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

The monarch of monarchs, Nādir, the lord of conjunction.

Is a Sultān over the Sultāns of the world.

The inscription on the reverse reads from below upwards,

سنہ ۱۱۵۲ ضرب احمدآباد ملکہ خلد اللہ

Year 1152, struck at Aḥmadābād, Allah! keep the kingdom for ever.

Some four years ago I picked up in the Aḥmadābād bāzār a rupee, and more recently an eight-anna piece, of this type, and had the pleasure of sending both to the late Mr. Rodgers as unexpected "finds."

* * * *

Subsequent to Muḥammad Shāh, the Emperors Aḥmad Shāh (No. 56), 'Ālamgīr II. (No. 57), Shāh 'Ālam II. (No. 59), and Akbar II. (No. 60), also the "mimic king" Shāh Jahān III. (No. 58), all caused coins to be struck at Aḥmadābād of the type that had already come to be regarded as conventional.

On the obverse we have the familiar legend

Sikka mubārak Pādshāh Ghazī,

with the topmost line reserved for the regnant Emperor's name, and to the right the Hijrī year; while the reverse reads, as usual,

Sanah julūs maimanat ma'nūs,

the regnal year being written above the word Sanah, and the formula Darb Aḥmadābād, recording the mint-town, occupying the lower portion of the coin.

Of the above-mentioned Emperors, Akbar II. alone is represented in the numismatic cabinets by any copper coins (No. 61) of Aḥmadābād. On these rare coins

Fulūs Akbar Shāh,

with Hijrī year, constitutes the legend on the obverse, and

Aḥmadābād, Sanah julūs,

with regnal year, the legend on the reverse.

Five fairly good specimens in my collection range in weight between 116 and 121 grains, and thus suggest an original weight of 125 grains, equivalent therefore to that of the Do Tānkīs of Akbar's coinage.

* * * *

The last of the Mughal Emperors of India, Bahādur II., mounted the throne in 1253 H. (1837 A.D.). By that year, however, the rupees and paise of British currency had already come into circulation in Gujarāt, and, accordingly, it is not strange that no coins seem to have issued from the Aḥmadābād mint bearing the name of Bahādur II. His authority, indeed, was at no time more than merely nominal beyond the precincts of the Fort of Dehlī.

* * * *

One coin of Aḥmadābād still remains to claim attention. In the 30th year of his reign the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam was barbarously blinded, and a puppet king, Bidār Bakht, the son of the late Emperor Aḥmad

Shāh, was placed on the throne of Dehlī. During eight months of 1202-3 H. (1788-89 A.D.) sovereign power was nominally vested in his hands, though the *de facto* ruler was the infamous Ghulām Qādir; but at the end of that time the Marāṭhā general Rāṇā Khān defeated Ghulām, and, in contravention of the rule that no blind man may be a Sultān, reinstated the unfortunate Shāh 'Ālam. In its account of this short-lived rebellion, the 'Ibrat-nāma expressly mentions that

"Ghulām Qādir took the gold and silver mounted articles from the apartments of Shāh 'Ālam and the princes and princesses, then piled them in a heap and burnt them, and sent the metal to the mint to be coined."—*Dowson's Elliot*, VIII. 247.

The mint referred to was doubtless that of Shāhjahānābād (Dehlī) and of Bidār's coins struck there, the British Museum contains one in gold and one in silver. The Lāhor Museum Catalogue registers a muhr of Bidār's, issued from the Muḥammadābād mint, and the British Museum Catalogue two other muhrs, which, if the legends have been read aright, hail from Aḥmadābād (Br. Mus. Catal., Nos. 1207 and 1208). Of these last, indeed, the specimen given on Plate XXIX. of the Catalogue wants the initial letters of the name of the mint; so, possibly, this coin may be just a duplicate of the Muḥammadābād muhr, and not an Aḥmadābād coin at all. Assuming, however, the correctness of Mr. Lane-Poole's rendering, the reverse legend is,

Sanah aḥad julūs maimanat ma'nūs, Darb Aḥmadābād,

In the year 1 of the reign of tranquil prosperity, struck at Aḥmadābād; while the obverse exhibits, along with the Hijrī year 1203 (1788-89 A. D.), the following distich:—

بزر زد سکه وارث تاج و تخت جهان
شاه محمد بیدار بخت

Shāh Muḥammad Bidār Bakht,

Owner of the crown and throne of the world, struck coins of gold,

* * * *

In now concluding this account of the Mughal coinage of Aḥmadābād, it may be of interest to note how many of the fifteen Emperors and nine Pretenders that occupied the throne of Dehlī, subsequent to the annexation of the province of Gujarāt, are represented by their

coins in the four collections that have supplied the material for this article. The following Table furnishes this information:—

Collection.	Emperors (15).	Petenders (9).	Total (24).
British Museum	4	4	8
Lāhor „ ...	6	0	6
Calcutta „ ...	7	0	7
Taylor Cabinet „ ...	13	2	15

The aggregate collection, formed from these four, contains Aḥmad' ābād coins of thirteen of the fifteen Emperors and of four of the nine Pretenders. The two Emperors and five Pretenders still unrepresented are:—

- Emperors :* 1. Jahāndār Shāh.
 2. Bahādur Shāh II.
Pretenders : 1. Dāwar Bakhsh.
 2. Shāh Shujā',
 3. Kām Bakhsh.
 4. Niku Siyar.
 5. Ibrāhīm.

Of the two Emperors, the latter, Bahādur Shāh II., ascended the throne in 1837, and thus two years after the issue of a uniform coinage for British India. Hence, as we have already had occasion to remark, probably no coins were ever struck at the Aḥmadābād mint in the name of Bahādur II.

The only remaining Emperor whose coins are still wanting is Jahāndār, who reigned for eleven months of the year 1124 H. (1712 A. D.).

Of the five Pretenders in the above list, four, it would seem, coined each at but a single mint—to wit, Dāwar Bakhsh at Lāhor, Shāh Shujā' at Akbarābād (Agra), Ibrāhīm at Shahjahānābād (Dehli), and Niku Siyar at Sūrat, possibly also at Bhakkar; while of the fifth, Kām Bakhsh, coins are known to have issued only from the two mints of Bijāpūr and Haidarābād. It is doubtful whether any of these five Pretenders continued coining for a full twelve month. Hence, omitting Bahādur II. from our reckoning, inasmuch as his date (1837-1857 A. D.) is later than the lowest limit (1835 A. D.).

assigned to the Mughal currency of Aḥmadābād, the coins of all the unrepresented Emperors and Pretenders do not cover in the aggregate a period of more than four or five years. Clearly, then, the Mughal coins of Aḥmadābād contained in existing cabinets constitute, as to type at least, a collection very nearly complete.

GEO. P. TAYLOR,

Aḥmadābād, 10th January 1899.

I desire here to express my deep obligations to my friend, Mr. Henry Cousens, M. R. A. S., the accomplished Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western India, for the very great trouble he has so kindly taken in connexion with the production of the Plates that illustrate this article. Having with his own hands made casts in plaster of the original coins, he sent me excellent photographs of them, from which the accompanying five Plates have been prepared by the ordinary processes.

G. P. T.

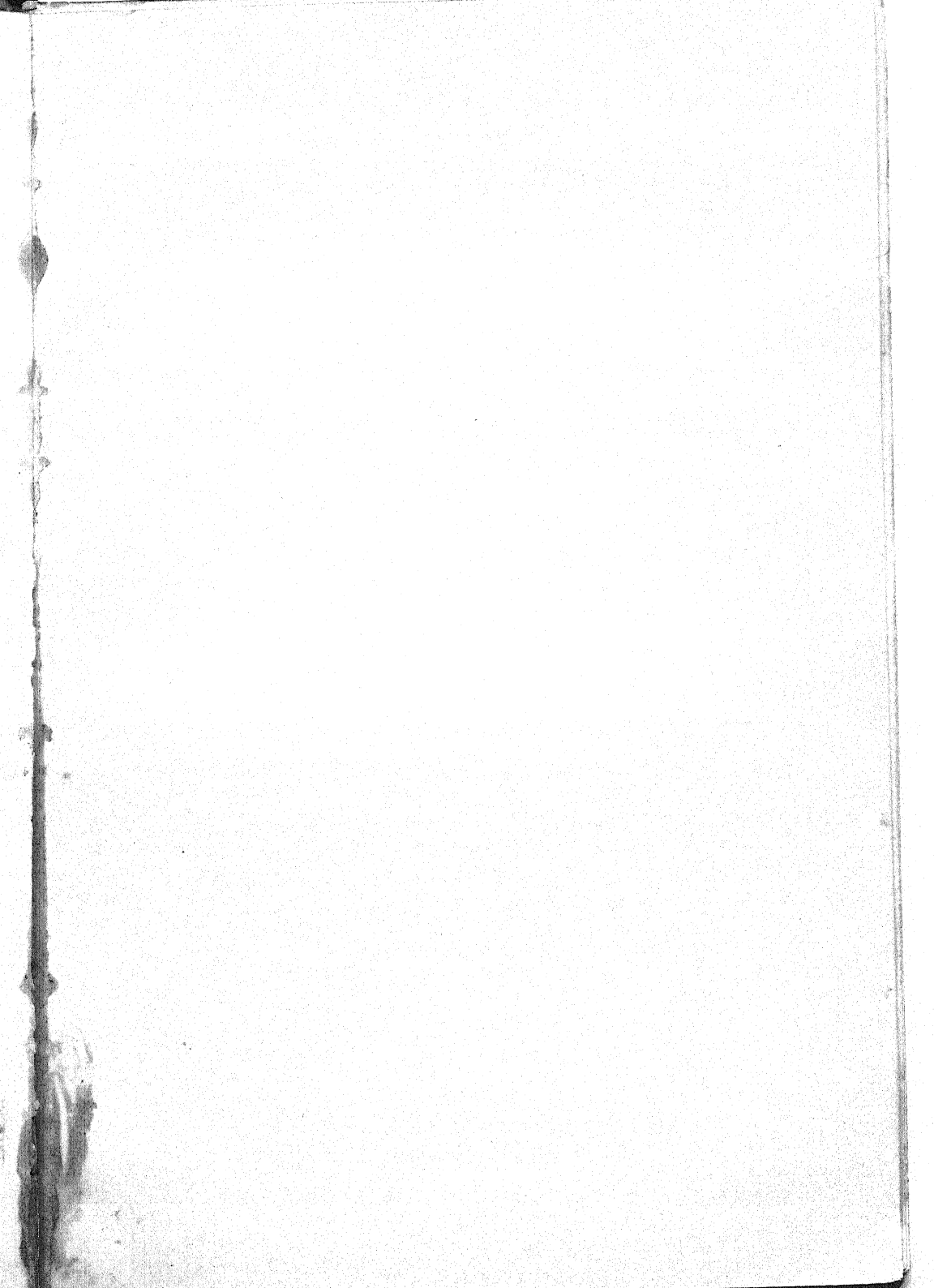


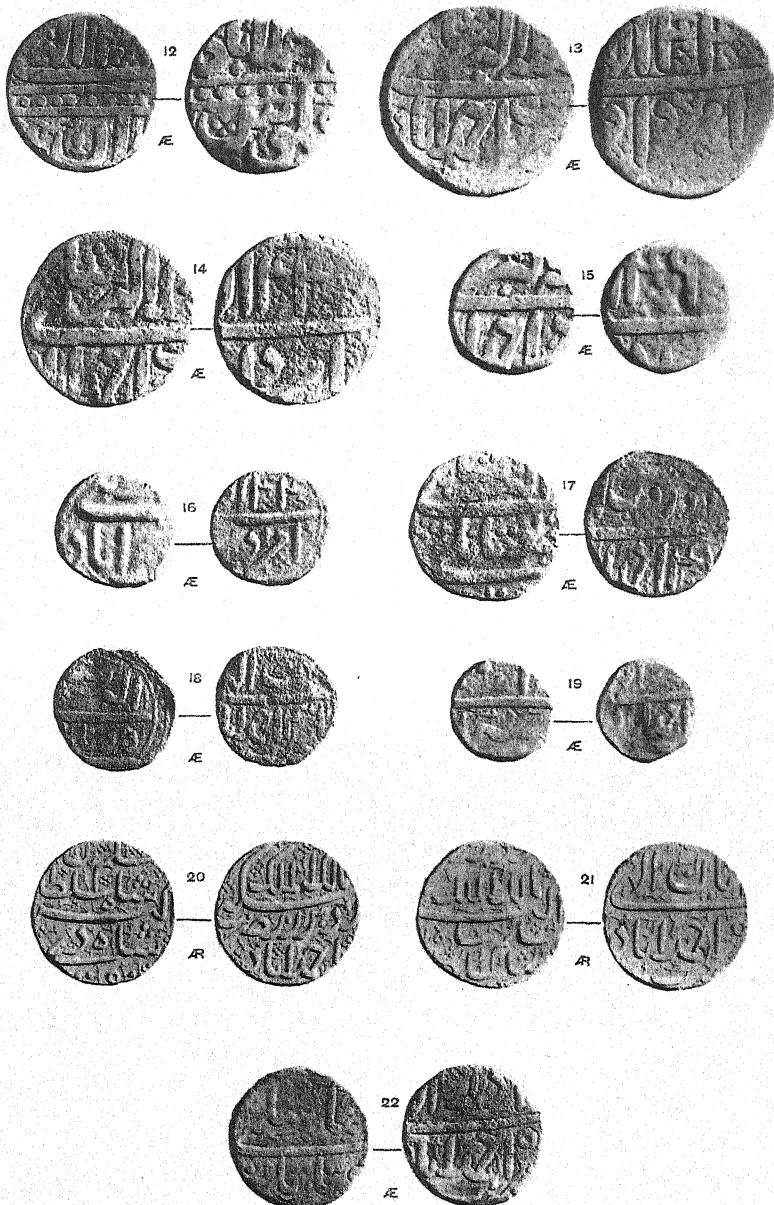


PLATE I.

No.	Sultān or Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
1	Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh III.	991	.....	.....	170	
2	"	...	...	.....	85	
3	Akbar	...	980	.....	174	980-982
4	"	...	982	.....	174	982-986
5	"	...	991	.....	172	987-1000
6	"	...	...	37	177	1000-1001
7	"	...	...	39 Ilāhī	Ardibihisht, 177	1001-1003
8	"	...	...	44 Ilāhī	Bahman ... 176	{ 1002-1009 1011-1014
9	"	...	...	47 Ilāhī	Abān ... 174	1010
10	"	...	982	... ..	308	Æ. 981-995
11	"	...	98x	... ..	77	"

PLATE II.

No.	Sultān or Emperor.		YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri period.
			Hijri.	Regnal.			
12	Akbar	...	...	38 Ilāhī...	Abān ...	312	Æ. 1001-1003
13	"	...	...	44 Ilāhī...	Amardād ...	630	Æ. 1003-1009
14	"	...	...	" ...	" ...	310	"
15	"	...	...	16 Ilāhī...	? ...	154	"
16	"	...	...	44 Ilāhī...	Amardād ...	74	"
17	"	...	...	47 Ilāhī...	Farwardin...	242	Æ. 1009-1014
18	"	...	...	46 Ilāhī...	Bahman ...	115	"
19	"	...	...	? ...	? ...	58	"
20	Sultān Shāh.	Salim	...	5 ...	Dī ...	176	?
21	"	...	...	5 Ilāhī...	Abān ...	176	?
22	"	...	...	5 Ilāhī...	Azr ...	244	?



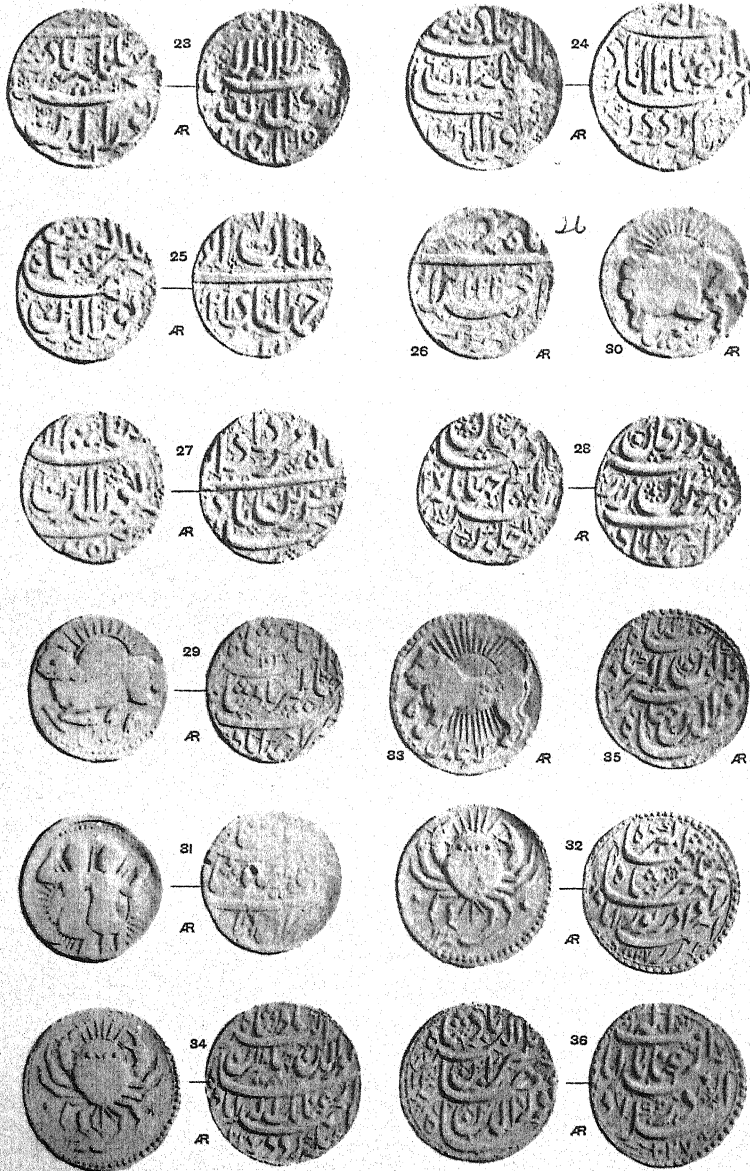


PLATE III.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.			Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.				
23	Jahāngīr	...	1015	1	...	211	1014-1017
24	"	...	1019	6	...	219	1017-1019
25	"	...	1021	7 Ilāhī	Māh Abān...	175	1020-1022
26	"	...	1022	?	Māh Mihr...	175	
27	"	...	1025	11 Ilāhī	Māh Amardād	174	1022-1026
28	"	...	1027	Sanah 12 Julūs.	.....	175	
29	"	...	1027	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Aries) ...	175	
30	"	...	(1027)	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Taurus) ...	175	
31	"	...	.....	(Sanah 13)	(Gemini) ...	173	
32*	"	...	1027	Sanah 13	(Cancer) ...	174	
33	"	...	(1027)	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Leo) ...	174	
34*	"	...	1027	Sanah 13	(Cancer) ...	175	
35†	"	...	(1027)	Sanah 13	.....	173	
36†	"	...	1027	Sanah 13	.....	175	1027-1033

* The legend on No. 32 differs from that on No. 34.

† The legends on Nos. 35 and 36 are the same, but the obverses of these two coins present different arrangements of the words.

PLATE IV.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
37	Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān	1036	2 x ...	.....	175	1034—1037
38	Jahāngir ...	1016	2 ...	.....	371	Æ
39	„ ..	1017	4 ...	.....	390	Æ
40	Shāh Jahān (I.)...	1037	Sanah 1	.....	172	
41*	„ ...	1037 Hijri Sanah	Sanah 1	.....	174	
42*	„ ...	1037 Hijri Sanah.	Sanah 1	.....	174	1037—1038
43	„ ...	1039	2 Ilāhī Sanah.	Ardābihisht Māh.	175	1038—1043
44†	„ ...	1043	6 ...	.....	174	} 1043—1069
45†	„ ...	1055	19 ...	.....	176	
46§	„ ...	1069	Sanah 33	.....	43	
47	„ ...	?	6 Ilāhī...	Isfandārmuz.	154	Æ
48	„ ...	1044	8 ...	.....	156	Æ

* The legends on Nos. 41 and 42 are the same, but the obverses of these two coins present different arrangements of the words.

† Nos. 44 and 45 differ only in the positions assigned on their obverses to the regnal year and on their reverses to the Hijri year.

§ No. 46 is a nithār.



37

R



38

R



39

R



40

R



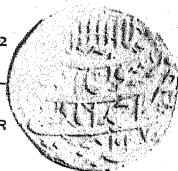
41

R



42

R



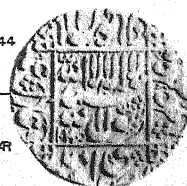
43

R



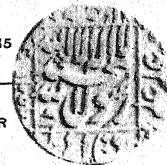
44

R



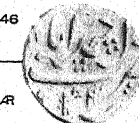
45

R



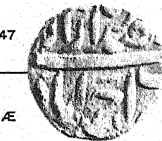
46

R



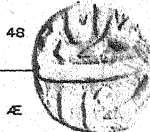
47

R



48

R





AHMADABAD COINS.

PLATE. V.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains	Typical of Hijri period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
49	Murād Bakhsh ...	1068	1	.....	176	
50*	Aurangzeb 'Alam- gīr (I.)	1075	Sanah 7julūs	.....	177	} 1069—1119.
51*	" " ...	1116	" 48 "	.....	177	
52	Bahādur Shāh 'Alam (I.)	1120	" 2 "	.....	178	1119—1124.
53	Farrukh Siyar ...	[112]9	" 6 "	.....	177	1124—1131.
54	Rafī'al-darajāt ...	(1131)	" (1) "	.....	178	1131.
55	Muhammad Shāh	1143	" 13 "	.....	177	1131—1161
56	Ahmad Shāh ...	1161	" 1 "	.....	174	1161—1167
57	'Alamgīr (II.) ...	1169	" 2 "	.....	178	1167—1173
58	Shāh Jahān (III.)	1173	" (1) "	.....	178	1173.
59	Shāh 'Alam (II.)	1188	" (16) "	.....	178	1173—1221.
60	Akbar Shāh (II.)	1230	" 8 "	.....	178	1221—1251.
61	" ..	1236	" 14 "	.....	120	Æ

* Nos. 50 and 51 differ only in the positions assigned on their obverses to the Hijri year.

ART. XXII.—*Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries.*—By the
Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. RANADE, M.A., C.I.E.

(Read, 30th June 1900.)

During the past two or three years, most of my leisure time has been devoted to the perusal of the Selections from the Peshwa's Diaries, commencing with the accession of Raja Shahu, and ending with the close of the reign of Bajirao II. These Selections were prepared by Rao Bahadur Wad from the original Marathi record, and they made up in all about 22,000 folio pages, including the English summary prepared in the Daftar office. These selections cover a period of over a hundred years, from 1708 to 1816-17, and they furnish most valuable materials for constructing a true history of the people of Maharashtra during the most eventful period of their annals. Our ordinary Bakhars, and the works written by English historians, like Grant Duff, content themselves chiefly with the narration of political events, and throw little or no light upon the condition of the people, how they lived and thrived, the pleasures which amused them, their superstitions and their beliefs, their morals, their manners, and their customs. These histories do not also give a clear account of the way in which the work of government was carried on under Native rule, how the land revenue was assessed and collected, how the forts were guarded, how the Sayer revenues (consisting of Mohturfu, Abkari, Salt, Customs), and tributes, &c., were administered, how the armies were raised and paid for, how the navy was manned, how the State borrowed its public debt, how civil and criminal justice was dispensed, how the departments of police, post, mint, prisons, charities, pensions, public works, medical relief, and sanitation, were regulated and controlled, how trade and commerce was encouraged, and learning fostered. To many it will be a matter of no little surprise to find that, only a hundred years ago, all these varied activities engrossed the attention of the Native rulers, and that they grappled with the problems of Government to a large extent successfully. They even went, as some might say, out of their way, in undertaking reforms of social economy with a courage which is thought in these days by some to be outside the functions of the State. In all these respects, these State diaries, kept by responsible officers in the Peshwa's Daftar, are simply invaluable, and though they have their own defects, in the absence of better materials, they shed a flood of light upon the real movements and the hopes and fears, the strength and

weakness of the people for over a century, and for purposes of instruction and guidance, they far outweigh the value of narratives of wars and conquests, dynastic changes, and revolutions, which take up so much space in our ordinary histories.

It is proposed in this paper to introduce this vast record to the attentive student of Maratha history, and with a view to give point to the lessons which it suggests, an attempt will be made to set forth the contrast between the causes which helped the Maratha Confederacy in the first half of the last century, to spread its rule and influence over the whole of India, and prevail over every country power, Musalman or Hindu, Sikh or Jat, Rohilla or Rajpoot, Kathis or Gujars, the Portuguese, the Nizam and Hyder of the Telangana and Dravid Countries, and the circumstances which led, in the latter half, to the gradual dismemberment of that power. The dividing line which separates the two periods coincides with the transfer of sovereign power from the descendants of Shivaji and Shahu to the hands of the Brahmin Peshwas, when, on the death of Shahu, the Maratha capital was removed from Satara to Poona. The deed executed by Raja Shahu empowered the Peshwa to manage the whole government of the Empire on the condition of perpetuating the Raja's name, and keeping up the dignity of the house: and this deed was ratified, later on, by Shahu's successor, Ram Raja, when he agreed to renounce all power on condition of a small tract near Satara being assigned to his own management. The battle of Panipat, which closed the flood-tide of Maratha conquest, may be regarded as a serviceable historical boundary mark for this period. The next 60 years bring out, one by one, the weak points in the character of the rulers and of the nation generally, and show how the fall was hastened long before the English conquest of the country in 1817. This contrast will illustrate how the later Peshwa's policy departed from the principles laid down by Shivaji, and pursued with more or less fidelity by Rajaram and Shahu, and how their neglect of the true policy and their return to the old Brahminic ideals of exclusiveness and division sowed the seeds of decay, which ultimately hastened the downfall of the Confederacy.

Constitution.

The changes in the constitution of the Government under Maratha rule necessarily demand our first attention. In my paper on 'Shivaji as a Civil Ruler,' read before the Asiatic Society, I have described

at some length, the principal features of the constitution of the Raj Mandala, or the Council of the State, consisting of the eight chief ministers, including both Civil and Military functionaries. In the final arrangements adopted by Shivaji, there were two Sarnobats, or Military members, one the Commander-in-Chief of the Cavalry and the other of the Infantry. The Peshwa was the Prime Minister and executive head of the Council. The Pant Amatya had the charge of the revenue and account departments; the Pant Sachiva or Soorvis had the charge of all correspondence and record, and the Dabir or Sumant was minister in charge of foreign affairs. Another minister, the Mantri, was in charge of the household, and there were two purely civil functionaries, the Nyayadhisha and Nyayashastri, or Panditrao, who represented the judicial and ecclesiastical department. None of these offices were hereditary, and there were frequent transfers from one office to another. The Peshwa's office, for instance, had been held by four different families before it became hereditary in Balaji Vishvanath's line, after nearly a hundred years from its first creation. The offices of the Pratinidhi, and of the Sachiva, and the Mantri, became hereditary after passing through three different families. The Commander-in-Chiefship became hereditary in the Dabhade family after it had been held by seven or eight chiefs, including Palkar, Gujar, Mohite, Ghorpade, Jadhaw and other leaders. The same remark holds good of the other minor ministers. In the official order of precedence, the Peshwa was a smaller functionary than the Pant Pratinidhi, whose office was created by Rajaram at Jinji, and Pralhad Niraji was made the vice-regent of the Raja. The fixed salary of the Pratinidhi was 15,000 Hons, while for the Peshwa the salary was fixed at 13,000 Hons. The Mantri, Sachiva, and Senapati had 10,000 each, and the Nyayadhisha had 1,000 Hons only. The old Pant Amatya went over to Kolhapur, and the Satara Amatya or Rajadnya occupied a comparatively subordinate place. All these officers had Saranjams besides, and special establishments. On the permanent establishments of these great departments, there were eight sets of officers named Diwan, Mujumdar, Fadnis, Subnis, Karhanis, Chitnis, Jamdar, and Potnis. By extending the principle of this subordination, certain officers called Darakdars, Diwan, Fadnis, Mujumdar, &c., were attached to every district and every large military command. These subordinate officers were chosen by the central authority, and the commanders were required to have the work done by the hands of these men, whom they could not remove, and who

prepared and submitted the final accounts to the central authority. The division of work was so arranged that the officers served as checks on one another, and this feature of inter-dependence and mutual control was reproduced in the arrangements about the garrisons of forts, the Subha Armur or the naval establishment, and all the great offices connected with Customs. In the case of the forts, the three principal officers were selected from three different castes, the Havildar or the head being a Maratha, the Subnis being a Brahmin, and the Kar-khanis a Parbhu. It was this constitution which kept up the Maratha power throughout the troubled times which followed Shiwaji's death. Though Raja Sambhaji did not pay much attention to these internal arrangements, Rajaram followed his father's traditions faithfully, and set up his Ashtapradhan Council even at Jinji. Shahu, on his accession to the throne, changed the Councillors, but retained the Council. Though each Councillor had his separate department, he was also a Military Commander, except in the case of the Nyayadhishta and Panditrao, and as in Shiwaji's time, so under Shahu, the Pratinidhi and the Sachiva, the Mantri and the Amatya, assisted the State in its wars, as much as the Senapati and the Peshwa themselves. The Council is frequently mentioned as holding Majlasi or Meetings for purposes of consultation, adopting measures of State policy, dispensing justice, and maintaining the dignity of the State, both at home and abroad. The great Council where Bajirao advocated the forward policy of marching up to Delhi, and was opposed by the Pratinidhi, is a matter of history. On Shahu's death a change for the worse took place. The predominance acquired by the Peshwas, by reason of the great services rendered by them, necessarily tended to diminish the importance of the other members of the Council. When the seat of power was removed from Satara to Poona, these offices became hereditary, but their holders ceased to be of much importance in the Councils of the State. The two successors of Shahu were not personally fitted to wield the authority exercised in their name by the Peshwas. Though they were honoured as titular heads of the State, their movements were kept under strict control. In fact, after the failure of Damaji's attempt to undo the grants of the sanads transferring the power to the Peshwa, as noted above, the Raja was kept a prisoner in the fort of Satara, and an establishment of about Rs. 30,000 was attached to his Court. It was not till the elder Madhaorao showed more liberality towards the Raja that he could claim a garden for his pleasure-house, and attendants, musicians,

and singers were attached to his Court, and a decent provision was made for his near relatives by Nana Fadnavis. In the nature of things, there was however nothing to prevent the continuance of the old arrangement of associating the great Military and Civil Commanders in the Councils of the State, but the Peshwas apparently contented themselves with ignoring the usefulness of the Raj Mandal, and substituting in its place the subordinate purely civil officials, Fadnis, Mujumdars, and others, who, under the old arrangements, were attached to departments, and helped the ministers or district Commanders. Of the Darakdars, only two, Fadnis and Mujumdars, appear to have been retained by the Brahmin Government at Poona, and the rest, the Dewan, Karkhanis, Potnis and Jamdar, seem to have been dropped, and the Peshwa's Fadnis superseded his superior the Mujumdar, and became virtually what Pant Pratinidhi was under Shahu's rule. This diminution of the power of the Raj Mandal, while it helped to strengthen the ascendancy of the Peshwas over the whole kingdom, naturally led, in course of time, to the alienation of the great Commanders who had helped in Shahu's reign to extend the power of the Marathas over Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Delhi, Bengal, Orissa and Nagpur. The Peshwa's own model served as an example to the several Commanders who established themselves in power at Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Nagpur, and other places. The common bond of union which, in Shahu's time, held all the Chiefs together, ceased to be operative, and, in its place, each great commander, like the Peshwa, strove to be chief master in his territories and only helped the common cause on occasions of great emergencies. Even the Peshwa's favourite Commanders, Scindia, Holkar, and the Powars, followed the traditions of independence, which the Gaikwads, the Dabhades, and the Bhosales of Nagpur, who claimed to hold their possessions under Shahu's Sanadas, had begun to cherish, as the equals of the Peshwas, in their own dominions. The later additions of Brahmin Sardars represented by the Patwardhans, the Fadkes, and the Rastes, in the South, the Vinchurkars, and the Raje Bahadurs, the Bundeles, the Purandares, and the Bhuskutes in the North of the Deccan, naturally followed the same example, and by the time the first period ends with the battle of Paniput, when the whole nation was represented by its leaders, small and great, the bond of union became virtually dissolved; and though they joined together, on great occasions, such as at Kharda, and in the wars with the English, Hyder, and Tippu, the old solidarity

of interest became a thing of the past. The constitution which had served such great purposes under Shiwaji, Rajaram and Shahu, in holding the nation together for a hundred years, gave place to a mere Government by single chiefs, assisted by subordinates, instead of equals, and naturally failed to evoke that spirit of patriotic co-operation which had achieved such wonderful results. In the forty years of rule enjoyed by Shahu, he was not merely a titular head of the Maratha Government. Though he led no armies in the field, he directed all operations, ordered and recalled Commanders, and he exercised a great controlling power on the Chiefs. It was due to his efforts that Gujarath was divided between the Peshwa and the Dabhades or Gaikwads in equal halves after the battle of Debbhai. When Balaji Bajirao wanted to invade Bengal, Raghoji Bhosale protested at Satara, and Shahu was strong enough to enforce moderation even over the towering ambition of Balaji, and forced him to leave the Eastern provinces of India free for the development of the Bhosale's power. Bajirao was only a general under Shahu, and the Pratinidhi, Bhosales, Nimbalkars, Dabhades, Gaikwads, Kadam Bandes, Angres, Ghorpades, all respected his orders. When Shahu's great authority was withdrawn, this restraint was removed, and though the Peshwas succeeded in establishing their authority, both over Janoji Bhosale and Damaji Gaikwad, their submission was made reluctantly; and when the Peshwas themselves lost the advantage enjoyed by the first four members of the family, and minorities, and internal dissensions commenced at Poona, neither the Gaikwads nor the Bhosales would concern themselves with the common weal, and though Scindia and Holkar, the Patwardhans, and the other Chiefs showed more fidelity for a longer period, the balance of power was destroyed, and even Nana Fadnavis's genius could not control these Chiefs to subordinate their private interests to the general good, and they began to strengthen themselves by forming treaties of peace with foreign Powers. Nana, indeed, tried to correct the mistake, by setting up the Satara Raja's power after Sawai Madhaorao's death, but he found that this was impracticable, as the dismemberment had proceeded too far. If the Peshwas had continued true to the ancient Raj Mandal, while substituting themselves as the deputies of the hereditary Rajas, had maintained the old constitution intact, and had not tried to rule the Empire by a machinery of subordinates, originally intended by Shivaji for particular offices and commands, there was no reason why the great purposes served by the Raj Mandal under Shivaji, Rajaram,

and Shahu, might not have been fulfilled with equal success in the times of their Brahmin ministers. This seems to be the principal point of departure between the old traditions and the new order of things established in their place at Poona, and it was a departure attended with disastrous effects. The change meant the conversion of the organic whole into an inorganic mass, and it reproduced the old Mahomedan methods of single rule, against which Shivaji had successfully struggled when he organized the Raj Mandal.

Caste Ascendency.

One other general feature which distinguishes the first period under Shivaji and Shahu, from the period which followed the establishment of the Peshwa's power at Poona, relates to the fact that while most of the great Military Commanders in the earlier period were Marathas, with the notable exception of the Peshwas themselves, the men who rose to distinction in the latter half of the century were, for the most part, Brahmins. In the wars of Independence, Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade made their mark as leaders, the Nimbalkars, Attoles, the Bhosales, the Pawars, the Angres, and the Dabhades distinguished themselves in the war, which led to the accession of Shahu to the throne. In Shivaji's own time, Moropant Pingle, the Hanmantas, Abaji Sonadeo, Datto Annaji, and others played as prominent a part as did Gujars, Mohites, Palkars, Kanks, and Malusares; but in the wars of Independence, the Brahmin element chiefly exerted its influence in the Council, and not in the battle-field. In the time of the Second Peshwa, the great leaders were Malharrao Holkar, Pilaji Jadhav, Ranoji Shinde, and his three sons. In Balaji's time this preponderance of the Maratha element continued, and excepting the members of the Peshwa's family, the Brahmins made themselves useful chiefly as civilians. After the removal of the capital from Satara to Poona, a change took place in this policy, and we find that all the great Commanders who acquired fame and territory after 1760 were in the Deccan, almost exclusively, Brahmins. Even the Parbhu element ceased to be of any importance at the Poona Court, though it enjoyed considerable power at Baroda and Nagpur. Similarly, the Shenvi gaud Saraswat Brahmin element rose to eminence in the Scindia's territory; the other Brahmin element in those great camps at Indore, Baroda, Gwalior and Nagpur occupied a very subordinate position. In the Deccan, however, the men who rose to power were all Brahmins, the Vinchurkars, the Raje Bahadars, the Bhuskutes, the

Bundeles, the Khers, the Kanades, the Panses, the Biniwales, the Patwardhans, the Mehendales, the Gokhles, the Beheres, the Lagus, the Rastes, the Fadkes, the Pethes, and a host of other smaller names might be mentioned in support of this view. And even among the Brahmins it so happened that later in the century, the Deshashtha section took sides with Raghoba Dada, while the Konkanastha section followed the lead of the Poona ministers. Sakharam Bapu, the Raje Bahadars, the Vinchurkars, and the Hinganes took part in these wars on Raghoba's side ; while the other Brahmin leaders mentioned above sided with the party opposed to Raghoba. When in course of time, Bajirao succeeded to the throne, he had no sympathy with the section which had followed Nana Fadnavis, and the Patwardhans, the Rastes, and Nana Fadnavis himself were the objects of the bitterest hostilities. This infusion of the racial and caste element among the military leaders of the nation was the most distinguishing mark of the latter half of the century. There were parties within parties, with little chance of a common and active sympathy throughout all the classes, who had been held together with such successful results by Shiwaji, Rajaram, and Shahu. The first half of the century was singularly free from these racial and caste jealousies. In the latter half, they had attained such prominence that concert was impossible, and each great leader naturally cared to pursue his own interest to the sacrifice of the commonwealth. The Brahmins at this time came to regard themselves as a governing caste, with special privileges and exemptions, which were unknown under the system founded by Shiwaji. The Konkanastha Brahmin Karkoons, who had the monopoly of all the Secretariats of Daftar offices, and received respectable salaries, obtained the privilege of having their goods exempted from Custom duties and ferry charges when they imported grain and other goods from outside ports and places. The Brahmin land-holders in the Kalyan Prant, and also in Maval, had their lands assessed at half or lower rates than were levied from other classes. In Criminal Courts the Brahmins had always enjoyed the exceptional privilege of exemption from the extreme penalty of the law, and even when they were confined in forts, they were more liberally treated than the other classes. Besides these advantages, they had the monopoly of the charities freely bestowed by the State to this class in consideration of their sanctity. The record which relates to Bajirao II.'s time bears ample testimony to the extent of the abuses which followed this indulgence. The Dakshana charity, started with a view to encourage learning, became

generally a grant to all Brahmins, and Poona became the centre of a large pauper population. As many as 30 to 40 thousand Brahmins were fed for days together at the State expense at the great festivals with the costliest viands. All these distinguishing features of purely sacerdotal caste ascendancy characterised the close of the century, and introduced a demoralisation of which few people have any correct idea. In the hands of the last Bajirao the State ceased to be the ideal protector of all classes and upholder of equal justice. Ramdas's high ideal of the region of Maharashtra was lowered down to one in keeping with the belief that the State had no higher function than to protect the cow and the Brahmin, and the usual consequences followed such a decadence of virtue.

Army.

The next point of departure relates to the army, which, in fact, represented the Maratha nation more faithfully than any other single section of the population. Shivaji commenced his work of conquest of the forts round about Poona and in the Konkan with the help of the Mavales and the Hetkaries. The army then consisted only of the Hasham Infantry, who were armed generally with swords and matchlocks. When later on, he descended into the plains, the cavalry became the chief agency of offensive warfare in the hands of the Marathas. The old Mavales and Hetkaries were retained, but chiefly in commands of the Hill-forts. The Cavalry thus brought into existence fought with the Moguls under Aurangzeb, and spread the terror of the Maratha name throughout India. They were not mercenaries in the usual sense of the word. They enlisted in the army either singly, or with their horses and men, for the fair season of the year, and when the rains approached, they returned to their homes and cultivated their ancestral lands. The highest families gloried in being Shilledars and Bargirs, and their pride consisted in the number of troops or Pathaks that followed them, and the recruiting was made without any difficulty. The summons to arms was accompanied with a payment called Nalbandi, made in advance for the expenses for joining the field with accoutrement and equipment of the horse and man alike, and each trooper had his own favourite commander, whose standard he followed wherever he led them. The strength of the Maratha Cavalry continued to be its most distinguishing feature till about the year 1750, when contact with the French and the British armies discovered the superior advantages in

modern wars of regularly-trained infantry battalions protected by artillery, the third arm in modern warfare. The success of the English and the French induced the Maratha leaders to have recourse to this new agency, and for the first time we find mention made of the Gardis or the trained battalions. The weakness of this new addition to the Military force consisted in the fact that, unlike the Mavales or the Shilledars, who each owned his plot of land and served the State, not as mercenaries, but as militia, the Gardis were mercenaries pure and simple, made up of foreign recruits of different nationalities, who had to be paid fixed salaries all the year round, and only owed loyalty to the commanders who paid them their wages. There was no national element in this new force. The first Maratha Gardis employed by Sadashiva Rao Bhau were composed of disbanded battalions of the French native army led by the famous Ibrahimkhan Gardi. So great was Bhau's confidence in him that he, at Panipat, set at nought the wise counsels of the great Maratha leaders who opposed the plan of entrenching themselves before the enemy and risking a pitched battle with the Afghans. The calamitous result of this over-confidence did not deter the Maratha commanders from valuing the superior advantages of trained battalions officered in the European ways of war. Within ten years from the defeat at Panipat, the Gardis strengthened by this time by recruits from Arabs, Siddis, Abyssinians, Seikhs, and other foreigners, were enlisted in large numbers at rates of pay often nearly equal to what was paid to the Shilledar Cavalry for horse and man. The mercenary character of these men exhibited itself in the cruel death of Narayenrao Peshwa at their hands, and there was for a time a reaction against their employment. The advantages were, however, so obvious that the old scruple soon vanished away, and in the new armies created by Mahadaji Shinde in Hindustan trained battalions of foreign mercenaries, officered by Europeans, outnumbered the old cavalry, which was permitted to occupy only a secondary place. The success which attended this effort induced Holkar, Gaikwad, Bhosle, and lastly the Peshwas themselves, to engage foreign mercenaries and to rely chiefly on their support. Arabs, Gosawies, Seikhs, and Portuguese battalions were thus formed, and Bajirao II. himself engaged two battalions officered by English adventurers towards the close of the century. Even the Hill-forts which had been hitherto guarded by Mavales, were placed in charge of these mercenaries. The infantry and the cavalry elements in the native armies were thus elbowed out of their importance, and the

army, instead of being national, became mercenary in the worst sense of the word. Attached to the regular armies there was a licensed host of free-booters called Pendharris, who accompanied them and made a living by pillage of the enemy, and ultimately of their own people. If the innovation of employing trained battalions had been accompanied by the acquisition of requisite knowledge of the scientific and manufacturing processes necessary to command success in the use of superior arms, the helplessness, which in the absence of such knowledge, paralyzed the native armies when their European officers left them, might have been avoided, but no care seems to have been bestowed in this direction, so that, when the actual crisis came, they were more helpless than ever in the field. In the meanwhile the martial instincts of the neglected infantry and cavalry forces underwent a change for the worse, so that, when General Wellesley and Lord Lake broke down the strength of the battalions opposed to them, there was no power left in the country which could resist the conquest that followed as a matter of course. The old infantry and cavalry had lost their stamina, and the new mercenaries without leaders, and without any knowledge of military science, except the drill, were as ineffective as the Pendharris who accompanied them. It was this change which paralyzed the nation towards the end of the last century.

Navy.

A few remarks on the Navy may not be out of place here. The sea has always been a more or less strange element to the Marathas except on the Western Coast. Though Shivaji had the strength of mind to organise a navy, and place it under a Mahomedan commander who plundered far to the south on the Malabar coast, and fought with the Siddhis, it was not till the Angrias rose to power that the Marathas were able to dominate the sea-coast and hold the Mogul admiral in check. Under the Peshwas the Subha Armar was a part of the regular establishment, with its head-quarters at Vijayadurg and a subordinate establishment at Bassein, which was also called the second Subha Armar. Mention is frequently made of the struggles carried on by the fleet of the Angrias with the English, till at last the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, co-operated with the English, and he helped them to crush the Angrias' power on land and sea in 1756. Balaji Bajirao had organized a plan by which the mercantile vessels which traded from port to port might be utilized for defensive

purposes by enlisting the Tandels and Sarangs in private employ on increased pay when their services were wanted by the Government. Nothing came of this proposal. Anandrao Dhulap and his son Janrao continued to be the Peshwa's admirals in charge of the navy at Vijayadurg, but no great use was made of this force, except for the protection of commerce and the occasional overthrow of pirates from the Cutch and Gujarath side. Altogether, in assisting the English to put down the Angrias' power, the Peshwas diminished the importance of their own navy for defensive and offensive purposes.

Forts.

To turn next to the Forts. In the best times of the Maratha rule more than 200 forts were garrisoned in all parts of the country. Shivaji understood the duties of the king to include the preservation of the forts as a matter of special concern, and elaborate regulations were made for the garrisons stationed in the forts. The defenders of the forts had lands assigned to them for their maintenance, and room was found for the employment of all classes, Brahmins, Marathas, Ramosis, Mahars, Mangs, &c. These latter performed out-post duties. Besides the garrisons specially attached to the forts, detachments of regular infantry were stationed in the large forts for protection. Later on, Portuguese artillerymen were employed, and guns were mounted on their battlements in some places. In the Carnatic, Gardis were employed on similar duties as a check on the Canarese garrisons. The old system was departed from in the employment of these mercenaries, and even the old garrisons were shifted from one place to another for supposed reasons of State. Under the later Peshwas, these forts appear chiefly to have served the double purpose of State granaries and State prisons. State prisoners were sent to the forts for custody, and the condemned criminals of both the sexes were sent there for penal servitude. In the latter half of the century, the forts are chiefly mentioned in this connection. Against the more improved means of warfare represented by the artillery, these hill-forts ceased to be valuable for the purposes of defence, and in many places they were neglected and allowed to go into disrepair. In the wars with the English, the forts offered little or no protection, and submitted without firing a shot. The army, the navy, and the forts were thus by the course of events, and the neglect of the State, rendered incapable, for different reasons, of doing any service in the latter half of the century.

Public Debt.

While in these higher spheres of statesmanship and the art of Government the lines of departure pursued by the latter Peshwas and their ministers indicate visible signs of decay, it must in justice to them be admitted that, in the matter of the revenue and judicial management, the Government at Poona showed great powers of application, careful elaboration of detail, and an honest desire to administer well the charge entrusted to them. The financial condition of the State was decidedly superior to the hand-to-mouth system which characterised the first half of the last century. It is well-known that all the great Maratha leaders, including Bajirao I., always found it difficult to raise the monies required for their great expeditions in Hindustan, and the information given in the Diaries of the debts contracted by Balaji Bajirao between 1740 and 1760 shows a total of a crore and a half of public debt. The strain represented by this amount will be better understood when it is mentioned that the Peshwa's Government had to pay from 12 to 18 per cent. interest on these loans. Owing to the great collapse at Panipat, things did not much improve in Madhavrao's time. The poor Prince had a heavy load of debts, amounting to some Rs. 24,00,000, which had to be satisfied by the assurance given on his death-bed by the ministers about him that his bonds would be discharged there and then. Under Nana Fadnavis's careful management, this state of things appears to have greatly improved, and the accounts do not show that the debts contracted by him exceeded a few lacs. The last Peshwa had apparently no debts to pay, but was able to collect a large private treasure of his own.

Revenue Management.

The system of revenue management under Balaji Bajirao, Madhavrao, and Nana Fadnavis, was on the whole careful. New sources of revenue were developed, and the old improved. The land settlements made by the Peshwas during this period show that, while anxious not to oppress the ryots, every care was taken to insist on the rights of the Government. Whenever the country needed that relief, leases varying from three to seven years were granted on the terms of 'Istawas,' i. e. gradually-increasing assessments. The old 'Kamal' figures (maximum amounts collected) of village and pargana revenues were, of course, never realized, and were never meant to be realized. These amounts were reduced so as to suit the conditions

of the population and general prosperity in fixing the 'Tankha' or realizable revenue, and large reductions were made in the 'Tankha' figures whenever, owing to war or famine, enquiries showed that the complaints were reasonable. Wherever the Batai, or system of crop division, obtained, the Government, after deducting seeds and other necessary charges paid by the ryots, left $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop to the cultivator, and took the rest for the State. In Shiwaji's time the proportions are stated to have been $\frac{2}{5}$ and $\frac{3}{5}$. The Batai system was not much in favour, but grain and proportionate cash rents prevailed throughout the country. In the South Konkan the normal assessment appears to have been 10 maunds per bigha of rice land paid in kind. This amount was reduced to 9 and even 8 maunds in certain districts on the complaint that it was too exorbitant. When cash payments were required, or were convenient to the ryots, they were fixed at the low amount of Rs. 15, 20, or 30 per khandy, according to season. The Brahmins had to pay lighter rates of 5 maunds or thereabouts in Northern Konkan. In a settlement of the Nera Taluka, the cash rates were from Rs. 3 to 5 per bigha, according to the quality of the soil; and the sugar-cane rate was Rs. 5 per bigha. Where the cash rates prevailed, Rs. 2 per bigha for good black soil, and Re. 1 for middling soil of Jirait land, and Rs. 5 to 6 for Bagaie lands were deemed to be reasonable rates in the Nasik District and at Pimpalgaon Baswant. In the Khed Taluka, Poona District, the rate in Bajirao II.'s time was Rs. 3 per bigha. In the less-favoured parts of the Satara District, the rates are stated to have ranged from $1\frac{3}{4}$ maunds to 6 maunds per bigha according to the quality of the soil. In Gujarath the rates were much higher.

Remissions.

Large remissions were made whenever the seasons were found to be unfavourable. Under the old revenue system, cultivated lands alone paid revenue, and in bad years the revenues fell, and remissions had to be constantly made in the State accounts.

The Kamavishi System.

The revenue management to the commencement of Bajirao II.'s rule was conducted on the Kamavishi principle, *i. e.*, the Kamavisdar or Mamalatdar and his establishment and contingencies were all paid by the State, the general proportion of charges being about 10 per cent, on the collection. The number and pay of the Karkoons and the Shibandi, *i. e.* the horsemen and sepoys, were carefully fixed in a sort

of budget or Beheda statement, and the Kamavisdar had thus little or no motive to practise oppression. The Jamabandi made by him had to be approved by superior officers called Subhas and Sir Subhas, and the complaints of the Jamidars, village authorities, and ryots were listened to and redressed by the removal and punishment of these officers when they misconducted themselves. The Kamavisdar, though appointed for one year, held the office during good behaviour.

Jiara or Farming System.

In the times of the second Bajirao, the Kamavishi system gave place to what is called the Ijara or farming system, the Ijardar undertaking to pay his own establishment, and making profit for himself after paying the State dues and certain secret payments to the Peshwa himself, which were not brought to the State account, but were credited in his Khasgi or private treasure. If we except these Ijara abuses introduced by the last Peshwa, the Kamavishi management was as carefully looked after under Maratha rule as in the best times of any native or the British rule, before or after. Mr. Grant-Duff has admitted that the weak points of the system told more against the interests of the State than on individuals, and that the Maratha Country was more thriving than any other part of India in proportion to its fertility.

Revenue Divisions.

The whole country was divided into about twelve Subhas, each Subha consisting of Parganas or Mamalat divisions, or Taluka divisions as we now call them. These Subhas were:—(1) Khandesh, 30 Parganas, including Baglan; (2) Nemad Prant, Handa, 5; (3) Poona and Nagar, 18; (4) Konkan, 15; (5) Gangathad, including the Nasik District, 25; (6) Gujarath Prant, 20; (7) Carnatic; (8) Satara with Wai, and Karad; (9 & 10) the Customs Subhas, Poona and Junnar, and Kalyan and Bhiwandi; and (11 & 12) two Armar Subhas, Vijayadurga and Bassein.

Village Autonomy.

The village autonomy was not interfered with. The Patil and the Kulkarni were responsible for the collections, and received their dues independently of the Government. Security of the sowkars had to be given for the payment of the year's revenue, and the village ryot had a joint responsibility. The country, on the whole, was prosperous.

Wages and Prices.

The rates of wages were from Rs. 3 to 7 for menials and sepoys, and for higher artisans, very much what they now are outside the great towns, from Annas 6 to 10 per day. The Karkoon's wages were generally Rs. 7 to 10 per month. The prices of food-stuffs were generally more unsteady than they are now, but it may be roughly stated that staple grains, Jwari and Bajri, were about three to four times as cheap as they now are. The rates of wages being, on an average, half of what they have been for many years past, while the prices were 3 to 4 times as cheap, the people had ample resources during good seasons, and no great famine is recorded during this period, though partial famines are frequently mentioned. There was no dearth of remunerative employment throughout this period, by reason of the large wealth acquired from the successes of the Marathas in foreign conquest, and there was thus no pressure felt of the land tax and other cesses, except in the border provinces devastated by wars. Oppression seems to have been rare, as the people had the remedy in their own hands, of either putting down the oppressor, or migrating in other territories for a time.

Tagai Advances.

Besides granting remissions for seeds or implements, the Peshwa's Government encouraged the Kamavisdar to make Tagai grants to the cultivators, as also for rebuilding houses when destroyed by fire, and supplying cattle.

Public Works.

The Government also undertook such public works as constructing dams, building roads in the Ghats, and landing-places on river-banks, digging tanks, and securing water-supplies to towns, and several such large items are found in these accounts. The advances to the cultivators were made for short periods, one or two years, but the Kamavisdars were lenient, and they were generally not removed till these advances had been repaid. In cases where such removal took place, the successor was required to pay off the previous holder. Owing to the necessities of the State, the Government frequently borrowed of the Kamavisdar the instalments in advance of the time fixed. On such advances, the State agreed to pay 12 per cent. interest to the Kamavisdar till the debt was paid off.

Forced Labour or Wetha.

Under the earlier Peshwas, the system of forced labour or 'wetha' was extensively in use, and caused great annoyance to the poorer

classes and artisans who were subjected to it. In the first Madhao-rao's time, these grievances were partially redressed, and money payments were allowed to be substituted, to the convenience of both the parties. The State, in this respect, was more liberal than private masters. The general impression left on one's mind by the study of the revenue portion of the record in these Diaries is, on the whole, very favourable, and it will be difficult to show that there has been during the last eighty years, any decided improvement in this respect.

Other Taxes.

Besides the land-tax, a number of other cesses were in force, the chief among them being the house-tax, and shop-tax, called the 'Moha urfa.' In the Konkan Districts, tobacco imports were taxed at Revdanda and other ports.

Salt.

The manufacture of salt was made to yield a small income at Nagotna and at Bhyndar near Bassein, the duty being at Nagotna Rs. 2-10-0 per khandy, and at Bhyndar Rs. 1-6-0 per khandy on salt produced. These rates were 20 to 31 times lighter than what are now charged by Government.

Abkari.

Toddy and Cocoanut trees were taxed, when tapped for drawing liquor, in Bassein and the territories held previously by the Portuguese on the Konkan coast. This last tax had been introduced on the express representation of the Bhandaris, and the rayats of those parts, who complained that they could not carry on their trade without the use of some kind of liquor. No revenue was derived from Abkari except in the Konkan, and a little receipt from liquor farms near Poona itself. There were similarly petty taxes on the production of ghee, grazing-fees, marriage-fees, the buffalo tax and the right of catching fish in some places.

Ferries.

The ferries were in general free of all charges, being kept by the State, but in some cases farms were given for the collection of revenue from the more frequented ferries. These were later creations suggested by the greed of petty farmers, and yielded very scanty revenue. When the Ijara system was introduced by Bajirao II, the abuses consequent on the farming system necessarily multiplied, and must have caused considerable annoyance and

oppression. Under the Kamavishi system, which prevailed before, the inducements to oppression were, as stated above, not so powerful, and they were checked by the Subhas and Sir Subhas corresponding with our Commissioners. There were five such officers in the Konkan-Carnatic, Khandesh, Gujarath and Baglan. On the whole, the Peshwa's Government kept up the reputation of a mild native rule.

Customs—Jakat or land Customs.

There was no separate department of Sea Customs, except the revenues assigned to the Subha Armars, under the Peshwas, but the land customs levied on the transport of goods yielded a considerable revenue, and the Customs Subhas as they were called, of Kalyan and Bhivandi, Poona and Junnar, were especially prosperous. The Kalyan and Bhivandi Subhas yielded in Balaji's time, a sum of Rs. 55,000, and it developed to Rs. 3,00,000 towards the close of the century, and the income of the Poona Subha increased from Rs. 35,000 to nearly a lakh. The town duties in Poona itself were farmed, and yielded a considerable revenue, chiefly from octroi, on goods imported and exported, and on sales of cloth, tobacco, and other necessities of a town population. Similar duties were levied at Ahmedabad on the scales originally laid down by the Emperors of Delhi. The revenue management thus reflected no little credit on the ingenuity and skill of the Brahmin ministers and their District and Pargana officers, and little fault can be found as regards the way in which these resources were developed and administered.

Justice.

The proper administration of civil and criminal justice may well be regarded as a more decisive test of the efficiency and success of native rule than the collection of the land revenue, the cesses and customs. Judged by this test, it must be said to the credit of the Brahmin Peshwas, that while they did not reconstitute any of the other departments of the State included in the Raj Mandal, they revived the office of the Nyayadhisha at Poona, and entrusted him with the fullest power in disposing of civil and criminal cases, which in the last resort, came up before the Poona Court by way of appeal, or original trial, or confirmation, from the Subordinate District officials.

Rama Shastri.

This creation of the office of the Nyayadhisha appears to have taken place about the year 1760, and the choice of Rama Shastri for the post was a peculiarly happy one, and brought honour and credit to

the Government. The office was continued after Rama Shastri's retirement, and seems to have been filled by equally learned men, the last of whom was Balkrishna Shastri Tonkekar, who lived in the reign of Bajirao II. The general arrangement appears to have been that each Kamavisdar had both civil and criminal powers attached to his office, and the proceeds of civil and criminal fines, up to a certain amount in petty cases of assault, theft and similar offences, as also the payments made by the civil suitors who gained or lost their cases, formed a regular source of his income, though he had to account to the State for these receipts. The amounts of all fines above the prescribed limit were credited to the State account. Besides the new chief court started at Poona, it further appears that small provincial courts with limited jurisdiction, to help the Kamavisdar or Subhedar, were also established in some of the Districts.

Civil.

In civil cases, the fines paid by the successful suitor and his defeated antagonist, were respectively called 'Harki' and 'Gunhegari,' and the total of civil fines thus recovered seems to have been about 25 per cent. on the value of the matter in dispute, the Gunhegari being about twice the figure for the Harki.

Money Suits.

In our modern sense of the word, suits for the recovery of money due from debtors were very rare. As the creditors generally enjoyed large powers of enforcing their dues, State-help was only required in the case of powerful debtors, and 25 per cent. of the recoveries so made were claimed by the State as a charge for its help.

Vatan suits.

Civil litigation was chiefly confined to Vatan, Adoption, Partition, Partnership, Boundary disputes, and other cases of a like character. The decision was made to rest chiefly on the evidence of the witnesses on both sides, who were examined under the sanction of the most effective oaths, and solemn asseverations on the waters of the sacred rivers. After the parties had stated their respective cases, the witnesses' testimony was recorded, and then the men were called upon to choose their arbitrators from their own or neighbouring villages, and the decision of the Kamavisdars gave effect to the views of the arbitrators. In very rare cases, where the evidence was conflicting, or no evidence could be secured, resource was had to ordeal, and the decision depended upon the result. Out of some seventy contested cases, the decisions in which are recorded in these Diaries,

the test of ordeal was made to regulate the verdict in six cases, and even in these six cases, there were only two occasions when the parties challenged each other to the ordeal of fire. In the other four cases, bathing in the river sufficed to bring out the truth. There was no room for the employment of pleaders. The parties had the right to carry their appeals to the head of the Government, who if not satisfied with the arbitration, called on the parties to select a new Panch, to whom the case was referred. In all big civil cases, the decision appears to have been brought into force after reporting to the central Authorities.

Criminal.

In regard to criminal justice, it deserves to be noted that under the Raja and the early Peshwas, the only punishments judicially administered were penal servitude, imprisonment, attachment of property, fine, and in a few cases, banishment beyond the frontiers. Capital punishment or mutilation appears to have been studiously avoided, even in cases of murder, treason, or dacoity. Mutilation was inflicted in a few cases in the reign of Madhavrao I.; but even in the troublous times in which he lived, capital punishment was never inflicted. In Sawai Madhaorao's time under Nana Fadnavis, there seems to have been a clear departure from this mild administration of the law, and cruel mutilation and wholesale capital punishments were inflicted on criminals convicted of murder, treason or dacoity. The Brahmins and women alone were exempted from capital punishments. In the case of Brahmins, confinement in the fort was the highest punishment, and the civil penalties were joined with religious penalties, including excommunication. The cruel punishments inflicted in Nana Fadnavis' time, seem to have been the result of internal dissensions which began to disturb the public peace in the first Madhavrao's time, and increased in virulence when Raghoba Dada contested the throne. A comparative statement of figures compiled from the Diaries will bring out these points more distinctly than any description in words.

Murder.

In Shahu's time, there were 8 trials for murder, in 5 of which the accused were acquitted, and only in three, convictions took place, and fine and imprisonment were imposed. In the last ten years of Balaji Bajirao, there were 20 trials for murder, in 3 of which the persons charged were acquitted, in 8 heavy fines were imposed, and in the

remaining 9 confiscation of property was the only punishment awarded. Out of the property confiscated, steps were taken to make compensation to the heirs of the murdered persons by making a grant to them out of the attached property. In the times of Madhavrao I, there were 7 cases of murder tried before him. Fines were levied in 3, and vatans were attached in the 3 other cases, and in one where the murderer was a Brahmin, confinement in the fort was ordered. In Nana Fadnavis' time, capital punishment was awarded in two cases involving a number of criminals, and the other 6 cases of murder were disposed of by the award of imprisonment, fine and confiscation. In Bajirao II's time, two cases of murder are mentioned in these Diaries, in which Brahmins were the offenders, and were sent to prison.

Treason.

The punishment for minor treason, *i. e.*, for creating a rebellion or joining the enemy, was throughout the whole period, confinement in the forts, or confiscation of property. As regards persons convicted of political treason by way of attempts on the person of the Peshwas, or waging war, the punishment was for the criminal to be trampled by an elephant.

Dacoity.

In dealing with armed dacoities, Madhavrao I. and Nana Fadnavis inflicted more cruel punishments than in the case of private murders. Mutilation of hands and feet which never disfigured the annals of criminal administration up to 1760, were first ordered in Madhavrao's reign, and in Nana Fadnavis's time, wholesale executions were ordered of the criminals locked in the gaols and convicted of this charge. In one case, 20 men were beheaded, in another 13 men had their both hands and feet cut off, and in the third case, 18 men had either their hands or feet or ears cut off. These cruel punishments appear to have been extensively resorted to with a view to strike terror. Later on, these extreme penalties were inflicted even in cases of robberies, which did not come under the head of dacoities, or in which members of the criminal tribes were not concerned.

Robbery, Adultery.

The punishment for robbery generally was fine or imprisonment in the forts. For adultery in the case of women, the punishment was imprisonment with penal servitude in the forts or in the kothis, and in the case of men, imprisonment or fine.

Slaves.

As regards women condemned to penal servitude, it may be noted that they lost their status, and were treated as slaves. Their progeny especially was regarded as the children of no father, but were only known by their mothers' names. The ranks of these condemned slaves had accessions made to them of other persons from the lowest classes who lived by prostitution, and of children captured in foreign territory by Banjaris or Lamans who brought them for sale in the Peshwa's territory.

Slavery so recruited thus became a recognized institution, and men and women slaves were transferable like the dumb cattle from one owner to another for a money consideration. When the slaves grew old, some of them were released from prisons, and the private slaves were also set free by their owners for charitable considerations. The slaves on the whole appear to have been kindly treated, especially those women slaves who were made to work in the Peshwa's kothis, or in private houses.

Casting evil spirits.

There was one kind of criminal offence not known to our modern code, but which seems to have been severely punished under the Peshwas. It refers to the charge of casting evil spirits, and offences under this head seem to have been an important feature of criminal administration, especially in the Konkan. In fact, under the last two Peshwas, regular officers with establishments were employed for the discovery and punishment of offenders who were accused of troubling their neighbours by the agency of evil spirits. It formed a part of the Police duty of the District officers to exterminate the evil spirits.

Perjury, Cow-killing.

For perjury and forgery, the usual punishment was fine, and imprisonment where fine could not be levied by reason of poverty. Cow-killing was punished severely.

Other offences.

False coinage, and offences regarding false weights and measures, were punished with fines and imprisonment. Abduction and seduction, theft, and cheating were punished by fines. This brief conspectus of the way in which criminal justice was administered, will show that except under Nana Fadnavis, the administration of the law

was never vindictive or cruel, but sympathetic, and mild to a degree unknown before or since. The punishments were adequate to the offence, but not too severe. Nana Fadnavis' administration was exceptional for the reasons stated above, and he appears to have been equally severe in the way in which he treated his political enemies.

State prisoners.

Sakharampant Bapu, who was at one time a pillar of the State, was imprisoned in the forts for the part he took in siding with Raghoba Dada, and the same fate overtook Raghoba's other friends, chiefly Parbhus, Raghunath Hari, Baburao Hari, &c. Nana Fadnavis's own near relative, Moro Baburao, was similarly sent to prison, and in Bajirao's time Nana Fadnavis had himself to share the same fate. The strife of the parties seems to have been much more bitter in those days than was the case under the first three Peshwas. State prisoners were treated with leniency in those days. This generosity was not shown to the friends and followers of Raghoba Dada, or the Pretender's followers, who were mostly Brahmmins holding high offices.

Police.

As regards the Police, the Kamavisdar with his shibandi force of horse and foot, constituted the regular police defence of the country. In the villages, the Patel and Kulkarni and the Jaglias, or Rakhwal-dars consisting of Mahars and Mangs secured their own internal quiet, and in the larger villages or towns, each man had to do watch duty at the Chawdi by turns.

City Kotwals.

Besides the shibandis and the village police, kotwali establishments were organized for the detection and the punishment of crime, and we find that Kotwals were appointed at Poona, Nasik, Pandharpur, Nagar, Satara, Wai, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Trimbak, and other large towns.

This Kotwali.

This Kotwali establishment had also the charge of the conservancy of the cities, and scavengers were provided and paid for by cesses levied from the house-holders. The appointment of scavengers was made at Poona, Nagar, Pandharpur, Nasik, and other places. The Kotwals at Poona, Nagar, Pandharpur, Junnar, and Nasik had powers of Magistrates in miscellaneous cases which in the Districts were disposed of by the Kamavisdars.

Mints.

In the miscellaneous departments, mints occupied an important place. I have treated the subject of the Mints under the Maratha rule in a separate paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society.

Post.

The post office did not occupy any recognized position under the Peshwa's rule. Special agencies were employed on particular occasions, when the armies went to Hindustan or to the Karnatic. These agencies consisted of special Jasuds or Kassids, who apparently took 18 days to go to Delhi from Thalner, and 13 days from Maheshwar, and they were paid handsomely, Rs. 3 a day, the amount being regulated inversely according to the number of days they took in the journey. When the Peshwas had to correspond with Calcutta, they sent their Jasuds to Burhanpur, and thence they took on the post to Benares, where an English officer, in charge of postal arrangements, despatched the Peshwa's post to Calcutta. In the wars in the Karnatic, the Peshwas found it necessary to organize special postal arrangements from Poona to Badami, and sixty men were employed to carry the daily post to and fro while the war lasted. Beyond these stray efforts, no regular post service for private or official use appears to have been maintained, and the private work was done by the employés of Sawkars who made these long journeys to carry remittances, at stated intervals, and took the private post of those who cared to correspond with their distant relations.

Medicine.

As regards medicine, the function of the State in the distribution of charitable relief was not recognized beyond the fact that well-known Hakims and Vaidyas were honoured with grants of villages, and were often supplied with other necessary help for the preparation of medicines. The Hakims were in requisition for the army, and were valued chiefly as surgeons. There is only one mention made of a Gujarathi native doctor who supplied medicines gratis at Nasik, and was rewarded with a jahagir, which was continued to his son, as he maintained the dispensary. There was another native Vaidya for whom a sort of a botanical garden was provided for the cultivation of rare drugs, and he was supplied with other help for the preparation of medicines from them. These scanty notices are all that can be gathered from the Diaries as regards the way in which this most important State function of charitable relief was discharged.

Military pensions.

The State was more liberal in the rewards it gave to soldiers who lost their lives in the battle-field. Hundreds of such cases are mentioned in the Diaries, where the heirs of the deceased were rewarded with inams, or maintenance allowances were made to the widows and children, and in some cases, the office held by the father was conferred on the son. In making these awards, no distinction was made between Brahmins and Marathas, Hindus and Mahomedans. All those who had received wounds or had died in the service of the State, were generously treated without distinction.

Religious Charities.

The same liberality was shown in the distribution of grants to religious charities. The bulk of the benefactions were conferred upon Brahmins as might be expected, but the old Mahomedan grants were continued to Dargas and Mosques, and many new grants were made to Mahomedans and even Christians, the last especially in the Konkan. There was a singular absence of any religious prejudice in the distribution of this charity. These Dewasthan and Varshasan allowances granted by the State under the Maratha rule, make up a very large total exceeding many lakhs which attests the generosity of the State in this respect.

Honoric Titles.

Under Raja Shahu, the function of the State of granting honorific titles on deserving officials found considerable scope, and on the model of the Delhi Emperors high-sounding titles were freely bestowed on Hindu generals and commanders. Under the later Peshwas, this function was more sparingly exercised, and the honours conferred took the form chiefly of allowing the officer the dignity of riding in a Palkhi or having the permission to employ a person to hold an Abdagir, for which a separate allowance was made by the State.

Encouragement to Trade.

In regard to the encouragement of trade, the Diaries show that in Balaji Bajirao's time, the Punna Diamond mines in Bundelkhand were worked to advantage under concessions granted by the Peshwa. Traders from Arabia were encouraged to settle in the Konkan ports. Their trade was chiefly in horses, and they were allowed to enter the territory free of customs duty. Similar favours wereshown to the

European traders who sought admission into the country for their goods. Liberal concessions were made for enlarging the limits of the more prosperous towns by grants of land, exemptions, and Vatan to those who undertook to bring foreign settlers and induce them to build new houses, and open new bazars. The silk and embroidery industry of Poona was entirely due to the encouragement given to the foreign settlers from Barhanpur, Paithan, and other towns to come and live under the Peshwa's protection on house-sites which were granted free to them. Individual merchants were encouraged in large towns to open shops with the help of Government advances.

Extension of Poona.

The prosperity of Poona attracted a large number of people to come and settle there, of their own accord, so that Poona, which was before 1748 only a small Kasba town, developed into the proportions of a city, which it now exhibits in its 16 suburbs or Peths, all of them established by private citizens under State patronage, and named after the principal Sardars, or of the members of the Peshwa family.

Encouragement of learning.

Reference has already been made to the Dakshina grant paid to Shastris, Pundits and Vaidiks. This Dakshina was instituted in the first instance by the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade, and when on the death of that officer, his resources were curtailed, the charity was taken over by the State into its own hands. Disbursements increased from year to year, till they rose to 60,000 in Nana Fadnavis's time. These Dakshina grants redeemed to a certain extent the reprehensible extravagance of Bajirao II.'s charities. Learned Sanskrit scholars from all parts of India, from Bengal, and Northern India, as also from the South, the Telangan, Dravid and the Karnatic, flocked to Poona, and were honoured with distinctions and rewards securing to them a position throughout the country which they highly appreciated. Some four lacs of rupees were annually disbursed by Bajirao II. in his charities. The ordinary Brahmmins were served with food in the Ramana gathering, while the learned people who refused to take part in the miscellaneous assembly were invited to the Peshwa's Palace and were honoured with shawls and money, gifts according to their tested merits. The amount thus spent came to a lac and a quarter. The remaining three lacs were spent on the Ramana charity. The result of this munificence brought credit to Poona as a city of learn-

ing, and this credit it continued to enjoy even after the downfall of the Peshwas, as long as the old Pathashala was maintained out of the Dakshina grant by Mr. Elphinstone and his immediate successors. Times have altered since then, and the Dakshina grant has been utilized for similar purposes which have popularized the study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, among all classes of students. No direct encouragement was given to other than the Sanskrit Pandits, but the Puraniks and Haridasas were regarded as being equally entitled to special grant with Vaidiks and Shastris, and these were noted for their command and skill in the exposition of the great Maratha poets. Rich Sardars patronized Marathi learning, as for instance, the great Maratha poet Moropant was patronised by the Baramatkar Joshis. As regards the lower classes, the national fondness for Pawadas and Lawanis, contributed to the rise of ballad and love poetry, and some of the most noted composers of this kind of literature derived encouragement from Bajirao's support. These brief notices of the miscellaneous activities of the State will suffice to recommend the subject to the fuller consideration of those students of our past history, who might be inclined to pursue their researches further into the old record.

Superstitions.

Perhaps the most interesting and permanently useful information furnished by these records is that which relates to the social changes attempted by the Maratha Government. It is not to be supposed for a moment that the Brahmin leaders, who were entrusted with the government of the country, had not their full share of implicit belief in the superstitions of the time. Reference has already been made to the attempted regulations of the practice of exorcising evil spirits, whose agency was, it was believed, utilized by evil-doers to ruin their enemies. Belief in omens and prognostics was common to all classes. It is recorded that a student cut off his tongue, and another Gujarathi devotee cut off his head by way of offering it to the deity he worshipped, and in both the cases, the events were reported to the Government by the local officials, and large sums were spent to purify the temples and ward off the dangers threatened by these unholy sacrifices. People were filled with alarm when it was reported that an earthquake had disturbed the Kalyan Taluka. A fortress on the Ghats was believed to have suffered injury from the influence of evil sights, and another fortress a few years later, was

rendered unfit for occupation by the prevalence of an unaccountable disease. In all these three cases, steps were taken to pacify the elements, by general purification. The donee of a Jahagir village prayed to Government to resume the grant, and exchange it for some other, as the gift became undesirable on account of the prevalence of the evil spirits. Partial and local famines gave frequent trouble in those days, and large sums were spent in employing Brahmins to drown the Gods, or pour water over them for days and weeks together. Sacrifice of buffaloes to a goddess at Trimbak which had been stopped for some years, was resumed by the order of the Government at the instance of Brahmin devotees. When a man-eating tiger appeared on the Saptashringi Hill in the Nasik District, the Kamavisdar was ordered to consult the pleasure of the Goddess, and if she consented, to employ men to shoot it.

A lizard having fallen on the body of the idol at Pandharpur, a great penance was ordered in which Brahmins took part. The sale of cows to butchers was strictly prohibited throughout the country. Some Mahomedans, who were guilty of breaking the law, were severely punished, and a Brahmin who cut off the tail of a cow, was sent to prison. The revival of the old Yajnyas, or great sacrifices, lasting over many days and weeks, was encouraged as being conducive to the prosperity of the State, and several large sacrifices were so patronized by the Government by the supply of all the necessary articles in cash and kind, costing several thousands of rupees. Shrines and temples multiplied in and about Poona, and the last portion of the Diary gives a list of some 250 temples which were of sufficient importance to receive State-help in 1810-1811. The relative popularity of the several deities will appear from the analysis which shows that there were 52 temples of Maruti, the attendant of Rama, while Rama himself had 18 places of worship. The temples dedicated to Vishnu were 9, to Vithoba 34, to Krishna as Balaji 12. Rama and Krishna incarnations had thus 73 places of worship. The most popular god with the Brahmins was Mahadeo, who had 40 temples, and Ganpati had 36 temples. Judged by the number of temples the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu were thus nearly equal. The old aboriginal gods had in all 32 places of worship. The Devi had 10, and there were 8 places of Mahomedan Dargas held in veneration, while Dattatraya had only one temple for his worship.

Too great stress should not be placed upon the accounts given above of the popular beliefs and superstitions. They were in keeping

with the general condition of the country all over India, and no man or any body of men should be condemned for simply following the current of the time. The Peshwa's government deserves credit for the inculcation of better principles and a more liberal social code adopted by them, and to the principal items of reforms attempted by that Government we may now fitly refer here with advantage. In those times of wars and troubles, there were frequent occasions when men had to forsake their ancestral faith under pressure, force, or fraud, and there are four well-attested instances in which the re-admission into their respective castes, both of Brahmins and Marathas, was not merely attempted, but successfully effected with the consent of the caste, and with the permission of the State authorities. A Maratha named Putaji Bandgar, who had been made a captive by the Moguls, and forcibly converted to Mahomedanism, rejoined the forces of Balâji Vishvanath, on their way back to Delhi, after staying with the Mahomedans for a year, and at his request, his re-admission with the consent of the caste was sanctioned by Raja Shahu. A Konkanastha Brahmin who had been kept a State prisoner by Haider in his armies, and had been suspected to have conformed to Mahomedan ways of living for his safety, was similarly admitted into caste with the approval of the Brahmins and under sanction from the State. Two Brahmins, one of whom had been induced to become a Gosawee by fraud, and another from a belief that he would be cured of a disease from which he suffered, were re-admitted into caste, after repentance and penance. These two cases occurred one at Puntamba, in the Nagar District, and the other at Paithan in the Nizam's dominions, and the admission of these Brahmins was made with the full concurrence of the Brahmins under the sanction of the authorities. In regard to temperance, it may be noted that the Brahmin Government of Poona absolutely prohibited the manufacture and sale of liquors as a general principle of action, but it was practical enough to make exceptions, when local necessities were pleaded by Bhandaries, Kolis and other communities in the territories conquered from the Portuguese in Bassein, Chowl, and other places. Exception was made in favour of these men, and the lower castes generally, but the order provided that Brahmins, Shenvis, Parbhus, and Government officers generally were to be strictly prohibited from the use of drink, and very heavy penalties were exacted from the offender who broke the law. Several Brahmins of Nasik who were Dharmadhikaris of the place, were suspected of having indulged in drink, and as they proved contumacious, they

were sent to forts, and were imprisoned there by way of punishment. A rich Maratha Patil in the Khed Taluka was warned once against the danger incurred by reason of his intemperate habits, and when this warning proved ineffective, half of his Inam land, measuring one Chahur, was confiscated by way of punishment.

As regards marriage reforms, it may be noted that Bajirao II. passed strict orders specially for the Konkan District and for Wai, prohibiting the sale of girls by the bride's father in consideration of marriage. Very strict regulations were passed imposing fines equal to the amounts received, upon one or both the parties and the marriage brokers. Apparently with a view to check the practice, Bajirao further ordered that no girl above 9 should remain unmarried, thereby claiming for the State to interfere in what is generally regarded as the province of the Shastras. In a few cases, where attempts had been made to marry young children by force, and the full rite was not completed, the Peshwas set aside the attempted marriages, and permitted the girls to be given to other more suitable persons. In one case where a marriage alliance had been formally settled, and the bridegroom was afterwards found to be suffering from leprosy, the Peshwa's Government interfered. The betrothal was set aside, and the bride's father was permitted to give his girl to whomsoever he chose. It is also well-known that on Sadashivrao Bhau's disappearance on the battle-field of Panipat, his wife Parwatibai who survived him, was allowed to retain all the insignia of wifehood, till the day of her death, which took place in 1783, 21 years after the disappearance of her husband, and the funeral rites of both the husband and wife were performed together on her death. This exhibition of chivalrous regard for the feelings of the lady in question, is to be noted, specially because, a Kanoja pretender had appeared in the meanwhile and claimed to be Sadashivrao Bhau himself, and had to be put down after great exertions by the Peshwa's army. After being once put in prison, he had escaped after some years' confinement, and raised a rebellion in the Konkan, which was put down about 1776, and he was sentenced to be trodden under foot by an elephant. Narayenrao Peshwa's widow was similarly allowed to remain without disfigurement for several years during the time she survived her husband's death. Though the Diaries are silent on the point, it is well-known that the efforts made by Parasharam-bhau Patwardhan on behalf of his widowed daughter to secure the consent of the Brahmins for her second marriage, found no opposition

from the Peshwa. But Bhan had to give up his idea under pressure from his own female relations.

As between caste and caste, the Peshwas held the balance evenly, even when the interests of the Brahmin priests were affected. The right of the Sonars to employ priests of their own caste was upheld against the opposition of the Poona Joshis. The claim made by the 'Kumbhars' (potters) for the bride and the bridegroom to ride on horseback, was upheld against the carpenters, who opposed it. The Kasars' right to go in processions along the streets, which was opposed by the Lingayats, was similarly upheld. The right of the Parbhus to use Vedic formulas in worship had indeed been questioned in Narayenrao Peshwa's time, and they were ordered to use only Puranic forms like the Shudras. This prohibition was, however, resented by the Parbhus, and in Bajirao II.'s time the old order appears to have been cancelled, and the Parbhus were allowed to have the Munja ceremony performed as before. A Konkani Kalal who had been put out of his caste, because he had given his daughter in marriage to a Gujarathi Kalal, complained to the Peshwa, and order was given to admit him into caste. In the matter of inter-marriage, Balaji Bajirao set the example by himself marrying the daughter of a Deshastha Sowkar named Wakhare, in 1760. The Peshwas in Shahu's time issued order prohibiting alliances by way of marriages between second cousins, that is, the children of brothers and sisters, which practice seems then to have been in vogue in Konkan, and is possibly continued to this day in many castes. The point to be regarded in all these instances is not to be estimated by the actual success achieved, but by the fact that these native rulers interested themselves in these matters, and showed considerable liberality in the orders issued by them to correct existing social evils. The right of the State to interfere in such matters was broadly claimed in one of these orders, when it was directed that when the Subha had ordered the exclusion of any person from his caste, the members of the caste had no right to take on themselves to set the order aside without reference to the Dewan, that is, to the State or the Central Authorities. In the case of those castes where ordinary punishments could not be inflicted by reason of their being Brahmins, or otherwise, the authorities under the Peshwa showed considerable skill in supplementing the more lenient and civil penalty by the employment of religious penances and fines. And it was in this connection that the order noted above was issued.

These brief notices of the social regulations attempted under the Maratha rulers with a view to promote the admission of converts, the practice of inter-marriage, the prohibition of the sale of girls, the enforcement of temperance, their policy in permitting second gift of girls informally married or engaged by force or fraud, and the claim made by them to control the action of the castes and their independence, and the enforcement of equality in the treatment of different castes, all these afford clear indications, that social reform was not a subject about which the native rulers were indifferent. They strengthen the view which the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang first advocated in his 'Gleanings from the Bakhars,' that in this respect these rulers showed greater moral courage and liberality of sentiment than people are at present disposed to give them credit for, and that the advantages of English education may well be regarded as too dearly purchased, if our people, in this respect, show a more retrograde tendency or greater weakness of the moral fibre than commended itself to our ancestors only a hundred years ago. These notes on the Peshwa's Diary may fitly conclude here.

The administration of the Peshwas compares favourably with that of the best Hindu or Mahomedan rulers of the time. It was wanting, certainly, in the higher statesmanship of Akbar or Shiwaji, and it had the germs of its own dissolution implanted in it. Its fall was doomed when it lost touch of these higher traditions, and had to fight the race of life with a stronger power. But for the time it lasted the Government of the country was wisely and honestly administered on the whole, excluding, of course, the periods when internal dissensions disturbed the public peace. The hidden tendencies of caste exclusiveness and sacerdotal pride soon began to manifest themselves, and to this was joined an utter incapacity to realize the claim of a higher civilization and to study the development of the arts and sciences, and the advantages of a liberal social polity, and a purer religion. Our failure to realize this higher life brought on the final collapse long before any outside influences were brought to operate upon us. This seems to be the moral which the study of these papers is fitly calculated to teach the inquirer into our past history, and it will be well if all of our writers and publicists would take that lesson to heart, and profit by it.

To accompany the paper entitled "The Cities of Irân as described in the old Pahlavi Treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân," by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq., B.A., published in No. LV. of the Journal.

MAP OF THE CITIES NAMED IN THE PAHALAVI TREATISE OF SHA TRÔIHÂ-I-IRÂN.



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PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH.
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

FROM JULY 1897 TO DECEMBER 1898.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 26th August 1897.

Dr. P. PETERSON, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. A. M. T. JACKSON read a paper on "Two New Valabhi Copper plates."

The President made remarks on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Jackson for the interesting paper he had read.

The vote was carried with acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 13th October 1897.

Dr. PETERSON, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha read extracts from his paper on The Origin of Bombay. Illustrated with coins, copper-plates, and maps.

Mr. T. J. Hathornthwaite moved a vote of thanks to Dr. da Cunha for the interesting paper he had read.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria seconded the motion.

The President with some remarks put the motion to the vote, and it was carried with acclamation.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 22nd November 1897.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

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It was resolved that the following papers and periodical be added to the Library—

“Literature.”

“Public Opinion.”

“Political Science, Quarterly.”

“Daily News” instead of “Westminster Gazette.”

“Bookman.”

“Le Muséon,”

“Fun.”

That the following be discontinued—

“Champion.”

“Statist.”

“Picture Politics.”

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 11th January 1898.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Prof. M. Macmillan read a paper on “Some Old Books in the Library.”

On the proposition of Mr. L. Penny, seconded by Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Macmillan for the interesting paper he had read.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 3rd February 1898.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the report for 1897.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1897.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—During the year 1897, 58 gentlemen were elected Members of the Society and 1 Non-Resident Member came to Bombay. Twenty-seven members withdrew from the Society, 10 retired, 5 died and 2 having left Bombay desired to be transferred to the Non-Resident list. The total number of members at the close of 1897 was 237 against 272 in the previous year. Of these 52 were absent from India for the whole year or for portions of the year.

Non-Resident.—Six new members were added to this class and two were transferred from the list of Resident Members. Two members resigned, 1 retired, 3 died, and 1 having come to Bombay was put on the list of Resident Members. The number at the end of the year on the roll was 53 against 52 at the end of 1897. Of these 3 were absent from India.

OBITUARY.

The Society have to announce with regret the loss by death of the following members :—

RESIDENT.

Vandravandas Purshotamdas, Esq.

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik.

Karsandas Vallabhdas, Esq.

J. Avent, Esq.

Talakchand Manekchand, Esq.

NON-RESIDENT.

Dr J. C. Lisboa.

H. H. Ramchandrarao Apa Saheb, Chief of Jamkhandi.

W. C. Rand, Esq., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umashanker, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, who died during the year, joined the Society in 1874, and was elected a member of the Committee of Management in 1875. In 1886 he was appointed Joint Honorary Secretary, and in 1890 the Honorary Secretary of the Society. He was the first native gentleman chosen for the post of Honorary Secretary.

To the Journal of the Society he contributed the following papers :—

Notices of Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gujarat.

Memoirs of the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraj.

Mount Abu and the Jain Temples of Dailwada.

At a meeting held in June, the Society placed on record the expression of their sorrow for the loss they sustained by his death and their testimony to the services rendered by him as their Honorary Secretary.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were read before the Society during the year :—

The Zoroastrian Religion and Comte's Religion of Humanity. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.

The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Zoroastrians. By J. J. Mody, Esq.

Two New Valabhi Copper-plates. By A. M. T. Jackson, Esq.

The Origin of Bombay. Illustrated with Coins, Inscriptions and Maps. By Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

LIBRARY.

Issues of Books.

The issues of books during the year were 29,922 volumes ; 21,110 of new books, including periodicals, and 8,812 of old books. The issues in the previous year were 29,562 volumes ; 19,594 of new books and 9,968 of the old.

OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC.

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The following is a detailed statement of the monthly issues:—

	Old Books.	New Books.
January	623	1,308
February	539	1,614
March	604	1,897
April	622	1,654
May	554	1,768
June	837	1,769
July	937	2,109
August	916	1,888
September... ..	962	1,934
October	684	1,875
November	693	1,767
December	801	1,397

Total . 8,852 Total . 21,110

The volumes of issues of the old and the new books arranged according to classes are shown in the subjoined table:—

CLASSES.	Volumes.
Novels, Romances and Tales	8,536
Biography, and Personal Narratives	1,058
Miscellaneous and works on several subjects of the same authors	1,487
History, Historical Memoirs and Chronology	979
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	957
Oriental, Literature and Religion	619
Politics, Political Economy &c.	421
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	413
Transactions of learned Societies, Encyclopedias, &c.	385
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	294
Grammatical Works, Dictionaries, Vocabularies, &c.	238
Natural History, Mineralogy and Chemistry	240
Foreign Literature	201
Works on Military Subjects	189
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	181
Fine Arts and Architecture	171
Classics	170
Antiquities, Numismatics Heraldry, &c.	159
Public Records, Government Publications, &c.	157
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	123
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	127
Logic, Rhetoric and Works relating to Education	102
Jurisprudence	101
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c.	96
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	18,222
The issues of Periodicals during 1897 were	11,700
Total...	29,922

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library during the year comprise in all 1,094 volumes or parts of volumes. Of these, 762 were added by purchase, and 332 were received as presentations chiefly from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India, and the other local Governments, and a few from individual authors and other donors. The number in the preceding year was 998; 653 being acquired by purchase and 345 by presentation.

Among the presentations is a valuable old work in Dutch in seven volumes published in 1727, on the *Religious Rites, Ceremonies and Customs of all the Peoples of the World*, presented by Mr. Fakirchand Premchand, one of the members of the Society.

The volumes of each class of books purchased by and presented to the Society during 1897 are shown in the following table:—

CLASSES.	Purchase.	Presented.
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	25	7
Natural Theology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy ..	5	.....
Logic, Rhetoric and Works relating to Education ...	5	.....
Classics, Translations and Works illustrative of the Classics.	8	.....
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	23	.....
History, Historical Memoirs and Chronology	66	1
Politics, Political Economy, and Statistics	11	32
Jurisprudence	3	2
Public Records, Statutes, &c.	19	191
Biography and Personal Narratives	90	1
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry and Genealogy ...	7	9
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	45	9
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	27	.....
Novels, Romances, and Tales	208	.....
Miscellaneous and Works on several subjects of the same Authors	74	.....
Foreign Literature	10	.....
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Astronomy	7	2
Fine Arts and Architecture	14	1
Science of War and Military Subjects	19	.....
Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, and Chemistry...	18	30
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	4	3
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology, &c.	10	5
Encyclopaedias, Periodical Works, &c.	19	17
Dictionaries, Lexicons, Vocabularies, and Grammatical Works	16	.....
Oriental Literature	29	22
Total...	762	332

A Catalogue of books added to the Library during the year, with an index of subjects, is being compiled by the Librarian and will be supplied to members as soon as it is printed.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The newspapers, periodicals and journals of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society were:—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	...	15
Illustrated	...	...	...	...	...	18
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of						
Learned Societies, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	39
Reviews	...	...	...	...	...	13
English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	...	21
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories,						
etc.	...	...	...	...	...	15
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	12
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	12
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	...	...	...	...	...	19
Indian Journals, Reviews, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	26

In accordance with article XX of the Rules, a meeting of the Society was held in November for the revision of the list of newspapers and periodicals taken by the Society.

At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to "Literature;" "Political Science Quarterly;" "Daily News;" "Bookman;" "Le Muséon" and to discontinue "The Westminster Gazette;" "Statist;" "Picture Politics" and the "Champion" from the beginning of 1898.

Coin Cabinet.

The accessions to the Coin Cabinet during 1897 were 15 silver, 7 copper, and 10 of mixed metal, silver and copper,—in all 32 coins. Of these 1 silver coin was presented by the Chief Commissioner of Burmah and the remaining were presentations from the Bombay Government, the Madras Government, and the Punjab Government under the Treasure Trove Act. The total comprises 10 Gadhia coins of the mixed metal (silver and copper)

found at Kaira; 2 copper of Amed Shah, King of Gujerat, found in the Kaira District; 5 copper belonging to the Eastern Chalukyan King, Vishnu Vardhan (A.D. 663-672), found near Yellamanetuli in the Vizagapatam District, Madras; 1 silver belonging to the class of so called symbolical coins found in the Shwebo District, Burmah; and 14 silver, of Sabaktagin, one of the early members of the Ghaznavite dynasty found in the Banu District, Punjab.

Journal.

One number of the journal, No. 53, completing volume 19, with an index to the volume, was issued during the year. It contains papers contributed to the Society from August 1896 to June 1897 and proceedings from July 1896 to June 1897 with the Annual Report for 1896, and lists of Members on the roll at the end of 1896. The Committee have also arranged to issue an extra number containing a paper on the history of Bombay, by Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, extracts from which were read at a meeting of the Society in October. The number will be illustrated with coins, inscriptions and maps and will be provided with a special index. It is well advanced in the press and will shortly be ready.

The following is a list of Governments, Societies, Institutions, etc., to which the Journal of the Society is presented.

Bombay Government; Government of India; Government of Bengal; Government of Madras; Punjab Government; Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh; Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; Chief Commissioner, Coorg; Resident, Hyderabad; Chief Commissioner, Burmah; Geological Survey of India; G. T. Survey of India; Marine Survey of India; Bengal Asiatic Society; Agricultural Society of India; Literary Society of Madras; Provincial Museum, Lucknow; Bombay University; Madras University; Punjab University; R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch; R. A. Society, North China Branch; the Asiatic Society of Japan; Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

Strasburg Library; Geographical Society, Vienna; London Institution of Civil Engineers; Royal Geographical Society, London; Statistical Society, London; Royal Astronomical Society; Literary and Philosophical Society,

Manchester ; Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg ; Smithsonian Institution, Washington ; Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen ; Royal Society of Edinburgh ; Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Leipzig ; Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool ; British Museum, London ; Royal Society, London ; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland ; Academie Real das Science de Lisboa, Lisbon ; Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux ; Société de Géographie de Lyons ; Hungarian Academy of Sciences ; (Buda-Pest) ; Sociedad Geografica de Madrid ; Royal Dublin Society ; Société Geographie de Paris ; Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences ; United States Survey ; Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna ; United Service Institution ; Minnesota Academy of Natural Science ; India Office Library ; London Bible Society ; Vienna Orientalisch Museum ; Boston Society of Natural History ; Musée Guimet, Lyons ; Victoria Institution, London ; Royal Institution, Great Britain ; American Geographical Society ; American Oriental Society ; Hamilton Association, America ; Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A. ; American Museum of Natural History ; Societe Asiatique, Paris ; Geological Society, London ; Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam ; American Philological Association, Cambridge ; Royal University, Upsala (Sweden) ; Franklin Institute, Philadelphia ; University of Kansas, U. S. A.

Finance.

A statement showing in detail the items of income and expenditure of the Society for 1897 is annexed to the Report.

The actual receipts by subscriptions from members during the year under review, including arrears Rs. 50, amount to Rs. 10,304-3-4. The subscriptions in 1896 amounted to Rs. 9,964. There was also received a sum of Rs. 2,000 on account of life subscription from 4 Resident Members, which has been duly invested in Government Securities in accordance with article XVI of the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society in the Bank of Bombay at the end of the year was Rs. 1,233-2-1. The arrears of subscriptions which are due only from some of the non-resident members are Rs. 105.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 13,500.

Lieut-Col. T. A. Freeman proposed and Professor H. M. Bhadkamkar seconded that the report for 1897 be adopted and thanks voted to the Committee of Management, the Honorary Secretaries, and the Auditors for their services during the year.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. J. Jackson, seconded by Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, it was unanimously resolved that the following members form the Committee of Management and Auditors for 1898.

President :

Dr. P. Peterson, M.A.

Vice-Presidents :

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.	| Kharsetji Rustomji Kama, Esq.
James MacDonald, Esq.	| The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.

Members :

Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.	| Lieut. A. J. Peile, R.A.
Dr. D. MacDonald.	| F. C. Rimington, Esq.
Prof. M. MacMillan, B.A.	| The Hon'ble Mr. Justice
Rev. R. Scott, M.A.	| Strachey.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G.	| Mrs. Pechey-Phipson, M.D.
Ranade, C.I.E.	| A. M. T. Jackson, Esq., M.A.
The Hon'ble Mr. N. G. Chanda-	| Cumrudin Amiroodin, Esq.
warkar, B.A., LL.B.	| F. R. Vicaji, Esq., Bar-at-Law.
Dr. B. B. Grayfoot.	| Hon'ble Dr. Balchandra K.
Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A.	| Bhatawadekar.
J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq., M.A.	| Rev. J. D. Ozanne, M.A.

Honorary Secretary :

Rev. R. M. Gray, M.A.

Joint Honorary Secretary :

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Honorary Auditors :

Darasha Ratanji Chichgar, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

from 1st January to 31st December 1897.

Cr.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Purchase of Books	3,065 12 0	
Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co.— Books £ 42-15-11=Rs. 676-1-9	2,751 12 0	
English Newspapers and Periodicals £ 130-17-9=Rs. 2,075-10-3 }		
Subscription to Indian Newspapers	427 5 6	
Printing Charges	621 0 0	
Binding do.	715 5 10	
General do.	407 2 10	
Stationery	95 2 3	
Office Establishment	6,075 9 0	
Postage and Receipt Stamps	72 5 11	
Shipping and Landing Charges... ..	24 6 9	
Gas Charges	69 15 11	
Insurance Charges	312 8 0	
Graia Compensation	132 0 0	
Government Paper purchased	2,000 0 0	
Balance in Bank of Bombay	1,233 2 1	16,770 6 0
Do. in hand	33 13 4	1,266 15 5
Total...Rs.		18,037 5 5
<i>Invested Fund.</i>		
Government Paper of the Society	10,500 0 0	
Premchand Roychand Government Loan Fund	3,000 0 0	13,500 0 0

R. M. GRAY,

Honorary Secretary.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th February 1898.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The President read extracts from a paper on Nripatunga's Kavirajamarga, contributed by Mr. K. B. Pathak, B.A.

On the motion of the President a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pathak for the valuable paper he had contributed to the Society.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th March 1898.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

His Excellency Lord Sandhurst, Patron of the Society, was present at the Meeting.

Minutes and proceedings of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S., read a paper on "A New Chalukya Copper-plate from Sanjan."

The President having conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Jackson, said their thanks were also due to His Excellency the Governor for having honoured them with a visit at a time when unusually heavy responsibilities devolved upon him. The rooms of the Society were among the too few meeting places of Englishmen and Natives, and he thought he was not travelling beyond his function if, in addition to conveying to Lord Sandhurst their thanks for his presence that evening, he assured him of their hearty sympathy in regard to the serious problems with which he had to deal concerning the present condition of the city.

His Excellency the Governor said: Gentlemen,—It is on occasions like the present that the Governor finds his recreations, and I am sorry that I have not had time before to visit all the institutions of which I happen to be patron. Whilst I premise that this has been an opportunity of recreation, I think that if I had had to study, as Mr. Jackson has done, the copper-plate from Sanjan in my leisure moments, my recreation would not have been a light one. But I think I may say that I know more than many who are present this

evening of the inscription which Mr. Jackson has transcribed and translated, because I used to find my Private Secretary in his leisure moments—and they were but few and far between—engaged in the preparation of this paper and the one he has previously read. His motto used to be “Late to bed and early to rise,” and the Society now has the benefit of his industry. I can only say it has given me great pleasure to come amongst you. I recognise that, as Professor Peterson has pointed out, this is one of the few places in which we find the various communities of the city meeting together either for recreation or for scientific research. I wish that these opportunities were more numerous, and I should like to have seen this room better filled than it is this evening; but no doubt others have many occupations as well as myself, and the hours in which we can be out in the open air are so few, that we do not always feel inclined to spend a part of them at a meeting. Professor Peterson and gentlemen, it has given me great pleasure to be present, and I hope that on future occasions I shall be able to revisit the library.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 7th July 1898.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Business.

1. To refer to the loss which has been sustained through the death of two Members of the Society, Dr. G. Bühler of Vienna and Dr. Atmaram Pandurang of Bombay.
2. To appoint two Trustees of the Society's Government Securities in place of Mr. J. Griffiths and the late Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.

The President, in referring to Dr. Bühler, said that ever since that scholar left India in 1880, he had kept up his connection with the Society, and his name would always stand high in the list of the scholars in whose connection with itself the Society took a just pride. Dr. Bühler's loss was the loss of the whole world of Oriental learning, or, to be more precise, of that great branch of it which was concerned with India or with things Indian. He spent seventeen of the best years of his life in India. He came to India in 1863 in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and left it in 1880, still in the prime of life and

vigour. When he went to Vienna his influence grew with his years, and was at its height when the end came so quickly and so tragically. In that capacity his loss was irreparable. He had left no scholar behind him who could, in the same way and to the same extent that he did, interpret the East to the West and the West to the East, and stimulate the energies of each. When he came to Bombay he was the first holder of the then newly-established chair of the Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College, in 1863. He was the son of the Lutheran pastor of Vorstell, near Nieuburg, in Hanover. In 1855, at the age of 15, he entered the famous University of Göttingen. Benfey was his teacher in Sanskrit there, and Benfey always regarded him as his most distinguished pupil. After taking his degree at Göttingen in 1858, he spent three years in Paris, London, and Oxford, devoting himself to the study of the great collections of Sanskrit manuscripts in all three places. In October 1862, Bühler, who had at that time some temporary employment in connection with the Royal Library at Windsor, received the offer of the Bombay appointment, eagerly accepted it, and began his Indian career in the spring of the following year. In the very next year he began, in conjunction with the Society's late president, Sir Raymond West, the labours on that standard work on Hindoo Law, best known under the title of "West and Bühler." With Dr. Kielhorn, he founded the Bombay Sanskrit Series—an undertaking which numbers now no less than fifty-six editions of the Sanskrit classics, edited in a uniform critical method by European and native scholars. In 1868 the Government of India's search for Sanskrit manuscripts was instituted largely at Dr. Bühler's instigation. In 1869 Dr. Bühler was appointed Educational Inspector of the Northern Division. He threw himself into the work proper to that appointment with an energy that would have exhausted the strength of an ordinary man. He organised education in Gujerat, in illustration of which, it might be stated, that when he took that office there were 730 schools with 47,000 scholars, and that when he laid it down, the respective numbers had risen to 1,763 and 1,01,970. But in the midst of all the engrossing claims of his office work, his zeal and energy in collecting manuscripts, deciphering inscriptions, and editing classics never for a moment flagged. He did the work of two men, and did it as few "two men" could have done it. He threw a flood of light on the most remote history of this country by his work on inscriptions—

particularly the great Asoka Inscriptions. Probably the greatest single loss that had been sustained by his untimely removal was that they would never have the volume on the Ancient History of India, which it was his intention to contribute to the Indo-Aryan Encyclopædia he had left half-done. He began that great undertaking some six years ago, and was easily able to associate with himself in it some thirty of the most eminent of living scholars in Europe, India and America. Dr. Bühler held the rich stores of knowledge he had with pains amassed as freely at the disposal of the Sanskrit world as at his own. He was entirely without the scholar's jealousy. He was as eager to help another's work as to get on with his own. He was full of encouragement for the beginner to whom a little encouragement often meant so much. In conclusion, Professor Peterson moved that the Society place on record its sense of the loss it has sustained, in common with the cause of Sanskrit study everywhere, by the death of its late member, Dr. J. G. Bühler, and desired that a copy of the resolution be forwarded, with an expression of its heartfelt condolence, to his widow and son.

Mr. K. R. Kama seconded the resolution.

The Rev. J. E. Abott, spoke of the sympathetic kindness with which Dr. Bühler had helped him and his fellow-students in their study at Vienna.

Mr. Bodas supported the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

The Hon. Mr. Chandavarkar moved that the Society place on record its sense of the loss it has sustained in the death of one of its members, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, who was also a member of the committee for a number of years, and desired that a copy of the resolution, with a letter of condolence, should be sent to the members of his family. Mr. Chandavarkar said that he had known the late Dr. Atmaram for many years past, and could testify from his intimate acquaintance with that gentleman, that he was the most earnest and enlightened of Hindoo reformers. Several years ago Dr. Atmaram had come to the conclusion that mere secular reform would not do, and that religious reform was necessary to the well-being of the community. In this connection Mr. Chandavarkar cited the instance of a society established about thirty-five or forty years ago, consisting of some Hindoo friends, with the express object of getting rid of the

barriers of caste. The members of it had pledged themselves to drink the water and eat the bread brought to them by members of alien communities. Despite this Dr. Atmaram was convinced that religious reform was the most necessary of all. In the year 1867 the Parthana Samaj was started, and a more consistent, enlightened, and liberal religious reformer never existed, as a staunch and steady supporter of the Samaj, than the late Dr. Atmaram. He (the speaker) had not come across another man who was more animated by religious zeal, fervour, and influence than Dr. Atmaram, who, even in the midst of family affliction, never allowed his spirit to be crushed, but continued to perform his duties to his fellow-men without fail or flinch. As president of the Parthana Samaj, his conduct was admirable and exemplary; for instance, his humility and self-abnegation. He was learned in his own way, and until April last he always refused to undertake or conduct religious service, or to deliver lectures before the Samaj assembly, remarking that he was born to learn and not to teach. He was so much respected that he was called by the honoured designation of "Dada" (father), and when he consented, on the last anniversary of the Samaj, to conduct the service and deliver a lecture, he was chaffed at by the younger members for infringing the rule he had up till then imposed upon himself. To this he replied that he felt that it was his last year. A third point in his character was his nobleness, by which was meant his being entirely free from the spirit of vindictiveness, and he always instilled into the minds of others the principle of "try to love your enemies." In those and in other respects he was a guide, philosopher, and friend to the members of the Samaj. He was the friend of all, and walked in the footsteps of such eminent religious reformers as Keshub Chunder Sen and Pratap Chunder Muzumdar.

Mr. J. S. Sanzgiri seconded the proposition.

The Rev. Dr. Mackichan, in supporting it, remarked that it would not be proper to allow the proposition to go forth without some expression of feeling on the part of those who were not Dr. Atmaram's countrymen, but who felt drawn to him by affectionate ties. Every one found in Dr. Atmaram the gentlest and most loveable of men, and it was inconceivable that he could have made a single enemy. His (Dr. Mackichan's) contact with Dr. Atmaram, which extended over twenty years, had always given him that impression, for in Dr. Atmaram was typified and exemplified the gentle character of a gentle

race. His readiness and willingness to help in the interest of students, even at a certain inconvenience to himself in his old age, in times of their sickness and difficulty, could not be sufficiently proclaimed or praised, and he was one of the best types of earnest men found by Europeans in India, working for the amelioration of the condition of fellow-men. Any one who came in contact with him must have known that his life was both elevated and chastened by a true religious influence, and that equability of temper and mind was the sole cause. Those who knew the Doctor well and long would assuredly much miss him, and very much regret the loss to the community of which he was an honourable and distinguished ornament.

Mr. Chandavarkar's motion having been unanimously agreed to, it was resolved, on the motion of Professor MacMillan, seconded by Mr. K. R. Kama, that the Hon. N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. James MacDonald be appointed trustees of the Society's Government Securities in place of Mr. J. Griffiths and the late Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th November 1898.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Rev. J. E. Abbott then read a paper on a "Preliminary* Study of the Chhatrapati Coins."

On the motion of Mr. M. R. Bodas, seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Rev. Abbott for the interesting paper he had read.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 24th November 1898.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, Vice-President, in the chair.

It was resolved that the following papers and periodicals be taken :—

University Magazine and Free Review.

Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News.

Royal.

* Will be published in the next number of the Journal.

Cosmopolis.

The Advocate of India.

Champion.

India.

That the following be discontinued. :—

Fun.

Weekly Edition of the London Times.

Literature.

Bulletin de la Société Géologique de France.

Revue Critique.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 15th December 1898.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

A paper* on the Navasari Copper-plate Charter of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Prince Karkka L, by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, was read.

On the motion of Rev. J. E. Abbott, seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar for the interesting paper he had contributed to the Society.

* The Paper will be published in the next number of the Journal.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(FROM JULY TO DECEMBER 1897.)

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACCOUNTS, Trade and Navigation, British India, 1897-98.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmere, Merwara, 1895-96.	Government of India.
————— Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1896-97.	Government of India.
————— Report, Central India Agency, 1896-97.	Government of India.
————— Report on the Persian Gulf, Political Residency and Maskat Political Agency, 1896-97.	Government of India.
————— Report, P. W. Department (General Branch) and (Irrigation) for 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Rajputana States, 1896-97.	Government of India.
AGREEMENT between Great Britain and China, signed 4th February 1897, at Peking.	Secretary of State for India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 (1897).	Government of India.
AMERICAN Museum of Natural History, Report, 1896.	Smithsonian Institute.
ANNUAL Report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda, 1896.	Government of Bombay.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Studies Among the Ancient Cities of Mexico, Part II.	Smithsonian Institute.
————— Survey of India, Bower Manuscript. Parts III. to VII.	Government of India.
————— Survey of India, N. S., Vol. XIX., List of Antiquarian Remains, Central Provinces and Berar.	Government of India.
ASSAM Code.	Government of India.
AVASTYAKA-Erzählungen.	German Oriental Society.
BOMBAY University Calendar, 1897-98.	Bombay University.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BRIEF Sketch, Meteorology, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
CATALOGUE, Arabic MSS., Berlin Library.	Berlin Library.
———— India Office Library, Vol. II., Part I.	Secretary of State for India.
———— of Greek MSS., Berlin Library.	Berlin Library.
———— of Hebrew MSS., Berlin Library.	Berlin Library.
———— Sanskrit Manuscripts, Calcutta, Sanskrit College.	Bengal Government.
DANISH Arctic Expeditions (Hak. Soc.).	Bombay Government.
EAST India, Accounts and Estimates, 1897-98.	Secretary of State for India.
FAMINE and Relief Operations in India, No. 4.	Secretary of State for India.
FINAL Report, Agricultural Chemist to the Government of India.	Government of India.
INDIAN Cotton Duties, Report, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
MADRAS University Calendar, 1897-98.	Madras University.
MANUAL, North Arcot District.	Madras Government.
———— South Canara District.	Madras Government.
NOTES exchanged between Great Britain and Siam.	Secretary of State for India.
———— on the Cultivation of Lucerne and Guinea Grass for Fodder.	Government, N.-W. P.
———— on Vaccination in the Bombay Presidency, for 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
PHYSIOGNOMY Illustrated. By Joseph Simms, M.D.	The Author.
PUNJAB University Calendar, 1897-98.	Punjab University.
RAIL, and River-borne Trade, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
REPORT, Archæological Survey Circle, N.-W. P. and Oudh, 1896-97.	Government N.-W. P., and Oudh.
———— Bombay Factories, 1896.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Bombay Mill-Owners' Association, 1896.	Mill-Owners' Association.
——— Bombay Veterinary College, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Botanical Survey of India, 1896-97.	Government of India.
——— Civil Justice, Punjab, 1896.	Punjab Government.
——— Civil Veterinary Department, Bombay	Presidency, 1896-97.
——— Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1896.	Bombay Government.
——— Customs Administration, Bombay, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
——— Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bombay	Bombay Government.
1896-97.	Presidency, for
——— Dispensaries, Punjab, 1896.	Bombay Government.
——— External Land Trade, Punjab, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
——— External Land Trade, Sind and British	Punjab Government.
——— Forest Department, Madras, 1895-96.	Baluchistan, 1896-97.
——— Income Tax Administration, Punjab, for	Bombay Government.
1896-97.	Madras Government.
——— Internal Trade, Punjab, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
——— Jail Department, Bombay, 1896.	Punjab Government.
——— Madras Government Museum, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1896-97.	Madras Government.
——— Mofussil Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, Bombay, 1896.	Government of India.
——— Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Northern India Salt Revenue Department, for 1896-97.	Municipal Commissioner.
Commissioner, Northern India, Salt Revenue.	
——— of the inspection of Mines in India, 1895-96.	Government of India.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

- REPORT on the Excise Administration of the Punjab, for 1896-97.
Punjab Government.
- on the Recent Determination of the Longitude of Madras.
Superintendent of G. T. Survey.
- Police Administration, Punjab, 1896.
Punjab Government.
- Police, Bombay, 1896.
Bombay Government.
- Port Trust, Bombay, 1896-97.
Chairman, Port Trust.
- Provincial Museum, Lucknow, 1896-97.
Government N.-W. P.
- Public Instruction, Punjab, 1896-97.
Punjab Government.
- Rail and Road-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.
Bombay Government.
- Railway Department, Bombay, 1896-97.
Bombay Government.
- Registration Department, Punjab, 1896-97.
Punjab Government.
- Salt and Continental Customs Department, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.
Bombay Government.
- Salt Department, Sind, 1896-97.
Bombay Government.
- Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1896.
Punjab Government.
- Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay Government, 1896.
Bombay Government.
- Sanitary Measures, in India, 1895-96.
Secretary of State for India.
- Stamp Department, Punjab, 1896-97.
Punjab Government.
- Survey of India Department, 1895-96.
Government of India.
- Trade and Navigation, Aden, 1896-97.
Bombay Government.
- Vaccination, Punjab, 1896-97.
Punjab Government.
- Working of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department, 1896.
Government of India.
- RETURNS, Rail and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1897.
Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
RETURNS, Rail-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1897.	Bombay Government.
REVIEW of the Trade of India in 1896-97. By J. E. O'Connor.	Government of India.
REVISION Survey Settlement, Chorasi Taluka, Surat.	Bombay Government.
STATEMENT, Moral and Material Progress of India, 1895-96.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Trade and Navigation, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
————— Trade and Navigation, British India for 1896-97, 2 Vols.	Government of India.
STATISTICAL Abstract, British India, 1886-87 to 1895-96.	Secretary of State for India.
SURVEY Settlement, Talukadari Estates, Halol Taluka, Panch Mahal.	Bombay Government.
TAITTIIRIYA Samhita, Vol. V.	Mysore Government.
TIDE Tables, Indian Ports, 1898.	Government of India.
UNITED States, Bureau of Ethnology, Report, 1892-93-94.	Smithsonian Institute.
YEAR Book, United States Department, of Agriculture, for 1896.	N. S. Department of Agriculture.

JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1898.

ACCOUNT of Plague Administration, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
————— of Trade by Rail and River in India, 1896-97.	Government of India.
ACTS, Government of India, 1897.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmere, Merwara, 1896-97.	Government of India.
————— Report Bengal, 1896-97.	Bengal Government.
————— Report, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Government of Bombay.
————— Report, Burma, 1896-97.	Chief Commissioner, Burma.
————— Report, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1896-97.	Resident, Hyderabad.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ADMINISTRATION Report, Madras, 1896-97.	Madras Government.
————— Report, N. W. Provinces and Oudh, 1896-97.	Government, N.-W. Provinces.
————— Report, Punjab, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, Rajputana States, 1897-98.	Government of India.
————— Report, Railways in India, 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Report, Railways in India, Part II., 1896-97.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger No. I., 1898.	Government of India.
————— Ledger Nos. 6 and 7 (1898).	Government of India.
————— Ledger Nos. 9, 10 and 11 (1898).	Government of India.
————— Ledger Nos. 12 and 13 (1898).	Government of India.
————— Ledger No. 17 (1897).	Government of India.
————— Ledger No. 19 (1897).	Government of India.
————— Ledger No. 20 (1897).	Government of India.
————— Ledger Nos. 2 to 5 (1898).	Government of India.
————— Statistics, British India, 1892-93 to 1896-97.	Government of India.
AMERICAN Museum of Natural History Report, 1897.	The Museum.
ANNUAL Report of Reformatory School at Yerrowda 1897.	Bombay Government.
ANNALS, Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta, Vol. VIII.,— Orchids of the Sikkim Himalaya, 2 parts.	Superintendent, Botanic Gardens, Calcutta.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India, Mogul Architecture, Fatehpur Sikri, Part III.	Government of India.
————— Survey of India, Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras.	Madras Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey, Western India, Report, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
B. B. and C. I. Railway Guide, 1st Quarter 1898.	B. B. and C. I. Railway.
BAI MOTLIBAI M. WADIA.	N. M. Wadia, Esq.
BOMBAY University Calendar, 1898-99.	Bombay University.
BRIEF Sketch Meteorology, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
CATALOGUE, Japanese Books and MSS., British Museum.	Trustees, British Museum.
———— of Chinese Books and MSS.	Lord Crawford.
CHRISTIAN Topography of Cosmas (Hak. Soc.)	Bombay Government.
CHRONOLOGICAL Tables and Index to Indian Statutes.	Government of India.
COINS of the Bahamani Dynasty. By Dr. O. Codrington.	The Author.
DINKARD, Vol. VIII. By Dastur P. Sanjana.	The Author.
DR. J. Bayer, on the Value of $\frac{2}{\text{VII.}} \frac{t}{c} - t^2 dt.$	The Author.
EAST India, Accounts and Estimates, 1898-99—Explanatory Memo.	Secretary of State for India
— India, Accounts and Estimates, 1898-99.	Secretary of State for India.
— India Cantonment Act and Regulation.	Secretary of State for India.
— India (Cantonment Regulations), Instructions on.	Secretary of State for India.
— India (Contagious Diseases), Nos. I and II.	Secretary of State for India.
— India Currency.	Secretary of State for India.
— India Disbursements of Home Treasury.	Bombay Government.
— India Estimates 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
— India Financial Statement, 1898-99.	Secretary of State for India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
EAST India Home Accounts, 1896-98.	
— India (Income and Expenditure), 1886-87 to 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India.
— India (Post Office Act 1898).	Secretary of State for India.
— India (Opium) Report.	Secretary of State for India.
EPIGRAPHIA Carnatica, Vol. IV.	
EXCISE Administration, Punjab, 1897-98.	Mysore State.
FACTORY Report, Bombay Presidency, 1897.	Punjab Government.
FAMINE and Relief Operations in India, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
— and Relief Operation in India, Further Papers.	Secretary of State for India.
FINAL Settlement Report, Kohat District, 1896.	Secretary of State for India.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts, Government of India, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
FURTHER Papers Relating to Outbreak of Plague in India, 1898.	Government of India.
GENERAL Report of the Geological Survey of India, 1897-98.	Secretary of State for India.
GEOLOGICAL Atlas, United States (26 Parts).	Superintendent, Geological Survey.
HANDBOOK of Commercial Products No. 10.	U. S. Geological Survey.
HAND LIST of Oriental MSS.	Government of India.
HEAVEN and Hell.	Lord Crawford.
— and Hell by Swedenborg. Translated into Urdu.	Swedenborg Society.
— and Hell. Translated into Persian.	Swedenborg Society.
INDIAN Cotton Duties Report, 1897-98.	Swedenborg Society.
IRRIGATION Revenue Report of the Bombay Presidency, Parts I. and II.	Bombay Government.
	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
IRRIGATION Revenue Report, Sind, 1896-97.	
JOURNAL of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama.	Bombay Government.
JUDICIAL and Administration Statistics, British India, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
KAVYA Prakash Translated into English, by Ganganath Jha.	Government of India.
LIST of Bombay Grasses and their uses, by Dr. J. C. Lisboa.	The Translator.
— of British Enactments in Force in Native States.	Bombay Government.
— of MSS., Printed Books, &c.	Government of India.
LOCAL Rules and Orders under the Enactments Applying to Bombay, Vol. II.	Lord Crawford.
MADRAS University Calendar, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
MAGNETICAL and Meteorological Observations, Bombay, 1896.	Madras University.
MANUAL of the Geology of India. By Ball, 2nd Edition, Part I.	Bombay Government.
MANUALE e Glassario.	Government of India.
MILITARY Operations, N.-W. Frontier of India, 2 Vols.	Institute Oriental.
MINUTES of Evidence taken before the Indian Currency Committee, Part I.	Secretary of State for India.
MISSOURI Botanical Garden Report, 1897.	Secretary of State for India.
MONOGRAPH on Buddha Sakhya Muni's Birth Place in Nepalese Tarai.	Director, Missouri Botanical Gardens.
NOTICES of Sanskrit. MSS., Bengal Second Series, Vol. I., Parts I. and II.	Government of India.
NOTES on Vaccination in Bombay Presidency.	Bengal Government.
NOTES on the Ancient Geography of Asia by Nobin Chandra Dass.	Bombay Government.
PAPERS Relating Survey Settlement, Talukhdari Village, Jhalod, Dohad Taluka, Punch Mahal.	The Author.
	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
PAPERS Relating to Revision Survey Settlement, Olpad Taluka, Surat.	Bombay Government.
—— Relating to Survey Settlements, Yellapur, Kanara.	Bombay Government.
—— Relating to the Provincial Service, 1888-96.	Government of India.
PLAGUE of India, 1896-97.	Government of India.
POLICE Report, Bombay Presidency, 1897.	Bombay Government.
PORTFOLIO of Indian Architectural Drawings.	Government of India.
PROCEEDINGS, Council of the Governor of Bombay, 1896.	Bombay Government.
—— Legislative Council, Governor-General of India, 1896.	Government of India.
PROGRESS Report of Forest Administration in Punjab, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
PUBLICATIONS, British India, 1896.	Government of India.
PUNJAB University Calendar, 1898-99.	Punjab University.
RAIL and River-borne Trade, Punjab, 1897-98.	Punjab Government.
—— and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
RASKUSUMAKAR, a Book on Rhetoric in Hindi, by the Honourable Maharaja Pratap Narayan Singh.	The Author.
RECENT Epidemics of Plague in Bombay. By H. M. Birdwood.	The Author.
RECORDS, Botanical Survey of India, Vol. I., Nos. 9, 10, 11.	Government of India.
REPORT, Abkari Department, Bombay, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
—— Administration, Customs Department, Sind, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
—— American Historical Association, 1896.	Smithsonian Institute.
—— Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1897.	Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
—— Bombay Jail Department, 1897.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Bombay Millowners' Association for 1897.	Millowners' Association.
——— Bombay Plague Committee, 1st July 1897 to 30th April 1898.	Bombay Government.
——— Bombay Port Trust, 1897-98.	Port Trust, Bombay.
——— Bureau of Ethnology, U. S., 1894-95.	Smithsonian Institute.
——— Chemical Analyser to Government of Bombay, 1897.	Bombay Government.
——— Civil Justice, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
——— Civil Medical Institutions in the City of Bombay, 1897.	Bombay Government.
——— Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
——— Department of Land Records and Agriculture, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Director, Botanical Survey of India, 1897-98.	Government of India.
——— Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Dispensaries, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
——— External Land Trade of the Punjab, 1897-98.	Punjab Government.
——— External Land Trade, Sind and Baluchistan, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Forest Department, Madras Presidency, 1896-97.	Madras Government.
——— Income Tax Administration, Punjab, 1897-98.	Punjab Government.
——— Income Tax Operations, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Indian Law Commission, 1879.	Government of India.
——— Land Records, Agriculture, Punjab, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
——— Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Lucknow Provincial Museum, 1897-98.	Government, N.-W. P.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Lunatic Asylums, Bombay Presidency, 1897.	Bombay Government.
———— Lunatic Asylums, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
———— Mofussil Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, Bombay Presidency, 1897.	Bombay Government.
———— Municipal Taxation, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
———— Northern-India, Salt Revenue, 1897-98.	Commissioner, N. I. Salt Revenue.
———— of the Administration of the Local Boards for 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
———— of the Bombay Veterinary College, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
———— of the Inspection of Mines in India.	Government of India.
———— of the Working of Municipalities, Punjab, 1896-97.	Punjab Government.
———— on Bubonic Plague in Bombay by W. F. Gatacre, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
———— on the Natural History Results of the Pamir Boundary Commission.	Government of India.
———— on the Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
———— on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, in the Bombay Presidency, during the year 1887-88, 88-89, 89-90 and 1890-91.	Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
———— on Vaccination, Punjab, 1897-98.	Punjab Government.
———— Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
———— P. W. Department, Bombay Presidency, Military Works, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
———— P. W. Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1897-98, with Supplement.	Bombay Government.
———— Police Administration, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
———— Police of the Town and Island of Bombay, 1897.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Rail and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Railway Department, Bombay, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Railways in India, 1897-98, Part I.	Government of India.
——— Registration Department, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Registration Department, Punjab, 1897.	Punjab Government.
——— Revised Settlement, Kangra Proper.	Punjab Government.
——— Sanitary and Vaccination, Rajputana, 1896.	Government of India.
——— Sanitary Commissioner, Government of Bombay, 1897.	Bombay Government.
——— Stamp Department, Bombay, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Stamp Department, Punjab, 1897-98.	Punjab Government.
——— Survey of India, 1896-97.	Government of India.
——— Talukdari Settlement Officer, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
——— Trade and Navigation, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Working of the Thugi and Dakaiti Department, 1897.	Government of India.
RETURN of the Rail-borne Trade of the Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
REVIEW, Forest Administration, British India, 1895-96.	Government of India.
——— of Mineral Production in India, 1896-97.	Government of India.
——— of Trade of India, 1896-97.	Government of India.
REVISION Survey, Bardah Taluka, Surat Collectorate.	Bombay Government.
REVISED, List of Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency.	Bombay Government.
SHUKA Bahattari, Marathi and Dutch.	German Oriental Society.
SMITHSONIAN Institution History, 1846-1896.	Smithsonian Institute.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
SMITHSONIAN Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 40.	Smithsonian Institute,
————— Report, 1893-94-95.	Smithsonian Institute,
————— Report, 1895 (U. S. National Museum).	Smithsonian Institute.
STATEMENT, Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1896-97.	Bombay Government.
TAITTIRIYA Samhita, Vols. X. and XI.	Mysore State.
TECHNICAL Art Series of Illustrations of Indian Architectural Decorative Work, 1897, plates I. to XIV.	Government of India.
TOTAL Solar Eclipse, 1898.	Surveyor-General of India,
TRADE and Navigation, British India, 1892-93 to 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India,
TREATY Series No. 1 (1898), Exchange of Postal Parcels between India and France.	Secretary of State for India.
UNITED States Agriculture, Year Book, 1897.	Agricultural Department, U. S.
UNREPEALED General Acts, Government of India, Vol. I., 1834 to 67.	Government of India.
U. S. Geological Survey Annual Report, 1895-96.	Smithsonian Institute.
— Geological Survey Monograph, Vols. 15 and 18.	Smithsonian Institute.
WRECKS and Casualties, India, for 1896.	Government of India.
XENOPHON'S Works with Latin Translation.	Rev. J. D. Ozanne.
ZARATHUSHTRA in the Gathas and the Classics, by Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.	Sir J. Cowasji Jehangir,

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 26th January 1899.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.
The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were read :—

- (1) The Era of Yndhishthira. By Rajaram R. Bhagwat, Esq.
- (2) The Cities of Irân as described in the Old Pahalavi Treatise of Shatrôha-i-Irân. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

On the motion of Messrs. S. T. Bhandare and K. R. Kama, seconded by Mr. M. J. Talyarkhan, a vote of thanks was passed to Messrs. R. R. Bhagwat and J. J. Modi for the interesting papers they had read.

A meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 16th February 1899.

Dr. P. Peterson, President in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade read a paper on "the Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule."

On the proposition of Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha and seconded by Mr. R. P. Karkaria, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Justice Ranade for the interesting paper he had read.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 23rd February 1899.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1898.

MEMBERS.

Resident—During the year under report 65 new members were elected, 29 resigned, 7 died, 3 retired, and 4 having left Bombay were transferred to the list of Non-Resident Members. The total number of members at the close of 1898 was 312 against 287 for the preceding year. Of these 83 were absent from India for the whole year or for portions of the year.

Non-Resident—5 gentlemen joined the Society under this class and 3 were transferred from the list of Resident Members, 2 withdrew, 2 died and 2 were removed from the list for non-

payment of subscription. The number at the end of the year on the roll was 55 against 53 in the previous year.

OBITUARY.

The Society have to announce with regret the loss by death of the following members :—

RESIDENT.

Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.
Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart.
Manekji Barjorji, Esq.
Hon'ble Sir Charles Farran, Kt.
J. Marshall, Esq.
E. Wimbridge, Esq.
Dr. K. N. Bahadurji.

NON-RESIDENT.

Dr. G. Bühler.
H. O. W. G. Brooke, Esq., I.C.S.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year.

Some Old Books in the Society's Library. By Prof. M. Macmillan.
Nripatunga's Kaviraja Marga. By K. B. Pathak, B.A.

A New Chalukya Copper-plate Grant from Sanjan. By A. M. T. Jackson, M.A.

A Preliminary Study of the Chhatrapati Coins. By Rev. J. E. Abbott.

The Navasari Copper-plate Charter of the Gujerat Rastrakuta Prince Karkka I. By D. R. Bhandarkar, B.A.

Dr. G. Thibaut on the Shankarabhashya. By T. R. Amalnerkar, B.A.

A Note on the Growth of Marathi Literature. By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, M.A., LL.B.

Note on three bricks with impressions of figures and letters on these found at Tagoung some 200 miles above Mandalay in Burma Forwarded by Lieut. Willock. By Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A.

LIBRARY.

Issues of Books.

The issues of books during 1898 were 32,771 volumes, 22,044 of new books including periodicals and 10,727 of the old. The issues during the year before were 29,922 volumes, 21,110 of new books and 8,812 of the old.

- 3 silver punch marked coins found in the Gaya District.
- 7 silver vigraha coins found in the Darbhanga District.
- 1 silver of the Bahamani Dynasty of the Deccan (Ahmad Shah II.) found in the Angal District, Bengal.
- 1 gold Kalinga coin found in the Angal District, Bengal.
- 23 silver coins of—

- 1—Jalal-ud-din Fathe Shah,
- 1—Shams-ud-din Muzaffar Shah,
- 6—Ala-ud-din Husan Shah,
- 2—Ala-ud-din Firozshah,
- 7—Nasir-ud-din Nasral Shah,
- 5—Ghiyasud-din Mahmud Shah III.,
- 1—Humayun (Mogul Emperor),

found in the Mymensing District.

- 3 Andhra leaden coins found in the Kistna District, Madras.
- 1 golden pagoda of Krishna Raja found in the Bellary District.
- 2 copper coins of the East India Company found in the village of Rajapur, Purandar Taluka, Poona.
- 2 copper coins of Jehangir found at Rajapur, Purandar, Poona.
- 2 Chhatrapati coins found at Rajapur, Purandar, Poona.
- 40 old Indo-Portuguese copper coins found at Vadhawan, Dahanu Taluka, Thana.

The Society also received during the year the following objects of antiquarian interest :—

Mr. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western India, presented an empty stone box found near a ruined Buddhist Stupa at Sopara while carrying on excavations at that place. The box is empty, but is interesting. It is barrel-shaped, about 17 inches high, and is provided with a lid. Mr. Cousens says, the Stupa appears to have been levelled at some period, when the relic-box was found and emptied. The foundation of a large Hindoo temple had been laid upon the site.

The Municipal Corporation of Bombay presented an interesting old stone, bearing date 1783. It is thus referred to in Mr. Douglas's Book of Bombay:—"In Dean Lane, a hundred yards from the Cathedral, there is lying while we write, in the gutter, a block of whin-stone, two feet long, and on which is deeply engraven : 'Erected by order of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, 1783.' Here

the inscription ends, for there are evidently wanting a piece or pieces, but you can fancy anything you like—'in memory of' officers or men drowned or slain on the Indian Ocean. Sir Edward Hughes was the man in a ship of whose squadron Nelson learned the art of war, and gained his Indian experience as a midshipman, who fought a great sea fight with Suffrein, and on four several occasions gave a good account of the French Fleet. Has this stone crept out of the Cathedral Compound? It has evidently been used to grind curry stuffs on, and—more recently—as a door step!"

JOURNAL.

No. 54, being the first number of Vol. XX. of the Journal, is just published. It contains papers contributed to the Society from August 1897 to July 1898, and abstract of proceedings from July 1897 to December 1898. Two papers read before the Society in November and December last, one by Rev. J. E. Abbott on the Chhatrapati Coins, and the other by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the Naosari Copper-plate Charter of the Gujerat Rashtrakuta Prince Karkka, I. will be published in the next number of the Journal.

The following is a list of Governments, learned Societies, and other Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented:—

Bombay Government; Government of India; Government of Bengal; Government of Madras; Punjab Government; Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh; Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; Chief Commissioner, Coorg; Resident, Hyderabad; Chief Commissioner, Burmah; Geological Survey of India; G. T. Survey of India; Marine Survey of India; Bengal Asiatic Society; Agricultural Society of India; Literary Society of Madras; Provincial Museum, Lucknow; Bombay University; Madras University; Punjab University; Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta; Government Museum, Madras; Indian Journal of Education, Madras; R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch; R. A. Society, North-China Branch; the Asiatic Society of Japan; Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

Strasburg Library; Geographical Society, Vienna; London Institution of Civil Engineers; Royal Geographical Society, London; Statistical Society, London; Royal Astronomical Society; Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester; Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg; Smithsonian Institution, Washington; Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; Royal Society

of Edinburgh ; Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig ; Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool ; British Museum, London ; Royal Society, London ; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland ; Academie Real das Science de Lisboa, Lisbon ; Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux ; Société de Géographie de Lyons ; Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Buda Pest) ; Sociedad Geografica de Madrid ; Royal Dublin Society ; Société de Géographie de Paris ; Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences ; United States Survey ; Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna ; United Service Institution ; Minnesota Academy of Natural Science ; India Office Library ; London Bible Society ; Vienna Orientalische Museum ; Boston Society of Natural History ; Musée, Guimet Lyons ; Victoria Institution, London ; Royal Institution, Great Britain ; American Geographical Society ; American Oriental Society ; Hamilton Association, America ; Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A. ; American Museum of Natural History ; Société Asiatique, Paris ; Geological Society, London ; Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam ; American Philological Association, Cambridge ; Royal University, Upsala (Sweden) ; Franklin Institute, Philadelphia ; University of Kansas, U. S. A. ; Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.

FINANCE.

A statement detailing the items of income and expenditure of the Society during 1898 is annexed.

It will be seen from it that the subscriptions from members, including arrears, amounted to Rs. 11,012-5-10. The amount of subscriptions received in 1897 was Rs. 10,604-3-4.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 748-2-11.

The invested funds of the Society amounted to Rs. 13,500.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. G. Chandawarkar proposed that the report for 1898 be adopted and thanks voted to the Committee of Management, the Honorary Secretaries and the Auditors for their services during the year.

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, having seconded the proposition, it was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. J. Jackson proposed that the following gentlemen with the addition of Mr. Jivanji Jamsetji Modi as Member of Committee, form the Committee and Auditors for 1899.

The names of Mr. K. G. Desai and Col. G. Hay being proposed by Mr. S. T. Bhandare and Captain Peil were also added.

Mr. S. T. Bhandare seconded the proposition and it was unanimously carried.

President :

Dr. P. Peterson, M.A.

Vice-Presidents :

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.

Committee Members:

Dr. D. MacDonald.

Prof. M. MacMillan, B.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G.

Ranade, C.I.E.

The Hon'ble N. G. Chandawar-

kar, B.A., LL.B.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A.

J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq. M.A.

Captain A. J. Peile, R.A.

A. M. T. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq.

F. R. Viccaji, Esq.

The Hon'ble Dr. Bhalchandra

K. Bhatawadekar.

Rev. J. D. Ozanne.

Surgeon-Col. G. Hay.

Jivanji Jamestji Modi, Esq.

K. G. Desai, Esq.

Honorary Secretary :

Rev. R. M. Gray, M.A.

Joint Honorary Secretary :

(Numismatics and Archaeology.)

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Honorary Auditors :

Darasha Ratanji Chichgar, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

The Honorary Secretary proposed that the Reading Room be opened in the morning at 7 o'clock for three months from the 1st of April next, the change to be continued only if it should be found to meet the wants of members.

Dr. D. MacDonald seconded the proposal, which was agreed to.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

from 1st January to 31st December 1898.

Cr.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Office Establishment	6,312 1 6	
Purchase of Books	3,830 14 6	
Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.—		
{ English Newspapers and Periodicals—		
£106-3-2 = Rs. 1,600-11-4 ...		
{ Books—		
£ 35-2-1 = Rs. 528-6-0 ...		
<u>£141-5-3</u>	2,129 1 4	
Subscription to Indian Newspapers	452 9 0	
Printing including Rs. 565-11-0 on account of printing charges of journal number 53...	1,251 5 0	
Binding	1,002 13 0	
General Charges	472 4 11	
Stationery... ..	96 14 6	
Postage and Receipt Stamps	58 3 0	
Shipping and Landing Charges	31 15 9	
Gas Charges and new gas fittings	363 10 4	
Insurance	312 8 0	
Grain Compensation	159 0 0	
Gratuity	132 0 0	
Balance in Bank of Bombay	704 13 10	16,605 4 10
Do. in hand	43 5 1	
		748 2 11
Total...Rs.		17,353 7 9
<i>Invested Funds.</i>		
Government Paper of the Society	10,500 0 0	
Premchand Roychand Govt. Loan	3,000 0 0	
		13,500 0 0

ROBERT M. GRAY,

Honorary Secretary.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 10th March 1899.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair. The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were read:—

(1) A New Copper-plate grant from Broach District. By A. M. T. JACKSON, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.

(2) Description of a Hoard of 1,200 coins of the Kshatrapa Kings (of dates 203—376 A. D.) found recently in Kathiawar. By Rev. H. R. Scott, M.A.

On the proposition of the Hon'ble Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatavadekar a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and Rev. H. R. Scott for the interesting papers they had contributed.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 24th March 1899.

Mr. K. G. Desai in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi read a paper on the Etymology of the Names of a few cities of Central and Western Asia.

On the motion of Mr. K. R. Cama a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for his paper.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 7th September 1899.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Chairman said they had met together to place on record the Society's sense of the loss they had incurred in the death of their President, the late Dr. P. Peterson, M.A., D.Sc. On behalf of the Committee of the Society he asked Dr. Bhandarkar to move the resolution.

Dr. Bhandarkar then moved the following resolution:—"That the Society place on record its sense of the loss it has sustained by the death of its President, Dr. Peterson, and its testimony to his abilities, to the interest he took in its affairs, and to his great services in connection with Sanskrit literature. That a letter enclosing a copy of the Society's resolution be forwarded to

Mrs. Peterson, with an expression of sympathy with her and her family."

Referring to Dr. Peterson he said: Dr. Peterson was brought out in January 1873, to supersede me. I had been Acting Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College for four years, from the beginning of 1867 to the end of 1872. Dr. Peterson was a young man of twenty-five and was junior to me by ten years. For fifteen years before I had been learning and teaching Sanskrit, while Dr. Peterson could have been studying it only for about five years before. Under the ordinary operation of our sinful human nature, one would expect that distrust, suspicion, and jealousy would have sprung up between us. But such feelings never for a moment took possession of his heart nor of mine, and a cordial friendship grew up between us, which has continued during the varied occurrences of the last twenty-six years, and has now terminated only by his death, which occurred a few days ago. This was entirely due to the innate nobility of Dr. Peterson's nature and to the culture which his mind had undergone, as well as his desire to please and to be agreeable. He never gave himself an air of superiority, as is too often done by inferior natures. At a later period we happened to be engaged in a spirited controversy on a literary question. Such controversies between scholars often embitter their feelings against each other, and they are sometimes found not to be willing even to shake hands with each other when they chance to meet. But this was not the result of our controversy, and we were as good friends after it as before. Dr. Peterson was Professor and I his assistant and we worked harmoniously together. In September 1874, he went on a year's sick leave to Europe, and after his return was appointed to the Deccan College as Professor, I believe, of some other subject than Sanskrit, for another year. In November 1876, he came back to the Elphinstone College. There was a turning-point in Dr. Peterson's career about the end of 1881. A Sanskrit Professor is considered unworthy of his post if he does not carry on original research in Indian antiquities and Indian languages and literature in addition to his teaching work. The other Professors in a College are at liberty to do or not to do anything they like, but this additional duty is imposed on Sanskrit Professors. I do not complain of this, and even in these days, when there is a greater readiness to give professorships to natives,

the authorities, I think, should insist that the Sanskrit Professor should devote his leisure to this work. Since 1873 I had been doing work of this nature, but Dr. Peterson was not able to do much up to the end of 1881. Dr. Kielhorn, of Poona, was about to retire on that occasion, and the idea had been conceived of getting out a new man from Germany to succeed him there; but since it was considered unfair that I should be passed over another time, especially after the literary work that I had done, it was arranged that I should be made Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College, and Dr. Peterson appointed Professor of English Literature. Had this plan succeeded the world would not have heard of Dr. Peterson as a great scholar. But having deliberately chosen Sanskrit studies as the work of his life, this proposal was not liked by him. He saw the members of Government and personally protested against it in a strong manner, and the result was that the orders for a new Professor from Germany were countermanded by a special telegram, and I was appointed to the Deccan College and Dr. Peterson remained Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College.

THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

The Government of Bombay had for several years before been conducting a search for Sanskrit manuscripts, and this work had been entrusted to Dr. Bühler, and after his departure to Dr. Kielhorn mainly and to me partially. After Dr. Kielhorn's departure, Dr. Peterson claimed to be allowed a portion of it, and it was divided equally between him and me. In connection with this he went on tour several times to Guzerat and Rajputana, and examined a good many of the Jaina libraries in those provinces. He issued four reports as extra numbers of the Journal of this Society. Two more were printed at the Government Central Press. He contributed a good many articles to the Journal of this Society, and published at various times editions of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana*, of *Hitopadesa*, of *Kādambari*, of Vallabhadeva's *Subhashitāvalī* and of Sarngadhara's *Paddhati*. In his introduction to the edition of Vallabhadeva's work he gave an alphabetical index of all the poets whose names were found alluded to in Sanskrit literature, together with all the information that had till then been obtained about them. This work he did in conjunction with the late Pandit Durgaprasad, of Jeypore. An

analysis of Sarngadhara's Paddhati had before been given by Professor Aufrecht, but that had only rendered the demand for the whole work itself keener. Sarngadhara's date is known, and from that the inference is easy that the poets from whose works he gives elegant extracts, flourished before him. This desideratum Dr. Peterson supplied by his edition. He also published annotated editions of the Rig-Veda Hymns laid down for the M. A. Examination and a hand-book for the students of the Veda. He edited a Buddhistic work entitled Nyâyabindutikâ in connection with the Bibliotheca Indica of Calcutta, and an edition of a Jain work in connection with the same collection is in the press. The first two fasciculi were presented to me by him only a few days before his death. You will thus see, that the original work done by Dr. Peterson since the end of 1881 has been considerable. The information that he gave in his reports on MSS. and also in the introductions to the edition of Sanskrit authors is valuable. His examination of Jaina libraries in particular has been productive of important results. His works are referred to and quoted from by all European scholars who have occasion to write on subjects touched on by him, and he is highly spoken of by them all. Professor Ernst Leumann of Strassburg in the notice of Dr. Bühler's life published in a recent number of the *Indian Antiquary*, says with reference Dr. Peterson: "Bühler imparted his desire of discovering or uncovering all that is hidden or unknown in Jaina literature to Peterson, his successor in Bombay, who has been so fortunate as to be able to enter sanctified temple libraries, which, in spite of all exertions, were closed to Bühler. Peterson has indeed been continuing Bühler's work in the search for manuscripts very much to his credit." Dr. Peterson has thus been able to secure for himself a very high place among European scholars. Whenever he came across a fine sentiment in a Sanskrit author he did not fail to appreciate it, and often times translated it into English verse and compared it with similar sentiment in English authors or in the Christian Bible. As he appreciated all the good he found in Sanskrit literature, he appreciated also whatever good he found in Indians. He was thus a kind and sympathetic friend of us all. About six weeks ago he wrote to me, telling me that he was a candidate for the Boden Professorship at Oxford, and asked me to give him a testimonial, as I had done on a former occasion when he applied for the Assistant Professorship. I intended to see him

personally and speak about it and discuss his prospects at Oxford generally, but this was not to be. After my arrival here I heard of his serious illness on a Saturday, and heard of his death on the following Monday, after his mortal remains had been consigned to the grave. I had thus not even the satisfaction of having followed them to their last resting-place. Dr. Peterson was our Secretary for several years, and I remember that after he assumed office, he changed the appearance of these rooms and rendered them more attractive. He was also our President for three years. As he was the only scholar in Bombay who carried on original research, the loss occasioned by his death cannot, at least at present, be made up, and not only on account of these special relations of the Society to Dr. Peterson, but on account of the simple fact that he was a man who contributed to the advance of Sanskrit studies, it is but proper and fitting that this Society, the object of which is to promote such studies, should place on record its sense of the loss it has sustained by his premature death.

Professor Macmillan, in seconding the proposition, said:—It cannot be expected that, ignorant as I unfortunately am of the great classical languages of India, I should say anything of the late Dr. Peterson's Sanskrit attainments, especially as Dr. Bhandarkar has given such an eloquent appreciation of them. It is, however, permissible for me, as Dr. Peterson's colleague at the Elphinstone College for more than twenty years, to express my admiration of him as an accomplished man of letters, with a literary taste refined by knowledge and appreciation of all that has been best said and thought in English. No doubt his European culture was of great importance to him as an interpreter of Sanskrit thought to Western readers. Nothing attracts us so much to a foreign literature, or helps us to recognise its merits, so much as the comparison of parallel passages proving the resemblance in thought and expression between great writers who have flourished in different countries and different ages. Such luminous comparisons Dr. Peterson was specially qualified to make with effect by his knowledge of Eastern and Western literature; but I wish to confine my remarks to his power as an English writer and his European culture. As a writer of English prose I have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Peterson stands in the very first rank among the many eminent Englishmen who have contributed to the press in India. He had wonderful command of language,

and his writings, whether he was discussing literary or political questions, were admirably clear and free from all affectation and mannerism. As a writer for the press he was a master of different styles. When his heart was engaged in a political question, his style was powerful, and sometimes impassioned, but in the height of his enthusiasm he never failed to express his argument in the most effective logical form. In this combination of enthusiasm with logic he resembled Burke, whom he seems to have taken as his model in his style, and also in his sentiments when he wrote upon political subjects. He had also the power of writing in a lighter vein. When he had an amusing and congenial subject to handle, he could treat it in a style of exquisitely amusing banter, and in language characterised by graceful ease and full of wit and humour. Unfortunately most of his work in English prose was contributed to the daily press, and will consequently be lost to the world. As far as I know, the only prose writing of Dr. Peterson that survives in book form are his contributions to our journal, and his little book of simple essays. The latter are admirable specimens of English composition, but as many of them are written on hackneyed and common-place topics, they are not nearly such good specimens of the higher qualities of their author's style as the articles he contributed to the local press. Whether Dr. Peterson ever wrote any poetry or not I do not know; but there have been many poets who never wrote any verses, and certainly by virtue of his poetic feeling and insight Dr. Peterson was a true poet. His power of appreciative criticism is fortunately preserved in a permanent form in his notes on "The Merchant of Venice" and on the fourth book of Palgrave's Golden Treasury. The notes in the latter work add a golden treasury of well chosen parallel passages to the Golden Treasury of Poems collected by Palgrave. He also had the happy gift of reciting poetry in such a way as to convey to his hearers something of his own appreciation of the beauties of the poem he recited. Our college students listened with delight whenever he recited to them his favourite passages of poetry. I myself have come under the same spell, and learnt to appreciate new beauties in a familiar Mathew Arnold poem by hearing him read it aloud. Perhaps some of you here present were at the last Scotch dinner on St. Andrew's day, and heard him, in his eloquent speech on Burns, recite with sympathy the lines in which some unknown

Scotch poet expresses his feelings of regret for the native land he has left.

“ From the dim sheiling in the misty island
Mountains divide us and a world of seas,
But still our hearts are true, our hearts are Highland,
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.”

I am sure that such verses, recited as he recited them, roused responsive echoes in the soul of every Scotchman who heard them. This St. Andrew's dinner was one of the few occasions on which the general public of Bombay had an opportunity of listening to Dr. Peterson's eloquence, although he often spoke well in the University Senate, and in the Municipality when he was a member of the Corporation. He was also a brilliant conversationalist. His remarks were conspicuously bright and witty, and whatever was said to him, his ready intellect always provided him on the spur of the moment with an appropriate reply. His conversational gifts, added to his genial sympathy and winning manners, made him one of the most delightful of companions. His judgment of men and things was free from bitterness. I have often noticed how in conversation he habitually took the part of anyone whose conduct was being harshly criticised. This kindly disposition, as much as his brilliant intellectual qualities, endeared him to the large number of friends who mourn his loss. Equally great will his loss be to the Society, of which he was President during the last years of his life. Our journals are enriched with his interesting and learned contributions, and when he took the chair at our meetings, his courtesy and tact made him an excellent chairman. His combination of Oriental and Occidental learning reflected honour on our Society, and it will be difficult to fill his place. I therefore think it is incumbent on us to support the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 19th October 1899.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

After a few preliminary remarks by the Chairman the following papers were read :—

(1) On the Date of the Poet Māgha. By K. B. PATHAK, Esq., B.A.

(2) A Kushana Stone Inscription and the Question about the Origin of the Shaka Era. By D. R. BHANDARKAR, Esq., B.A.

On the motion of Mr. K. R. Cama, seconded by Rao Bahadur R. S. Jayakar, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pathak and Mr. Bhandarkar for the papers contributed by them.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 30th November 1899.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

It was resolved that the following papers be subscribed for from the beginning of the next year :—

Capital.

The Building Edition of the Scientific American.

Daily Mail.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 5th December 1899.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria read the following paper :—

A Maratha Political Ecclesiastic of the 18th Century : the unpublished correspondence of Brahmendra Swami. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria for the paper he had read, which was carried by acclamation.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1899.)

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACTS, Government of India, 1898.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1897-98.	Government of India.
_____ Bengal, 1897-98.	Bengal Government.
_____ Ajmere-Merwara, 1897-98.	Government of India
_____ Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
_____ Central India Agency, 1898-99.	Government of India.
_____ Hyderabad Assinged District, 1897-98.	Resident, Hyderabad.
_____ Madras, 1897-98.	Madras Government.
_____ N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1897-98.	Government N.-W. P. and Oudh.
_____ Persian Gulf and Muskat Political Agencies, 1897-98.	Government of India.
_____ Punjab, 1897-98.	Punjab Government.
AGRICULTURAL Statistics, British India, 1893-94 to 1897-98.	Government of India.
_____ Ledger, (Numbers issued in 1898-99).	Government of India.
_____ Reform in India. By A. O. Hume, Ed. J. Murdock.	Christian Literature Society, India.
ALBUM d'Antiquites Orientales.	Fakirchand Premchand, Esq.
ANNUAL Report Smithsonian Institution, 1896.	The Institution.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India, Mogul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri.	Government N.-W. P.
AREA and Yield of certain Crops in India, from 1891-92 to 1898-99.	Government of India.
BIBLIOGRAPHY of Chemistray, 1492-1897.	The Smithsonian Institution.
BUDDHA: a Drama in Twelve Scenes. By S. Hartmann.	The Author.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BURMA Code, 3rd Ed. 1899.	
CANTONMENT Regulations issued by Government of India, 16th June 1899.	Government of India.
CATALOGUES of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection University of Glasgow.	Secretary of State for India.
_____ The Trustees of the Hunterian Coin Catalogue Fund.	
_____ Sanskrit MSS. Calcutta Sanskrit College Library.	
Part 9.	
CROP Experiments, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bengal Government.
DICTIONARY of the Lepcha Language.	Bombay Government.
DISCOVERY and Conquest of Peru, Vol. II, (Hak. Society).	Bengal Government.
EAST India Financial Statement, 1899-1900.	Bombay Government.
_____ Home Accounts, 1897-98 and 1898-99.	Secretary of State for India.
_____ Military Bullet.	Secretary of State for India.
_____ (Sugar) (Countervailing Duties in India), 1899.	Secretary of State for India.
EMBASSY of Sir T. Roe, to the Court of the Great Mogul. 2 Vols. (Hak. Soc.).	Secretary of State for India.
EXCELLENCE of Zoroastrianism. By Billimoria and Alpawala.	Bombay Government.
FACTORY Report, Bombay Presidency, 1898.	Authors.
FOREST Administration Report, Madras, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
HISTOIRE de La Sépulture et des Funérailles dans l'Ancienne Egypte.	Madras Government.
INDIAN Currency Committee, 1898, Minutes of Evidence.	Musee Guimet.
_____ Index and Appendices to the Evidence.	Secretary of State for India.
_____ Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. VI., Part V.	Secretary of State for India.
_____ Vol. X., Part II, 1899.	Government of India.
	Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
INDIAN Museum Notes, Vol. IV., No. 3.	
————— Vol. IV., Nos. 4 and 5.	Trustees of the Indian Museum.
INSTINCTS and Habits of the Solitary Wasps.	Wisconsin Geological Society.
IRRIGATION Revenue Report, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
JUDICIAL and Administrative Statistics, British India, 1897-98.	Government of India.
LES Parsis.	The Musee Guimet.
—— Voyage dan le Laos.	The Musee Guimet.
LIFE and Letters of Dr. Samuel Wells Williams, by his son.	The Author.
MADRAS Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. II., No. 3, Anthropology.	Madras Government Museum.
MAGNETICAL and Meteorological Observations, Government Observatory, Bombay, 1897.	Bombay Government.
MANUAL, Coimbatore District. Vol. II.	Madras Government.
MARATHI Proverbs. By Rev. A. Manwaring.	The Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.
MEMORANDUM on the Snowfall in the Mountain Districts bordering Northern India and abnormal features of the weather in India during 1898 with a forecast of the probable Character of the South West Monsoon rains of 1899.	Government of India.
MEMORANDUM on Vernaculars, by Diwan Babadur Manibhai Jessabhai.	The Author.
METEOROLOGY, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
MONOGRAPHS, United States Geological Survey, VOL XXX.	U. S. Geological Survey.
MYSORE Gazetteer, Revised Edition.	Mysore Government.
NOTES on the Meteorology of Vizagapatam, Part I.	Government of India.
——— Monetary System of Ancient Kashmir. By M. A. Stein.	The Author.
NOTICES of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. II, Part I.	Bengal Asiatic Society.
NRIPATUNGA's Kaviraja Marga.	Mysore Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
PAMPA Bharata.	
PAPERS relating to the maintenance of Schools of Art in India as State Institution, 1893-96.	Mysore Government.
PAPERS, relating to the reorganization of the Educational Service in India 1891-97.	Government of India.
POLICE REPORTS, Bombay Presidency, 1897.	Government of India.
PROCEEDINGS, Legislative Council, Bombay, 1897.	Bombay Government.
PUNJAB University Calendar, 1899-1900.	Bombay Government.
RECORDS, Botanical Survey of India, Vol. I., No. 12.	Punjab University.
REPORT, Abkari Department, Bombay, 1897-98.	Government of India.
———— American Historical Association, 1897.	Bombay Government.
———— American Museum, Natural History, 1898.	The Association.
———— Archæological Survey of India, 1897-98.	The Museum.
———— Archæological Survey Circle, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
———— Bombay Improvement Trust, 1898-99.	Government of N. W. P.
———— Chairman, Bombay Improvement Trust.	
———— Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1898.	The Chamber.
———— Bombay Jail Department, 1898.	
———— Bombay Mill-Owners' Association, 1898.	Bombay Government.
———— Bombay Port Trust, 1898-99.	The Association.
———— Bombay Veterinary College 1898-99.	Chairman of the Trust.
———— Chemical Analyser to Government of Bombay 1898.	Bombay Government.
———— Civil Justice, Punjab, 1898.	Bombay Government.
———— Civil Medical Institutions, Bombay, 1898.	Punjab Government.
	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Civil Veterinary Department, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1898.	Punjab Government.
——— Customs Department, Sind, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Director of Botanical Survey of India, 1898-99.	Government of India.
——— Dispensaries, Punjab, 1898.	Punjab Government.
——— Excise Administration, Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.
——— External Land Trade, Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.
——— Sind and British Baluchistan, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
——— Forest Administration, Punjab, 1897-98.	Punjab Government.
——— Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Government Museum Madras, 1898-99.	Madras Government.
——— Income-tax Operations, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
——— Administration, Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.
——— Indian Cotton Duties, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
——— Famine Commission, 1898.	Secretary of State for India.
——— Inspection of Mines in India, 1897.	Government of India.
——— Inspection of Mines in India 1898.	Government of India.
——— Internal Trade, Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.
——— Irrigation Revenue, Sind, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab, 1897-98.	
—————	Punjab Government.
————— Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1897-98.	
—————	Punjab Government.
————— Local Boards, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	
—————	Bombay Government.
————— Lucknow Provincial Museum, 1898-99.	
—————	Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh.
————— Lunatic Asylums, Punjab, 1898.	
—————	Punjab Government.
————— Lunatic Asylums, Bombay Presidency, 1898.	
—————	Bombay Government.
————— Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1898-99.	
—————	Government of India.
————— Military Works, P. W. Department, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	
—————	Bombay Government.
————— Missouri Botanical Garden, 1899.	
—————	Missouri Botanical Garden.
————— Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, 1897-98.	
—————	The Municipal Commissioner.
————— on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure, Bombay Presidency and Sind, 1897-98.	
—————	Bombay Government.
————— of an Archæological Tour with the Burma Field Force.	
—————	Punjab Government.
————— on Encumbered Estates, Sindh, 1897-98.	
—————	Bombay Government.
————— on Plague Inoculation at Hubli.	
—————	Bombay Government.
————— on Publications, British India, 1897.	
—————	Government of India.
————— on Revision of the Code of Regulations for European Schools, Bengal Presidency.	
—————	Government of India.
————— on the System of Trial by Jury in Courts of Sessions.	
—————	Government of India.
————— on Working of Municipalities, Punjab, 1897-98.	
—————	Punjab Government.
————— Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	
—————	Bombay Government.
————— Police Administration, Punjab, 1898.	
—————	Punjab Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Police Town and Island of Bombay, 1898.	Bombay Government.
———— Political Administration, Central India Agency, 1897-98.	Government of India.
———— Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
———— Railways in India, 1898-99.	Government of India.
———— Railway Department, Bombay, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
———— Railways in India, 1897-98, Part II.	Government of India.
———— Railways in India, 1898-99, Part I.	Government of India.
———— Reformatory School, Yerrowda, 1898.	Bombay Government.
———— Registration Department, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
———— Registration Department, Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.
———— Revised Settlement, Kulu Sub-division, Kangra District.	Punjab Government.
———— Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay, 1898.	Bombay Government.
———— Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1898.	Punjab Government.
———— Sanitary Measures, India, 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Smithsonian Institution, 1896.	The Smithsonian Institution.
———— Smithsonian Institution, 1897.	The Smithsonian Institution.
———— Stamp Department, Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.
———— Survey of India, 1897-98.	Government of India.
———— Talukdari Settlement Officer, 1897-98.	Bombay Government.
———— Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
———— ————— Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Working of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department, 1898.	Government of India.
RETURNS of Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1897.	Government of India.
———— Rail-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
REVISION Survey Settlement, Mandangad Petha, Dapoli Taluka, Ratnagiri.	Bombay Government.
REVISION Survey Settlement, Bassein Taluka, Thana.	Bombay Government.
ROLL of Graduates of the University of Glasgow.	The University Court.
SACRED Books of the East described and examined.	Christian Literature Society.
SACRED Books of the East—	
Vol. 43, Satapatha Bráhmāna, Pt. IV, Trans. J. Eggeling.	
— 47 Pahlavi Texts, Part V. E. W. West.	Secretary of State for India.
SANITARY Vaccination and Jail Report, Rajputana, 1897.	Government of India.
SETTLEMENT Report, Dera Ghazikhan District, Punjab, 1893-97.	
SHAKESPEARE'S Works, Ed. C. Knight. 4 Vols. (Illustrated).	W. C. Keith, Esq.
SHRI SANKARACHARYA'S Miscellaneous Works, Vol. I.	Mysore Government.
STATEMENT, Trade and Navigation, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
STATISTICAL ABSTRACT relating to British India, 1888-89 to 1897-98.	Secretary of State for India.
STATUTES relating to India, Vol. I.	Government of India.
SUPPLEMENT to Administration Report, P. W. D., Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
TAITTIRIYA SAMHITA of the Krishna Yajur-Veda, Vols. 8-9-12.	Mysore Government.
THERAPEUTICS of Indigenous Vegetable Drugs. By Dr. L. B. Dhargalkar.	The Author.
TIDE TABLES, Indian Ports, 1899.	Government of India.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

UNREPEALED General Acts, Government of India, 2nd Edition, Vols.
IV and V (1882-90).

Government of India.

UNREPEALED General Acts, Government of India, Vol. VI, 1891-98.

Government of India.

WYCLIF's Latin Works.

The Wyclif Society.

YEAR-BOOK of Agriculture, U. S., 1898.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 1st March 1900.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, *President, in the Chair.*

The Honorary Secretary read the following report for 1899 :—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1899.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—During the year under review 54 new members were elected and 3 Non-Resident members returned to Bombay. 22 withdrew, 5 died, 3 retired and 5 having left Bombay desired to be transferred to the Non Resident list. The total number of members at the close of 1899 was 334 against 312 at the end of the preceding year. Of these 76 were absent from India for the whole year or for portions of the year.

Non-Resident.—5 gentlemen joined under this class and 5 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 4 members resigned, 2 died, and 3 were added to the list of Resident Members, and the name of one was struck off the Roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number at the end of the year was 55, the same as that at the end of 1898.

OBITUARY.

The Society have to announce with regret the loss by death of the following members:—

RESIDENT.

Dr. P. Peterson.

Damodardas Tapidas, Esq.

Dharamsi Sundardas Mulji, Esq.

J. H. Sleight, Esq.

F. K. Banaji, Esq.

NON-RESIDENT.

Sorabji Manekji Cawasji, Esq.,
C. Biddulph, Esq.

HONORARY.

Sir Monier Williams.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

The Era of Yudhishtira, by Rajaram R. Bhagwat, Esq.

Cities of Iran as described in the old Pahlavi Treatise Shatrôihai-Iran, by J. J. Modi, Esq., B.A.

Currencies and Mints under Maratha Rule, by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.,

A new Copper Plate Grant from Broach District, by A. M. T. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

Description of a Hoard of 1,200 Coins of the Kshatrapa Kings (203-376 A. D.) found recently in Kaphiawar, by Rev. H. R. Scott, M.A.

Etymology of the names of a few Cities of Central and Western Asia, by J. J. Modi, Esq., B.A.

Three Interesting Vedic Hymns, by Rajaram R. Bhagwat, Esq.

On the Date of the Poet Magha, by K. B. Pathak, Esq., B.A.

A Kurshana Stone Inscription and the question about the origin of the Shaka era, by D. R. Bhandarkar, Esq., B.A.

A Maratha Political Ecclesiastic of the 18th Century. The unpublished correspondence of Brahmendra Swami, by R. P. Karkaria, Esq., B.A.

LIBRARY.

Issues of Books.

The total issues of books during the year were 34,741 volumes; 23,774 of new books including periodicals and 10,967 of the old. The issues during the preceding year were 32,771 volumes, 22,044 of new books and 10,727 of the old.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues, together with daily average, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, is subjoined.

	Old books.	New books.	Daily Average.
January	928	2,043	119
February	959	2,130	129
March... ..	868	2,215	123
April	819	2,246	123
May	743	1,810	98
June	946	1,855	108
July	1,176	2,173	129
August	1,091	1,945	117
September	1,064	1,723	111
October	846	2,181	121
November	767	1,921	110
December	815	1,532	98

The volumes of issues of the old and the new books arranged according to classes are shown in the subjoined table :—

CLASSES.	Volumes.
Novels, Romances and Tales	11,810
Biography and Personal Narratives	1,700
Miscellaneous and works on several subjects of the same author	1,540
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	1,048
History, Historical Memoirs and Chronology	984
Oriental Literature and Religion	610
Transactions of Learned Societies, Journals, Encyclopædias, etc.	483
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	459
Politics, Political Economy and Statistics	440
Foreign Literature	280
Works on Military Subjects	280
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	264
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry, etc.	228
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	205
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	185
Fine Arts and Architecture	173
Logic, Rhetoric and Works relating to Education	161
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology... .. .	148
Grammatical Works, Dictionaries, etc.	141
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, etc.	141
Classics	116
Government Publications, Public Records, etc.... .. .	116
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, etc.... .. .	115
Jurisprudence	43
Botany and Agriculture	25
	21,796
The issues of Periodicals during 1899 were	12,945
Total..	34,741

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The number of volumes or parts of volumes purchased and presented during the year was 906. Of this number 666 works were purchased and 240 were received as presents, chiefly from the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India and the other local Governments, and a few from individual authors and other donors.

Among the works presented, the one deserving of special mention is a large illustrated edition, by Charles Knight, of Shakespeare's Works in 4 volumes, received from Mr. W. C. Keith, one of the members of the Society.

The volumes of each class of books purchased and presented are noted in the following table :—

CLASSES.	Pur- chased.	Pre- sented.
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	18	...
Natural Theology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy ...	15	...
Logic, Rhetoric and Works relating to Education ...	2	...
Classics, Translations and Works illustrative of the Classics ...	13	21
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	13	...
History and Chronology	35	1
Politics, Political Economy and Statistics	19	15
Jurispudence	2	6
Public Records	11	121
Biography and Personal Narratives	71	2
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	2	3
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	40	9
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	15	6
Novels, Romances and Tales	208	...
Miscellaneous and Works on several subjects of the same		
Authors	67	...
Foreign Literature	7	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c. ...	13	3
Fine Arts and Architecture	9	...
Science of War and Military Subjects	25	...
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Chemistry ...	14	6
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	5	2
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology, &c.	10	1
Encyclopædias, Periodical Works, &c.	20	23
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	7	1
Oriental Literature	25	20
Total...	666	240

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals and Journals of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
Illustrated	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of							
Learned Societies, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	36
Reviews	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	...	...	19
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Indian Newspapers, and Government Gazette	...	...	...	...	...	...	22
Indian Journals, Reviews, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	28

At a meeting of the Society, held in November, under Article XX of the Rules, for the revision of the newspapers and periodicals, taken by the Society, it was resolved to subscribe to—The Building Edition of the “Scientific American,” The “Daily Mail” and “Capital.”

COIN-CABINET.

The accessions to the Society's Coin-Cabinet during the year were 33 coins. Of these 5 were presented by the Chief of Vala in Kathiawar, through the Secretary to Government, Political Department, and the rest were received from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act. Of the 33 coins added to the Cabinet 17 were silver, 15 copper and 1 gold.

They comprise coins of the following varieties:—

Presented by the Bombay Government—

2 Silver, of Aurangzeeb, 1 of Akbar and 1 of Shah Jehan, found in the village of Jafrabad, Godhra Taluka, Panch Mahals District.

1 Silver, Old Hindu Punch marked, found in Kalwan Taluka, Nassik District.

Presented by the Chief of Vala—

5 Copper Gupta coins found in a spot east of Vala in Kathiawad.

Presented by the Madras Government—

2 Quarter Rupees of Tipu Sultan from the Erode Taluka of the Coimbatore District.

1 Gold coin of Prithvideva of the Kalachuri Dynasty of Mahakosala, found in the Ganjam District.

Presented by the Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh—

2 Silver coins of Mahamud Shah found in village Baroi, Sultanpur District, N.-W. P.

3 Silver coins of Jehangir, and 3 of Akbar.

The Society also received during the year the following objects of antiquarian interest:—

Lt.-Col. C. T. Peters presented a brass image of Burmese Buddha from Mandalay.

A present of two copper-plate grants, one (a single plate) of Drona Sinha, and the other (double plates joined by rings) of Dhruva Sena II. of the Valabhi Dynasty, was received from Mr. L. Proctor Sims. The plates were found together; the smaller plate lying between the two plates of the larger grant, buried in a field in the village of Bhamodra Motha near Bhaunnagar. Both grants are in excellent preservation and easily read. An interesting paper on the plates, written by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, is published in No. 54 of the Journal of the Society.

The Collector of Broach forwarded to the Society, about the beginning of the year, a Copper-plate grant consisting of two plates. They were found in November 1898 buried about two feet below the surface of a cart-track in the village of Suney Kulla in the Hansot Mahal of the Broach District. Along with the plates were found (1) two flat pieces of iron 2 feet long and 2 inches wide, (2) two similar but smaller pieces, (3) a conch shell, (4) a flat piece of stone such as is used in mixing spices, (5) a conical piece of stone resembling a "ling," (6) a small iron cylinder such as is used in making a cart wheel. All these, as well as the plates, the Collector has been good enough to present to the Society. The grant is by Maharaja Samgana Simha. Mr. Jackson has written a paper on the plate which appears in No. 55 of the Journal just issued.

JOURNAL.

No. 55, being the 2nd number of Vol. XX of the Journal, was published about the end of the year. Besides the following papers, it contains abstract of proceedings of the Society from January to December, and a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society during the period, and a Note on the Royal Society's International Catalogue of Scientific Literature and on the Royal Asiatic Society's Gold Medal.

A Preliminary Study of the Shivarai or Chhatrapati Copper Coins. By the Rev. J. E. Abbott.

- The Naosari Copper-plate Charter of the Gujerat Rashtrakuta Prince Karkka I. By D. R. Bhandarkar, Esq.
- The Era of Yudhishtira. By Rajaram Ramkrishna Bhagwat, Esq.
- The Cities of Iran as described in the old Pahalavi Treatise of Shatrôiha-i-Iran. By J. J. Modi, Esq.
- Currencies and Mints under Maratha Rule. By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade.
- Description of a Hoard of 1,200 Coins of the Khsatrapa Kings of dates 203-376 A. D., found recently in Kathiawar. By Rev. H. R. Scott.
- The Etymology of a few towns of Central and Western Asia. By J. J. Modi, Esq.
- A New Copper-plate Grant from Broach District. By A. M. T. Jackson, Esq.
- Three Interesting Vedic Hymns. By Rajaram Ramkrishna Bhagwat, Esq.

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies, and other Institutions, to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government.	Madras University.
Government of India.	Punjab University.
Government of Bengal.	Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.
Government of Madras.	Government Museum, Madras.
Punjab Government.	Indian Journal of Education,
Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.	Madras.
Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.	British Museum, London.
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.	Royal Society, London.
Resident, Hyderabad.	Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland.
Chief Commissioner, Burmah.	Academie Real das Sciences de Lisboa, Lisbon.
Geological Survey of India.	Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux.
G. T. Survey of India.	Société de Géographie de Lyons.
Marine Survey of India.	Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Buda Pest).
Bengal Asiatic Society.	Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.
Agricultural Society of India.	Royal Dublin Society.
Literary Society of Madras.	Société Géographie de Paris.
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.	
Bombay University.	

Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.	Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.
United States Survey.	Royal Society of Edinburgh.
Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.	Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
United Service Institution.	Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.
Minnesota Academy of Natural Science.	Boston Society of Natural History.
India Office Library.	Musée Guimet, Lyons.
London Bible Society.	Victoria Institution, London.
Vienna Orientalische Museum.	Royal Institution, Great Britain.
R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.	American Geographical Society.
R. A. Society, North-China Branch.	American Oriental Society.
The Asiatic Society of Japan.	Hamilton Association, America.
Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.	Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.
Strasburg Library.	American Museum of Natural History.
Geographical Society, Vienna.	Société Asiatique, Paris.
London Institution of Civil Engineers.	Geological Society, London.
Royal Geographical Society, London.	Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
Statistical Society, London.	American Philological Association, Cambridge.
Royal Astronomical Society.	Royal University, Upsala (Sweden).
Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester.	Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg.	University of Kansas, U. S. A.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington.	Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.

ACCOUNTS.

A detailed statement of receipts and disbursements during 1899 is appended. It will be seen from it that the total amount of subscriptions, including arrears, Rs. 90, collected during the year, was Rs. 11,487-5-4. The subscriptions received in 1898 amounted to Rs. 11,012-5-10. There was besides a sum of Rs. 620 received on account of life subscriptions from one Resident and one Non-Resident member.

Of this Rs. 600 have been duly invested in Government Securities in accordance with Article XVI of the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 872-1-10.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 14,100.

Rao Bahadur R. S. Jayakar proposed and Mr. J. Jackson seconded that the Report for 1899 be adopted and thanks voted to the Committee of Management, Honorary Secretaries and the Auditors for their services during the year.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

Mr. H. Kennard proposed that the following gentlemen form the Committee of Management, Honorary Secretaries and Auditors for 1900.

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.

Vice Presidents.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.
James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Kama, Esq.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G.
Ranade, C.I.E.

Members.

Dr. D. MacDonald.
Prof. Macmillan, B.A.
The Hon'ble Mr. N. G. Chandawarkar, B.A., LL. B.
Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A.,
A. M. T. Jackson, Esq., M.A.,
I.C.S.

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq., B.A.
F. R. Viccaji, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.
Rev. J. D. Ozanne.
J. J. Modi, Esq., B.A.
K. G. Desai, Esq.
Rev. R. MacOmish.

Honorary Secretary.

Rev. R. M. Gray, M.A.

Joint Honorary Secretary (Numismatics).

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Auditors.

Darasha Ratanji Chichgar, Esq.
H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Mr. J. S. Sanjire seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

On the proposition of Dr. D. MacDonald, seconded by Mr. J. Jackson, the name of Shams-ul-ulama Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana was added to the Committee.

The Honorary Secretary then proposed the following alterations in the Rules of the Society, as arranged by the Committee of Management. Mr. J. Jackson seconded the proposal.

The rules as revised were then unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE III.—Omit the words “at noon on the following day”.

ARTICLE VI.—Delete as unnecessary. See Article IV.

ARTICLE XII.—In line 5 for “shall” substitute “may”.

ARTICLE XV.—In line 4 insert “annual” before “contribution”.

Delete lines 6-8, “the full—that date” and substitute the words “a Non-Resident member if elected between the 1st January and 30th June shall pay the full annual contribution, but, if elected between the 1st July and the 31st December, he shall pay half.” In line 9 omit “but” and begin a new sentence with “The half-yearly”. Omit the words “and Resident Member elected at any time during a quarter of a year shall be charged for the whole quarter”.

ARTICLE XVI.—Para. 2 to run as follows:—Any one may compound for his future subscription as a Non-Resident Member by the payment of a lump sum of one hundred and twenty Rupees which shall be invested in Government Securities. A Member who has so compounded as Non-Resident, shall, on becoming a Resident Member, subscribe at the rate of Rupees forty a year during the time he is Resident, unless he becomes a Resident Life-Member on a payment of three hundred and eighty Rupees, which shall also be invested in Government Securities.

Between Articles XVI and XVII insert the following article:—

Non-Resident Members living within the Presidency of Bombay who wish to receive books regularly from the Society's Library shall, in addition to their annual contribution of fifteen Rupees, subscribe in advance at the rate of fifteen Rupees per annum or four Rupees a quarter. This regulation shall be applicable to Non-Resident Life Members also.

ARTICLE XVIII.—For “eight days” in line 2 substitute “one month.” In line 6 for the words “on or before the 31st January or July as the case may be,” substitute “within three months from the date of notice.”

ARTICLE XIX.—To run as follows :—Meetings of the Society shall be held from time to time for the purpose of transacting such business as may arise, and of reading and recording such communications as may be received by the Society.

ARTICLE XX.—Alter lines 1-2 to run as follows :—In the first quarter of the year on a day to be fixed by the Committee.

In paragraph 2, line 4 omit the word "new".

ARTICLE XXIV.—Omit the last sentence.

ARTICLE XXVII.—Delete.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—In lines 2-3 for the words "at least once in every month, and shall also when occasion requires" substitute "when-ever necessary and shall".

ARTICLES XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII.—Delete.

ARTICLE XXXIV.—Delete the words "and subscribers".

Between Articles XXXIV and XXXV insert the following article :—

Books shall on requisition be sent to a Non-Resident Member who is a subscriber to the Library under rule XVI, the cost of carriage being borne in each case by such members, but it shall be understood that in the case of books and periodicals which have been in the Library less than six months, preference will be given to the requisitions of Resident Members.

ARTICLE XXXV.—Delete the words "or subscriber".

ARTICLE XXXVI.— " " " "or subscriber".

ARTICLE XXXVII.— " " " "or subscriber".

ARTICLE XXXVIII.— " " " "or five by a subscriber."
"by a subscriber for more than one month".

XL.—Delete the words "or subscriber."

ARTICLE XLI.—For "Committee of Management" substitute "Secretary" and add at the end "In the case of requests from outside Bombay, sanction from the Committee of Management shall be first obtained".

ARTICLE XLII.—Line 6. For the words "each monthly" substitute "its next".

ARTICLE XLIV.—Delete the words "and subscriber".

ARTICLE XLV.—Alter to run as follows :—During the first twelve months after a new work has been added to the Library, no member who takes it out shall keep it for more than seven days.

ARTICLE XLVI.—Delete.

ARTICLE XLVII.—For "or" in line 3 substitute "and".

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

from 1st January to 31st December 1899.

Cr.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books purchased in Bombay	2,846 7 0	
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., for English Newspapers, Periodicals and Books, £197-1-1, equivalent of	2,948 6 9	
Subscription to Newspapers paid in India ...	346 14 6	
Printing	942 11 4	
Printing of Journal No. 54	537 6 0	
Binding	1,048 15 0	
General Charges	458 14 0	
Stationery... ..	106 11 9	
Postage and Receipt Stamps	81 9 9	
Shipping and Landing Charges	36 12 8	
Office Establishment	6,126 8 0	
Gas Charges	113 13 6	
Insurance Charges	312 8 0	
Government Paper purchased	600 0 0	
Pension	275 0 0	
Grain Compensation	162 0 0	
Balance in Bank of Bombay	804 4 6	16,944 10 3
Do. in hand	67 13 4	
		872 1 10
		17,816 12 1
Total...Rs.	.....
<i>Invested Funds.</i>		
Government Paper of the Society	11,100 0 0	
The Premchand Roychand Fund	3,000 0 0	
Total...Rs.	.....	14,100 0 0

ROBERT M. GRAY,
Honorary Secretary.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 15th March 1900.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. J. Modi read a paper on a "New Medal of King Behram Gour (Behram IV.) of Persia," and Mr. Rajaram Ramkrishna Bhagwat read extracts from his paper "Sanhita of the Rig-Veda Searched," Nos. I.—III.

On the proposition of Mr. K. R. Kama, a vote of thanks was passed o Mr. Modi and Mr. Bhagwat, for the papers they had read.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 30th June 1900.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, the President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade then read a paper "Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries."

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson made a few remarks on the paper, suggesting that an index to the papers in the Peshwa's Daftar should be prepared, and that, in addition to those selected, an abstract of the others not selected, should be made for publication.

He then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Justice Ranade for his exceedingly interesting and scholarly paper, which, on being seconded by Mr. James MacDonald, was carried by acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 19th July 1900.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman said that, in speaking very shortly to the proposition, which he was going to move, he wished to make mention of the many activities which filled the life of their lamented Vice-President, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha. The deceased gentleman joined the Society as a member in 1873, the year in which the speaker himself became one of its members. Sixteen years after, that is in 1889, he was appointed a Joint-Secretary of the Society, especially in connection with Numismatics, and also one of their Vice-Presidents in 1892. His contributions to the Society, as they all knew, had been valuable and numerous, and

might be found in the Society's Journal. They testified very amply to the ability, diligent research, and the versatility of Dr. da Cunha. They embraced many subjects, including history, archaeology, languages, and very specially numismatics. In the last of these subjects he was perhaps in all India "*facile princeps*." He was informed that his own collection, which had fifteen thousand varieties, was unique in India, if not in almost any part of the world. A sad incident in connection with his contributions to the Society was the fact that almost within a few days of his death he corrected proof-sheets of a work which he was preparing for some time, on the origin of Bombay, a work which, they might be sure, would prove exceedingly interesting to them. His modest demeanour and his amiability every member of the Society who came in contact with him throughout these years could testify to. He was, in short, a man of deep culture, and ever interested in the highest welfare of the Society. The Chairman, in concluding, moved the following Resolution :—

"That the Society places on record its sense of the loss it has sustained by the death of its Joint-Honorary Secretary and Vice-President, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, and its testimony to the interest he took in its affairs and to his services in connection with Indian numismatics. That a letter enclosing a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to Mrs. Cunha and her family, with an expression of sympathy with them."

Mr. K. R. Kama seconded the Resolution, which was carried.

Mr. K. B. Pathak then read a paper on the "Jain Poem" called Rāghavapāndaviya : a reply to Prof. Max Müller.

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson made remarks on the paper and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Pathak. This was seconded by Mr. Macmillan and carried.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 23rd August 1900.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. J. Modi then read a paper on "Sanjan, a Parsee Town ; 94 miles from Bombay, on the B. B. & C. I. Railway."

After some discussion a vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and seconded by Mr. Karkaria, was passed to Mr. Modi for the interesting paper he had read.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 27th September 1900.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. K. B. Pathak then read a paper on "Apastamba and Baudhaya."

On the proposition of Mr. K. G. Desai, seconded by Mr. K. R. Kama, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pathak for the paper he had read.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 22nd November 1900.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the Chair.

The action of the Committee in subscribing for the *Studio*, the *Sphere*, the *Monthly Review*, and the *Daily Mail* was approved of. It was agreed to discontinue the *Daily Mail* and to continue subscribing to the other three.

The proposals regarding newspapers and periodicals received from members were placed before the Meeting.

It was resolved to add the following periodicals to the list of those taken by the Society, *viz.* :—

Chambers' Journal.

Architectural Review.

Imperial and Indian Monthly Review.

Journal of Education.

Bramha Vadin.

Hindu (Weekly Edition).

In connection with a proposal to take in *Le Monde*, an Illustrated French weekly, it was resolved that the Committee should choose a French weekly paper to be taken by the Society.

It was resolved to discontinue the following :—

Daily Mail.

Crampton's Magazine.

Longman's Magazine.

Building Supplement to the Scientific American.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 18th December 1900.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, C.I.E., one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. V. B. Ketkar then read a paper on "Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans."

The Chairman made remarks on the paper and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Ketkar, which, on being seconded by Mr. K. G. Desai, was carried by acclamation.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1900.)

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACCOUNTS, of the Trade by Rail and River in India, 1898-99.	Government of India.
ACTS, Government of India, 1899.	Government of India.
ADAR Gushasp.	Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat.
ADMINISTRATION REPORT, Ajmere-Merwara, 1898-99.	Government of India.
————— Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1898-99.	Government of India.
————— Report, Bengal.	Bengal Government.
————— Report, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Burma, 1898-99.	Chief Commissioner, Burma.
————— Report, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1898-99.	Resident, Hyderabad.
————— Report, Madras Presidency, 1898-99.	Madras Government.
————— Report, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1898-99.	Government, N.-W. Provinces.
————— Report, Persian Gulf and Muscat, Political Agencies, 1899-1900.	Government of India.
————— Report, Punjab, 1898-99.	Punjab Government.
ADVANCES and gifts to Agriculturists at the end of Famine, 1899-1900.	Secretary of State for India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, Nos. 9, 10, (1899).	Government of India.
————— Ledger, Nos. 1, 2, 4-13, (1900).	Government of India.
————— Statistics, British India, 1894-95—1898-99.	Government of India.
AIYÂDGÂR-I-ZURIRAN, &c.	Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat.
AMERICAN Museum of Natural History, 1899.	The Museum.

- | <i>Titles of Books.</i> | <i>Donors.</i> |
|--|--|
| ARCHAEOLOGICAL Survey of India, South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part I. | Government of India. |
| ASPECTS of Protestantism. | Rev. R. M. Gray. |
| ASTODAN and Recorded Instances of children Nourished by Wolves and Birds. | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| AVESTA TEXTS (Prescribed for the Previous Examination.) | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| BALUCHISTAN Code. | Government of India. |
| BHAVISHYANI Jindagi (Immortality of Soul.) | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| BIRDS of Eastern North America, 2 Parts. | Field Columbian Museum, Chicago. |
| BOMBAY Plague, History of Plague in the Bombay Presidency, 1896-99. | Bombay Government. |
| ————— University Calendar, 1899-1900, 1900-1901. | Bombay University. |
| BRIEF Sketch, Meteorology of the Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900. | Bombay Government. |
| BULLETIN American Museum Natural History, 1899. | Trustees American Museum, Natural History. |
| CASSARIELLI'S Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids. | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| CATALOGUE, Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani MSS, British Museum. | Trustees of the Museum. |
| ————— Cuneiform Tablets, British Museum, Vol. VI. | Trustees of the Museum. |
| ————— of MSS, Berlin Library, 3 Vols. | The Berlin Library. |
| CORRESPONDENCE, between the Secretary of State for India and the Madras Government relating to sales of Land for arrears of Revenue, &c. | Secretary of State for India. |
| ————— between India Office and Bank of England relating to rate of Interest in the calculation of the annuities for the purchase of Indian Railways. | Secretary of State for India. |
| ————— relating to preventive inoculation against Cholera and Typhoid in India. | Secretary of State for India. |

- | <i>Titles of Books.</i> | <i>Donors.</i> |
|--|---|
| CULTIVATION of the Betel Palm, Cardamom and Pepper in the Kanara District. | Bombay Government. |
| DICTIONARY of Avesta Proper Names. | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| EAST INDIA Accounts and Estimates, 1900-1901; Explanatory Memorandum. | Secretary of State for India. |
| ———— Financial Statement, 1900-1901 | The Secretary of State for India. |
| EDUCATION of Children among the Kadami Iranians (Gujarathi). | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| FACTORY Report, Bombay Presidency, 1899. | Bombay Government. |
| FAMINE and Relief Operations in India during 1899-1900, Vol. I. | Secretary of State for India. |
| ———— in India during 1899-1900, Vol. II. | Secretary of State for India. |
| FINANCE and Revenue Accounts, Government of India, 1898-99. | Government of India. |
| FORESTRY in British India. | Government of India. |
| GRAMMAR and Dictionary of Western Panjabi, by J. Wilson. | Panjab Government. |
| Hill Dialects of the Kumaun Division. | Director of Public Instruction, Bombay. |
| HISTORY of Navasari (Tawarik-i-Navasari). | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| ———— of our Relations with the Andamanese. | Government of India. |
| ———— of Services of Gazetted Officers, Bombay Presidency, July 1900. | Bombay Government. |
| HISTORY of the Kings of Persia. | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
| IDEAL Gods. By Dr. W. Sharpe. | The Author. |
| INDEX to Selections from State papers, Bombay Secretariat. Ed. G. W. Forest. | Bombay Government. |
| INDIAN Education Report, by Dr. J. Murdoch. | The Author. |
| ———— Expenditure Commission, Vol. VI., Final Report. | Secretary of State for India. |

- | <i>Titles of Books.</i> | <i>Donors.</i> |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| INDIAN Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. XI., Part II. | Government of India. |
| —— Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. XII., Part I. | Government of India. |
| —— Museum Notes, Vol. IV., No. 6. | Trustees, Indian Museum. |
| —— Museum Notes, Vol. V., Nos. 1, 2. | Trustees of the Museum. |
| —— Music, by Bh. A. Pingle. | The Author. |
| —— Plague Commission, 1898-99; Minutes of Evidence, Vols. 1-3. | Secretary of State for India. |
| —— Weather Review, Annual Summary, 1899. | Government of India. |
| INITIATIVE of the Avesta. | Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat. |
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